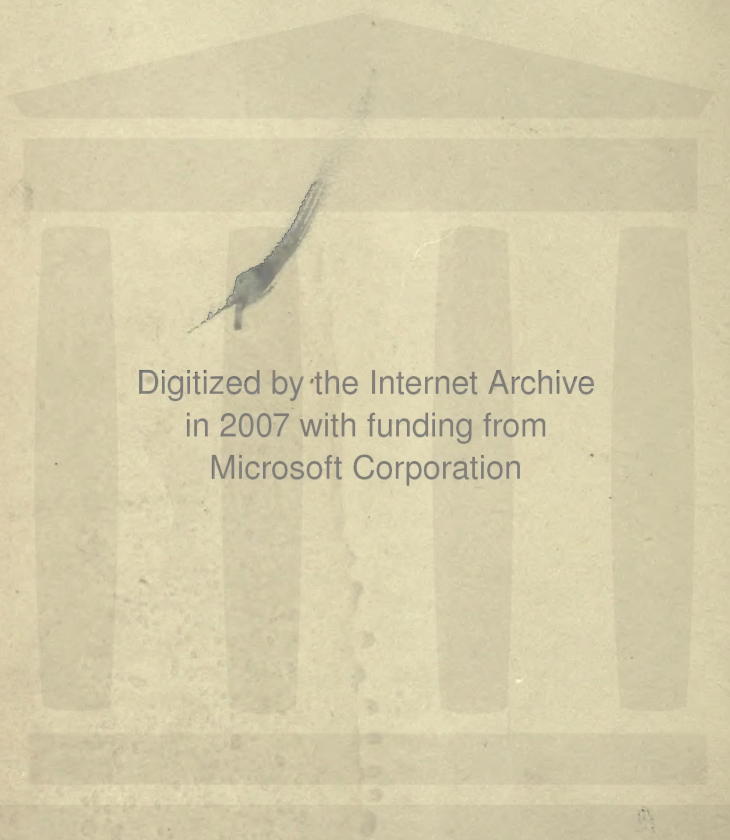


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Historical Papers

PUBLISHED BY

The Trinity College Historical Society

AND

The North Carolina Conference Historical Society

SERIES IX - XIV

[Series 8 is O.B.]

1912 -
1922

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PREFACE

With this issue a change is made in the title of this publication. It was initiated in 1897 as *An Annual Publication of Historical Papers by the Historical Society of Trinity College under the supervision of the Department of History*, and appeared annually until 1901, when Professor Bassett, of the Department of History in Trinity College, became editor of the *South Atlantic Quarterly*. In 1905 publication was renewed with Series V. Since then it has been impossible for the *Papers* to appear annually. One reason for this has been the foundation of the *John Lawson Monographs* by the Historical Society in 1910. In the meanwhile the North Carolina Conference Historical Society has been accumulating material for publication and by arrangement made with a committee of that body, consisting of Rev. W. W. Rose and Rev. M. T. Plyler, that Society now endorses and contributes to the *Historical Papers*. For these reasons the words *Annual Publication* and *Under the supervision of the Department of History* have been dropped from the title page, and the name of the North Carolina Conference Historical Society has been added thereto.

WM. K. BOYD,
President Trinity College Historical Society.

October 17, 1912.

HISTORICAL PAPERS

SERIES NINE

THE REIDS: EMINENT ITINERANTS THROUGH THREE GENERATIONS.

BY REV. N. H. D. WILSON, B. D.*

From the session of the North Carolina Conference of 1870 until the afternoon of the eighth day of November, 1872, this Conference had in its ministry three generations of one family. This fact is in itself, so far as I have been able to learn, unique in the annals of Southern Methodism; but the character, attainments, and success of these men make the case preeminently worthy of note. Frank L. Reid, known and loved by most of us, was at that time a mere lad, proving for the first time the weapons which he was to use so honorably in the years to come. His grandfather, Rev. James Reid, was the oldest member of the conference, a veteran of seventy-five years of life and of fifty-five years of service. Numa Fletcher Reid, greater than his father and greater than his son, was at that time in the zenith of his reputation and power, the acknowledged leader of the Conference. A full account of the life and labors of either of these great men would exceed the limits of this paper as well as the powers of the writer, but as a study of them as a family possess advantages, I take as my subject

The Reids: Eminent Itinerants Through Three Generations.

James Reid, the unique founder of this honorable line, was born in Caswell county, N. C., April 5, 1795. His parents, Buford Reid and wife, were among the first and best members of the Methodist Church in that section. At an early age James gave his heart to God and united with

* An Address to the North Carolina Conference Historical Society, 1907.

the church of his parents. According to the wise and pious custom of that day, he began while yet a boy to take part in public worship, and by this means was caused to hear a call to the ministry.

The early educational advantages of James Reid were meager, as were those of nearly all his contemporaries. But he knew that the Christ whose love had saved him was the Savior of all men every where. With that message, which the profoundest learning may only enforce and can never improve, he went forth to call a sinful world to free salvation. In 1815, being twenty years of age, he was licensed to preach, and joined the Virginia Conference, which until 1838 included the northern half of the State of North Carolina. From the founding of the North Carolina Conference he was one of its most prominent members. During fifty-eight years of active itinerant service he never missed a Conference roll-call. Those fifty-eight years were years of toil, suffering, and triumph. Sixteen years he traveled districts. Two years he was Agent of Greensboro Female College. Five years he was in charge of the African Mission at Raleigh, and twenty-nine years he traveled circuits and stations. The last six years of his life he was Agent of Sunday Schools, an office which carried no salary and was, doubtless, a nominal appointment for a veteran who would not suffer himself to be superannuated. In 1872 he was elected Superintendent of Public Education for the State upon the Republican ticket. In the bitter feeling which then accompanied politics, this act brought upon him severe malediction. I once heard James W. Reid boast that so true was his Democracy, that in casting his maiden ballot he had refused to support his own grandfather. He died before entering upon this office. On the 8th of November, 1872, on his way home, he dined at my father's house in Greensboro, and after dinner, being weary, went to his room for a rest. A short while later, a servant found him dead. I was too young at that time to have any clear recollection of

that sad event, but I can dimly remember the frantic running to and fro of the whole household in a futile effort to recall the fledged spirit.

Dr. Charles F. Deems says of the old man: "He was very politic in a most innocent way. He never sought to hurt, but always preferred to surround all his operations with a cloud of diplomacy, which was very transparent to all outside, and which exhibited his genuine kind-heartedness, and sometimes really assisted his native shrewdness without ever creating doubts as to his goodness." Illustrating this he tells of the caucus which was held by the members of the North Carolina Conference the night before the Salisbury session of 1851. In 1850 the Conference had secured the transfer of a part of the territory in this State held by the South Carolina Conference, but in 1851 steps were being taken by the South Carolina brethren to destroy the effect of this action. Our Conference was to be presided over by Bishop Andrew, a former member of the South Carolina Conference, and he was feared. So this caucus was called to guard against any injurious act by him. Feeling was intense but the matter was one of great delicacy. Uncle Reid took the floor and spoke at length. He described the situation in language which seemed most frank but which left the hearer in profound doubt as to how he himself regarded it. He closed by saying: "Mr. Chairman, I'll tell you just what kind of a resolution I want passed." "Now, thought I," says Dr. Deems, "we shall know just which side he is on. He made an impressive rhetorical pause, and looking around the room, he brought his eyes back to the chairman and waving his index finger he said slowly, 'I want a resolution that shall be clear, forcible, and to the point, but perfectly non-committal.'" But we must not judge the old man by his eccentricities alone. At the request of the family my father prepared a memorial sermon to be preached at Conference, but a sudden attack of sickness prevented him. The sermon, therefore, was preached by Dr. William Closs; and, both

from speaker and subject, was without doubt a memorable one. The names of William Closs and N. H. D. Wilson are signed to the Memoir, but I have reason to think that the latter wrote it. It is therefore my privilege to offer to you in the language of my own father the following summary of the life and work of Rev. James Reid:—

“He gave nearly fifty-eight years to the active work of the ministry, not the pleasant work of stations but mostly to circuits and districts, very large and laborious. In April, 1822, he was happily married to Martha Edwards, of Rockingham county, an amiable young lady and a devoted Christian, well adapted by character and education and disposition to be the wife of a self-sacrificing Methodist preacher. At that time there were few married traveling preachers in the Virginia Conference. In those days married preachers were not popular, and those who married located; but James Reid and his family lived on such pay as was given him and endured all manner of hardships, and still the man of God never faltered. He was an able minister of the Gospel, preached in the power and demonstration of the Spirit, and was wise in winning souls to Christ with wisdom from above.

“He was a warm heard, able supporter of all the great enterprises of the Church. With his small salary he managed to give his children a good education and he did much to promote the cause of education in our Church and the State generally; he was not only an active, faithful trustee of our colleges, but supported them in every way with eminent ability. He was one of those clear-thinking, prudent, working men who make their mark upon the times. He was one of the fathers in the North Carolina Conference, preeminently a man of ability and weight among citizens and a man of God in the Church.”

In many respects Numa Fletcher Reid was the exact opposite of his father. His early advantages were better, and he continued throughout life a student and a thinker. He was born in Rockingham county, July 3, 1825. As his father

was that year upon the Iredell circuit, I judge that he was born at the home of his mother's father, Rev. George Edwards, a prominent citizen and a useful local Methodist preacher. His advance in education was rapid. When only thirteen years of age he entered Emory and Henry College, then just beginning its useful career under the presidency of Dr. E. E. Wiley. Here his ability and industry won success and favor, but for some reason he was unable to complete his course. Remaining all his life a student he won from Randolph-Macon the honorary degree of Master of Arts, and from the University of North Carolina the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

At sixteen years of age he began to teach. After two years in country schools, he opened an academy at Wentworth, which he continued until he entered the ministry. His success as a teacher was great. A clear mind, a firm will, a tender heart, a sound judgment, and a Christian conscience gave him a control over the minds and hearts of his pupils few possess. When scarcely twenty-one years old he married Miss Anne E. Wright, the mother of his children, and after her death, a year before his own death, he married her sister, Miss Sally Wright.

During the first year of his teaching, at a great camp-meeting at Mt. Carmel when the power of the Spirit was wondrously manifest, he gave his heart to God. He began at once to pray and exhort, and was thus led to know that he could be useful in the ministry. At first his mind had turned toward the law, and there were not wanting many to urge upon him its flattering claims. Like many a young man he stood for a while at the parting of the ways. On the one hand beckoned fame, fortune, power, wealth—all the world had to offer. But he was not disobedient to the heavenly vision. When Solomon chose wisdom as his portion, riches and honors were added thereto; so when Numa Reid chose the toils and poverty of the itinerant ministry, there were added thereto fame, honor and happiness.

In 1847, Dr. Reid received license to preach. For a while he continued to teach, but in 1849 the Wentworth circuit was left open for him, and for two years he supplied it to the delight of his friends and neighbors. In 1851 he joined the North Carolina Conference at Salisbury, and was sent to one of the best of the charges in the Conference, the Tar River circuit, which centered in Louisburg and contained some of the most cultured people of that time. His two years there were a time of trial and triumph. Some years before, his brother, Wesley, a youth of character and ability, had died of consumption. During these three years his three sisters, one after another, fell victims of the same dread disease. But he faltered not.

Dr. Reid's advance in the church was almost phenomenal. From the Tar River circuit he went in succession to Wilmington, Raleigh, and Greensboro, three of the most important stations in the Conference. In each of these he won fame and favor for himself and many souls for his Lord. The remaining years of his life were spent in the presiding eldership, and few if any have seized more effectively the vast possibilities of service which that exalted office offers. In all matters of issue in the Conference he had strong, clear views, and did not hesitate to express them. Though there were giants in those days, he early became a leader. The years of his membership in the Conference were the most ominous of our history. Great questions involving the life of the Church and the State demanded solution. During his ministry the Raleigh *Advocate* was born; Trinity College passed into the hands of the Conference; Greensboro Female College reached its zenith, fell before the destroyer, and was rebuilt; the terrible war between the States gathered, burst in devastating fury, and died into a sullen calm; Reconstruction wrought its horrors; the Smith-Deems feud well nigh rent the church; and, under pressure from without and within, the polity of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, suffered greater alteration than at any other time in its his-

tory. In all these Numa Fletcher Reid bore bravely his part as God gave him to see the right.

He was four times elected to the General Conference, the last three times leading the delegation. It is said that one time he received all the votes save one, at another time all save three, and at another all save five. The General Conference of 1862 was not held, on account of the war, and he was obliged to leave the General Conference of 1866 in its opening days on account of sickness, thus being absent from the greatest session of the law-making body of the church ever held. In 1858 and 1870 he doubtless was active and influential, serving there with fidelity and discretion which marked his work elsewhere, but as the General Conference work is so largely done in committees, it is impossible at this day to judge his service. In the internal affairs of the North Carolina Conference his influence can be more accurately traced. He was a friend of the *Raleigh Advocate* and a valuable contributor to its columns. Trinity College owes much to him. In 1856 he advocated the acceptance of the school as a Conference College, not shrinking from crossing swords with his own father, who wished to remain loyal to Randolph-Macon College. He was for many years an active trustee, and in 1863, when the destiny of the college was again in the balance, his eloquent voice was heard in her vindication. The names of B. Craven and N. H. D. Wilson were signed with his to the report which, after a bitter fight, was adopted. He was chairman of the Board of Trustees of Greensboro Female College in the day of her dire distress, and with Rev. William Barringer was chiefly instrumental in restoring the building burnt in 1863. At that time my father was a banker in the city of Greensboro. While at no time ceasing to preach, and with the exception of a year or two in active charge of work, he had, through the exigencies of ill health and the pressure of the war, been forced into business life. To him Dr. Reid and Brother Barringer turned in the time of the college's great need. He had already

given freely and had loaned all that seemed to him wise, but there now came a time when the very life of the college seemed at stake. The walls were up but unprotected, and winter was hastening. It seemed that money sufficient for the work could not be had from any source. Barringer and Reid, his two comrades, colleagues in the work of God, entered his office and almost with tears in their eyes besought him to make another advance of a large sum of money. He clearly realized the risk, and hesitated, but they assured him that they would stand behind the loan with all their influence, and that the church would pay the debt. At last, knowing well the danger, for friendship's sake, for the church's sake, and for God's sake, he took the step which wrecked his fortune and added untold burdens to his life. For before the college had opened Brother Barringer, falling from the walls of the college, was killed, and in a few weeks Dr. Reid also died. But why should I grieve? My father held his friends in tenderest remembrance till the day of his death; he loved his church with even greater devotion and never failed to find excuses for her unfaithfulness, and he never doubted that disappointment, loss, poverty, and burdens were God's loving will working him good. For he was

"One who never turned his back, but marched breast forward,
Never doubted clouds would break,
Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph,
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better, sleep to wake."

Beside Dr. Reid's activity within the church, he was an ardent member of the Masonic Fraternity, and one of the masterpieces of his oratory was his address at the centennial of the Fraternity in North Carolina, held in Raleigh January 14, 1871. This oration with a number of his sermons and other speeches were published after his death under the editorship of his sons, James W. Reid, Esq., and Rev. F. L. Reid. The Biographical Sketch in this volume was prepared by the Rev. John W. Lewis, Dr. Reid's brother-in-law,

himself an honored member of the North Carolina Conference. This sketch has been the chief source of my information about the first two generations of this remarkable family. The volume of sermons received flattering reception and is perhaps the most widely circulated volume of Methodist sermons in North Carolina today.

During the spring of 1873 the delicate frame, which, according to Dr. Reid's own word, had been sustained from the days of childhood by prayer, yielded to the accumulated blows of the Destroyer. On the 6th day of June, 1877, shortly after he had said to his son, "Frank, I see my mother and your mother," the tired body found rest, and the liberated soul swept out into the realities of eternity. His funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Braxton Craver on June 8th, in the church at Wentworth, where most of his life had been lived and where he died. It was a friend's magnificent tribute to his friend, from the appropriate text, "Know ye not that there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel?" At the Conference session my father preached the Memorial Sermon. There had fallen that year William Holmes, a veteran, Alfred Norman, another veteran who had been my father's senior preacher the first year he was in the Conference, William Barringer, his neighbor and friend for years, and N. F. Reid, another of his dearest friends. He chose on that occasion for his text St. Paul's psalm of triumph: "I am now ready to be offered and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord the righteous judge, will give at that day: and not to me only, but unto all them that love his appearing."—II Tim. iv, 6-8.

In 1870, while James Reid was the reverend senior veteran of the Conference and N. F. Reid its idolized leader, Frank Lewis Reid, a boy of nineteen years was received on trial. Born in Rockingham county, June 16, 1851, he early

received wise mental and spiritual training, indeed he developed almost prematurely. He was early converted and while a student at Trinity College was licensed to preach by the Quarterly Conference of High Point and Trinity College station, over which his father presided. After his graduation and a short term of teaching he joined the North Carolina Conference at Greensboro.

The first three years of his ministry were spent successfully on the Madison circuit in his native county. Here he married Miss Minnie F. Cardwell. Next he filled a four-year term to the satisfaction and edification of the cultured town of Louisburg. During the last year he was elected President of Louisburg Female College, but resigned after only one year of service. Brother Reid seemed upon the threshold of a pastorate of eminent usefulness, but a weak throat made the longer continuance of the pastorate impossible. So in October of 1878 he, with Dr. W. S. Black, bought the *Raleigh Advocate* from Dr. J. B. Bobbitt; then he entered upon the real work of his life. Twice afterward he was temporarily in charge of other work. In 1881 he filled out Rev. A. A. Boshamer's year as pastor of Edenton Street Church, Raleigh, and in 1888 he became, at my father's death, Presiding Elder of the Raleigh District. During 1884 he purchased Dr. Black's interest in the *Advocate* and remained sole owner and editor until he accepted the presidency of Greensboro Female College in 1893. He, like his father, was a member of the Masonic Fraternity, and was twice the Chaplain of the Grand Lodge of North Carolina. He was appointed Director of the Penitentiary by Governor Scales, and a Director of the North Carolina Railroad by Governor Carr. In connection with the Penitentiary there occurred an incident which showed Frank Reid's wisdom, moral courage, and tenderness of heart. For some reason a guard had knocked a convict down with a heavy weapon. The negroes, seeing the bloody and apparently dead body borne by, became possessed with an insane fear that they

all were to be butchered. When ordered to their cells they refused to go, and, tearing up the pavement of the prison, they were ready to meet force with bloody resistance. The military companies of Raleigh were ordered out to quell the mutiny, and the Raleigh negroes, sullen and bitter, began to gather to help their brethren within. The scene seemed laid for a tragedy. Dr. Reid, the only Director in the city, was summoned, and with authority to use the military to the utmost, was in charge. A foolish public clamored for the order to fire to be given; and, if I am rightly informed, the State officers and the officials of the Penitentiary sympathized with the demand. But Frank Reid was resolved that not one of the poor frenzied prisoners should be hurt. He sought to reason with them, but that proved of no avail. Knowing the nature of the negro well, he then called them to prayer. For this he was the butt of ridicule to certain people, but "more things are wrought by prayer than this world dreams of." In a short time the frenzy was over, the soldiers disbanded, and the sullen negroes without dispersed.

My personal relations with Dr. Reid began under circumstances which will also shed light upon his character. When his father had died and my father became his successor, being at that time a man of means, he gave to Mrs. Reid and the children the full salary for the year. So when my father died, Dr. Frank Reid desired to do as nearly as possible the same thing for my mother. But as his health was not robust he conditioned that I enter the office as his assistant. He always thought that the double work of this year was the cause of his broken health. At the District Conference he was taken violently ill. I well remember the day when, without warning, after only three weeks experience, with the work behind because both of us had been out of the office, the whole responsibility of the paper was thrown upon me. For the first time since Dr. Reid had been editor the paper went to press without the careful scrutiny of his eye. It thus became a custom for him to secure my help during my vacations. A part of

the time he would give to lighter work and a part to perfect rest. By reason of the resulting intimacy, I came to have an almost unequaled knowledge of the man. When he was first asked to accept the presidency of Greensboro Female College, he urged me to surrender my pastorate at Franklinton to become the managing editor of the *Advocate*, he to remain the owner and editor. His propositions were not only fair but flattering, and there was no one with whom I would more gladly have been associated, but I felt it my duty to refuse. He therefore at first declined the offer of the college, but when it was urged and he was able to make an admirable provision for the paper, he accepted, and in the summer of 1893 entered upon the duties of his new office.

I will allow another, his colleague in that noble institution and a careful student of her history, to tell of his work there. Dr. C. L. Raper says:

“Rev. Frank L. Reid, D. D., became Dr. Dixon’s successor. He came at a time when great ability was required. The State Normal and Industrial College for Women had opened up at Greensboro, October, 1892. This was supported by the State and the Peabody funds, and had one of the strongest faculties ever gathered together in North Carolina. For some time many thought that this institution would soon prove the ruin of Greensboro Female College. Such forebodings were false. Dr. Reid, one of the very ablest men of his day, was at the head, and he knew no failure. Though he was the guide but little more than a year, still that time is very precious in the history of the college. He brought new life and hopes to the faculty and students, he purchased the first real chemical equipment the institution ever had at a cost of \$600, he erected the President’s Residence, he enlarged the scope of the institution and made and confirmed friends here and there.”

A few months before Dr. Reid’s death, Judge Walter Clark had written of him: “The full measure of Dr. Reid’s fame and usefulness has by no means yet been reached. He

is still a young man, and is one of that small class of men who grow with the demands made upon them. If spared by Divine Providence, he will render yet more distinguished service to his church and to the people of his native state." But he was not to be spared. When yet but forty-three years of age his work was ended. His death, which occurred September 14, 1894, seemed a terrible blow to his family, his college, his church, and his state, but as he was wont to quote:

"Sometime when all life's lessons have been learned,
And sun and stars forever more have set,
The things which our weak judgments here have spurned,
The things o'er which we grieved with lashes wet,
Will flash before us out of life's dark night
As stars shine most in deepest tints of blue;
And we shall see how all God's plans were right,
And how what seemed reproof, was love most true."

Perhaps my very nearness to Dr. Reid may disqualify me to judge, but many wiser than I have pronounced him a remarkable man. He was not a great scholar. He was far too full of the practical duties of life for that. But he had read much and had no small resource of information. He was not his father's equal as a preacher, but he was an able, interesting, and instructive preacher, always welcomed to our best pulpits. I shall ever remember one sermon I heard him preach. It was at the time of the severest trial of his life when, through the sins of one dear unto him, he had suffered much. His theme was the "Blessings of Affliction." The whole sermon was impressive and he closed with a masterly recitation of George Herbert's poem, which ends:

"If goodnesse leade him not, yet wearinesse
May toss him to my breast."

Nor would I even say that Dr. Reid was a great writer. He was practical rather than profound. But he was a great editor. His style was pure, clear, strong. His judgment of men was excellent. He was delightfully complimentary, but never

effusively so. And he had practical wisdom. Usually right himself, he was wise enough to heed the advice of those older than he. And as a business man he deserved the remarkable tribute which I draw from a private letter from one of Raleigh's great business men, Joseph G. Brown, President of the Citizen's Bank:—

“Frank Reid was a genius. He was one of the few preachers I have known who could mingle freely with business men and participate in the affairs of their daily life without, in any way, impairing his influence and his popularity as a preacher. While a resident of this city as the editor of the *Advocate*, his public spirit led him to keep in closest touch with the commercial and industrial as well as the religious life of the community, and yet our people in every denomination always heard him gladly when he officiated in the pulpits of the city. He had a faculty of reaching a conclusion as to his own course of action promptly and wisely, and of leading others to his way of thinking. He was easily a leader. In business he was prudent and careful, and always trustworthy. His word was his bond. I have had to do with many an estate—estates of business and professional men,—and in no single instance have I found affairs so well systematized and so plainly set forth in every detail as his matters, and no one of my acquaintances has so clearly indicated the wisest course of dealing with his estate for the guidance of his family.”

Such ability, coupled with years of toil, made him successful in building up the *Advocate*. But no man can ever know the load he carried through the years of his ownership of the paper. About him and about it beat many bitter storms. These I have not space to consider justly. It may be that much of that history ought to be forgotten, but I can but hope that some man, wise and discreet, may be chosen to open to us at no distant session “The Biography of Old *Raleigh*.” Her youth was checkered, her maidenhood stormy, her married life unhappy, her divorce to be bewailed, but fair skies

now shine over her. Long, useful, and happy be her days! It must be said that Dr. Reid took the paper small and poorly patronized, and turned it over to his successors triumphant over all opposition, with a large patronage and the organ of the united Methodists of North Carolina.

His influence was also felt in every department of the life of the church. He did valiant service in the effort to secure the North Carolina territory from the Virginia Conference. He was a most efficient friend and trustee of Trinity College. He secured the funds to furnish the new buildings at Durham. In 1890 he was a member of the General Conference and in 1891 was appointed a delegate to the Ecumenical Conference at Washington. In young manhood he received the degree of Master of Arts from Trinity College, and in 1890 was made Doctor of Divinity by the University of North Carolina. But best of all, Frank Reid was a great man—a Christian man. I knew his sweet home life: a truer, tenderer father and husband I never saw. I knew his dealings with the workmen in his employ: they almost worshipped him. I knew his loyalty to his State and to his Church, his love for his brethren and for his God. In all these he was a great man.

The lives of Numa Fletcher Reid and Frank L. Reid, his son, repudiate the slander so oft disproved and yet again and again repeated against "the preacher's son."

One of the greatest of Dr. N. F. Reid's published sermons was on the "Pastorate." Its eloquent conclusion illustrates the great preacher's style when under emotion, but more, it gives worthy utterance to the hope which inspired his own life and the lives of his father and of his son. In the strength of it they wrought. May it inspire us to like fidelity and victory. He exclaims:

"Now for his reward! A few words are sufficient for this. 'Shall, doubtless, come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him.' Shall come to rest and luxuriate, bringing the fruit of his toil along. Has he aspirations? Does he

love fame—'distinction? It is all right, only let him keep it elevated. He may be brim full of it, if he will only give it its true object. Does he long for rest—cessation from toil? Does he wish to exchange his weeping for rejoicing? Does he want a home, a house? Let him sow now in vales with tears—sow in cabins; let handfuls be sown in the abodes of misery, stock the highway furrows, try some near the rock, scatter it in palaces, 'and in due season he shall reap if he faint not.' When the great harvest comes; when the reapers descend; when the pomp of this world shall pale before the second coming; when the waning splendor of the crumbling thrones of earth shall be brought in contrast with that which shall descend from above; 'when victors' wreathes and monarchs' gems shall be overshadowed by crowns that outglitter a universe of suns; when the men who have gone down under drum-roll and cannon's boom, whose death-draped empires in mourning shall wake up from beneath their monuments of brass and marble, astounded and amazed to find them, as they are, toppling and falling symbols of their folly and testimonials to their perverted aspirations;—Oh, then he, and you, and all God's preachers, shall come rejoicing, bringing your sheaves with you. Then will be seen what is the true good. That will be your time. You are the men of importance then. That will be the time when you will figure. I had rather be one of you then, even the humblest, I am sure, than he who has gained the whole world. Let us go forward, if we can, to the scene. There see an old yoke-fellow in the Gospel; I have seen him before, heard him preach, was but little impressed; saw him die, passed his tomb, read the inscription—it was a plain stone, smoothed and sculptured by unskilled hands—it read: 'In memory of Rev. John Faithful. He was a plain, unassuming man, limited in education, but of good native talent; holy and devoted to his work; the widow's friend, the orphan's benefactor; he sowed in tears and died in peace.' There he is; see! Who are those by his side? women and children? They look like sheaves;

now they are changing into stars and are being set in a crown. What a crown! My God, is it not a good time for him? There are others there we know. Hezekiah Leigh, Compton, Brame, Rich, Bumpass, Brent, Nesbit, Newby, Nicholson. They all have their sheaves with them, and there are their crowns, and harps, and palms, and they are all singing 'Worthy is the Lamb that died,' 'Redeeming love—all for love of us.' Ah, my brethren, if I am so fortunate to be numbered in that company, I tell you what I intend to say, if no one else says it first—the first lull that comes in the song I intend to say:—

“Angels assist our mighty joys,
Strike all your harps of gold,
But when you raise your highest notes,
His love can ne'er be told.”

SOME FIRST THINGS IN NORTH CAROLINA METHODISM*

BY REV. W. L. GRISSOM.

The very first thing connected with Methodism in North Carolina was a Methodist preacher; his name was Joseph Pilmoor. He was a scholarly, polished gentleman. He preached the first Methodist sermon ever delivered in North Carolina on September 28, 1772, from the text: "He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire." This was a good text to kindle the flame that was soon to spread over the colony like wild fire. It was preached at Currituck Court House; it made a profound impression upon the congregation present, and at the close of the service Col. Hallowell Williams invited the preacher home with him for dinner. Hence, Colonel Williams has the honor of being the first North Carolinian to entertain a Methodist preacher. Doctor Coke stopped with him in 1785 and speaks of him in very complimentary terms. Colonel Williams was a member of that session of the Provincial Congress which met in Halifax in 1776 and was Colonel of the field officers of Currituck. He became an active Methodist and was a faithful worker in his church. But because he entertained the first Methodist preacher to enter North Carolina I would, if I could, embalm his memory so that Time's ruthless hand could never reach it or destroy it.

One of the great forces in Methodism has been her work in Christian education. Where did this great movement start? Did it have its beginning in New York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore, our great cities to the north of us? Did it have its origin in Virginia or South Carolina? All these places have originated some things, but the first effort put forth by the Methodists in beginning the work of Christian education in America had its origin in North Carolina; for the first contributions to a Methodist school were made by two laymen on the Old Roanoke Circuit, and you can never make

*Address before the North Carolina Conference Historical Society, 1908.

a complete list of the benefactors to education in North Carolina until you head it with the names of Gabriel Long and Mr. Bustian. A monument should be erected to their memory.

Whether these contributions went to the erection of Cokesbury College in Maryland, or to the Cokesbury School on the Yadkin, we are not able to say, but we do know that the first Conference school in America—the first to receive an appointment from the Conference—was the Cokesbury School in what is now Davie county, on the west side of the Yadkin river, in North Carolina. At the Conference which convened on December 9, 1783, James Parks was taken from the Salisbury District and appointed Principal of the Cokesbury School. So while Cokesbury College in Maryland was the first Methodist college in America, the Cokesbury school on the Yadkin was the first Methodist Conference high school, or preparatory school, in America. It had a small building, about twenty feet square. It was a small beginning. There was no great library or well-furnished dormitories or lecture halls with steam heat, but there Christian education as taught by the Methodists had its origin in North Carolina. It does us good sometimes to go back and see from whence we came; so that after a lapse of 118 years we see a great change. Instead of the one little school mentioned above, we see a great number of first-class schools which are worthy successors of the little Cokesbury School, and above all, we see Trinity College, towering up with a great and mighty purpose, charged with life and activity, sending out an influence that is strengthening and brightening our whole Southland. When we take this survey, and others in connection with our Methodism, after nearly a century and a quarter, we feel like exclaiming: "The Lord hath done great things for us; whereof we are glad."

But the great educational work done by the Methodist society in its early days was not done with classic walls, but its greatest educational force was the itinerant preacher him-

self. While not always educated in the highest and best sense of the term, he has always stood for high ideals, and has been ready at all times to put forth every effort for the uplifting and betterment of the community in which he lives. From the time that the Methodist preacher first placed his foot on North Carolina soil, he has been quite a factor in solving its educational problem. The itinerant preacher went everywhere; into the most obscure neighborhoods, partaking of their humble hospitality, and hence coming in contact with the poorest class of society. Here he sat and talked of men and things while the family group listened with attentive ears, until a late hour of the night. Such a visit often marked an epoch in the home. New aspirations were kindled in the hearts of young and old, higher ideals were realized, and the seeds were sown, the harvest of which we are still reaping. Judge Gaston, one of the most eminent jurists of his day, and who was a Roman Catholic in his religion, said that "the Methodist ministry has done more to improve the society of the rural districts than any other class of men, or any other class of agencies, that had ever been brought to bear on this subject."

Not only does North Carolina claim that the first educational movement in American Methodism was conceived in North Carolina, but that her first publishing interest was projected from this State. Robert Williams, one of the first pioneers in North Carolina, published Mr. Wesley's sermons and some tracts and scattered them wherever he went. Mr. Wesley was a great writer and publisher, and he required his preachers to circulate good books as a part of their work, and in 1786 John Dickens, who was on the Bertie circuit, prepared the Discipline, in its present form, for publication. Previous to this the Discipline was in the form of questions and answers, but the work of John Dickens was to recast it into sections and paragraphs, similar to its present appearance. During this time he lived near Halifax, in his own house. On March 25, 1786, we find Bishop Asbury making

the following entry in his Journal: "Read our form of Discipline, in manuscript, which Brother Dickens has been preparing for the press." In 1787 it was published in pamphlet form, which was the third edition.

Does not every circuit preacher in North Carolina feel a commendable pride in the fact that our Discipline was formulated and written by a circuit rider on the Old Bertie Circuit? Three years after this John Dickens moved to Philadelphia and laid the foundation of the great Methodist Book Concern with his own capital, amounting to about \$600.00.

It will be interesting to note in this connection that the first Methodist periodical published in America originated in North Carolina. It was *The Armenian Magazine*, and was issued monthly during a part of 1789 and 1790. It was launched from a Conference at McKnight's Meeting House, which convened on April 10, 1789. The prospectus contains four pages and was signed, "Thomas Coke, Francis Asbury, North Carolina, April 10th, 1789." This was, no doubt, one of the items referred to by Bishop Asbury in writing of this Conference, where he says: "We had weighty matters for consideration before us." It would be interesting to some of us to visit the site of McKnight's Meeting House, where a few foundation stones mark the spot in an old field on the east side of the Yadkin river, near Clemmons ville. Here several of the early Conferences were held, and here was conceived the first project of a Methodist periodical in America. Each magazine contained a sermon on doctrinal subjects. Coke's and Asbury's Journals are run through several issues, and much valuable information on various subjects is found in every number; but at the expiration of two years, for some reason—perhaps for the lack of funds,—it was suspended.

Another movement that had its origin in North Carolina, and that meant much to Methodism during the first half of the last century, was that of the Camp Meeting. Now some of my brethren, who have been reading Methodist history

for half a century, may feel that we cannot justify the claim, for all the general histories of Methodism, so far as I know, have given this honor to Kentucky, but I make the claim for North Carolina without fear of successful contradiction. And I further claim that these histories will have to be revised, and North Carolina given her dues, before they are correct. In fact, the editor of the *Central Methodist*, published in Louisville, Ky., devoted about a page of his paper in reviewing my *History of Methodism in North Carolina*, and practically conceded the honor of originating the Camp Meeting to North Carolina. But it may be asked, Why was it that others have claimed what justly belongs to North Carolina? It was not because any one did an intentional wrong, but it was because North Carolina made history and did not write it.

It is not the purpose of this paper to go into any argument to establish the claim here made, more than to say that in 1789 and 1790 Daniel Asbury and John McGee were missionaries west of the Catawba river. There were no houses of worship; the country was sparsely settled, and they would come together at some central point from many miles away; they could not return to their homes at night, and a great revival was in progress in the grove, so that the people remained and camped while the work of God moved on. Hence, Camp Meetings naturally grew out of a necessity. After these meetings had been conducted for several years in western North Carolina, John McGee moved west and introduced them into Tennessee and Kentucky, and they were published abroad as something new that had just been discovered, and North Carolina slept on and never contradicted it.

Such meetings soon became very popular throughout the church, and the good they have done eternity alone can tell. One was held near Statesville in February, 1802, where great interest was manifested. From Saturday until Tuesday, ten o'clock, the cries of the wounded, and singing, praying, and

shouting continued without intermission. Near one hundred were under the operations of Grace at one time.

As we speak of Camp Meetings, a picture arises before my mind. It is that of a great arbor, with light-wood fires blazing all around it, the sounding of a trumpet, the gathering of a great congregation, while all the people joined in singing some old Methodist hymn that was an inspiration to every one present. The preacher delivers his sermon with great power, and the cries of the penitents and the shouts of the saints are heard until a late hour of the night. These are hallowed memories! Conditions have changed, and other agencies are being used, while the Camp Meeting is largely a thing of the past. Instead of the brush arbor, the school house, and log meeting house in the scattered settlements, we have magnificent church edifices in the country places and in every town and hamlet. Instead of the class meetings and Camp Meetings, we have our Epworth Leagues and Chautauquas and Tent meetings. And instead of the Hallelujahs of the olden days, we have the Quiet Hour. But God is the same, and those who earnestly seek after Him can come into vital union with Him.

It is not necessary for me to say to this audience that the first Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America was held at Green Hills, near Louisburg, in North Carolina. That has been claimed and published to the world for several years, and yet we find some occasionally who contradict this claim. But I think this is due to the fact that they do not make the distinction between a society and a church. The first Conference of the Methodist Society was held in Philadelphia. The first conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church was held in North Carolina.

Let us peep into the upper room where this conference was held. There were only about twenty present, but some of these had come for hundreds of miles on horseback. Green Hills entertained the most of them, spreading beds on the floor at night upon which they slept. Bishop Asbury, since

the meeting of the Christmas Conference in Baltimore, had gone as far south as Charleston, and had returned. Doctor Coke had gone as far north as New York, and returning reached Green Hills on April 19th. One of the most prominent figures at this conference was Jesse Lee. He and Doctor Coke engaged in a very heated debate on the subject of slavery. Financial matters claimed but little of their time. They had a passion for souls, and God blessed their labors. Contrast in your mind tonight this first Conference in North Carolina with the one that will open here tomorrow morning. Instead of coming on horseback, exposed to all kinds of weather, the members will come in perfect comfort from every direction, at the rate of thirty or forty miles an hour. Time has made numerous changes, and we should be thankful for many of them. And as we think of the beginnings of Methodism in North Carolina, and what it required to plant it here, the hardships endured, the persecutions met, and the earnest and constant toil, our hearts should swell with gratitude; for we do owe a debt of gratitude that we can never pay. The harvest we are reaping today is the result of a faithful and wise sowing. The object of this society is to commemorate memories which are worthy of being sung to the generations through all the ages to come.

But this brings me to the practical part of my remarks. What are we doing to preserve the records of lives and heroic deeds? How many preachers during the past year have dug up something of the dead past and have presented it for our instruction and inspiration? It may have been some valuable manuscript, some rare book or pamphlet, anything that will tell us what the pioneers did, or how they wrought in order to bring about such glorious results. If I understand the object of this society, it is not merely to pay our dues, and attend its annual meeting; but it is also to cultivate the historical instinct, if I may use that term, and to gather up the sources of our history wherever we go. Our appreciation for historical facts should be cultivated. This

is an age of commercialism. Our thought is so wrapt up in business, in the affairs of the present, that the danger is that we may not only neglect to think of the past, but to give the proper thought to the great future. We are to be congratulated that the South has taken on new life in the industrial and commercial world; but if these things are to get between us and the real world and real things, it would have been better for us to have remained the conservative Old South of other years. It is our business to gather up the life forces from the history of the past, from the lives of our great men, and mould them into a greater life, to be used for greater achievements in the present, and for a brighter glory in the great future.

But in order to get anything out of the past, we must read its history; but how can we read a history that has never been written? And here is the work of this society. It is to gather up the scattered materials and write the history of Methodism, so that the generations to come may read our history, and get out of it the life forces that we have spent, so that their lives may be blessed and enriched thereby.

Will you allow me to be a little more practical, and to talk very plainly and seriously to you tonight? Looking at it from my standpoint, it is the duty of every member of this society to bring up to each annual meeting some items of history. You may have to beg your way into some old garret to get them, *but get them*. They are being destroyed every day. And we can never have a complete history as a church without the data.

The finest collection of Methodist history I ever saw was collected by the Historical Society of the Baltimore Conference, but they had been collecting for over half a century. There has been a Historical Society in the South Carolina Conference for over fifty years, and they have a fine collection. And every Conference ought to have a historical society and a fire-proof vault for its archives. I congratulate you upon having a society in this Conference. It is needed. Did

you know that every denomination in North Carolina was far ahead of Methodism in preserving and writing its history? Methodism is not usually behind, and it is with some shame that we make this confession. Not only that, but every Conference in Southern Methodism has done more in preserving and writing its history than the two conferences in North Carolina, if you take into consideration the time of entering the territory.

I want to call your attention to another matter of vast importance. At the Quarterly Conference the Church Register and Records of Church Conferences are called for, examined and criticized. At the Annual Conference the District Conference Records are examined and criticized, but after so much care has been exercised in seeing that they are properly recorded, after the books are filled, do you ever hear of them again? As a church, we have been taking no further notice of them. Where are the old Records of seventy-five or a hundred years ago? How many can you find over fifty years old? How many can you find fifty years from now, of those you are now filling? If we do not change our method of preserving them, the number will be few. What has become of our Records in the past? Where are they? The faithful Recording Steward keeps them and prizes them highly until his death, and then frequently they fall into godless hands, and are destroyed.

Now, it is the business of this society to gather up these Records and send them to your archive. There are some old Records scattered over this Conference now, that are prized very highly by those who hold them; so much so that if a historian desires to consult them he must pay his way for a hundred or two hundred miles before he can examine them. These Records belong to this society, and should be here, where they are accessible to any historian. I repeat it, it is your business to get them. And if this society should do nothing more than to gather up the Quarterly Conference

Records and preserve them to the church, it will have accomplished a great work.

But while collecting these there is much more that you can obtain. There are papers, manuscripts, books, pamphlets, and many other things that would throw light on the history of our church that should be preserved. Do not think that because a thing is not a hundred years old it is of no value. Any fact concerning a Methodist church, a preacher or layman, is important and will be of value to a historian.

You may ask, How can we get our people interested in this work? That is a very practical question, and in trying to answer it I will make one or two suggestions, for we all know that we need a historical revival, and especially in our church. On circuits I would suggest that you hold a service—you can call it Memorial Day, or Historical Celebration, or anything you wish,—in which a sketch of each church should be read and memoirs of all the deceased members who were active workers in the church; then let the pastor, or some suitable person, deliver an address on some phase of Methodism, and you will find that your people will go home loving their church more, and with a stronger resolution to follow their ancestors toward the home of the blest as they followed Christ. Then collect these papers, and send them or bring them to this society, and in that way you will gather much valuable material, and besides have a very interesting and profitable service for your people.

Another suggestion: In the towns and cities and other places where you have an Epworth League, have it take up the study of Methodist history in North Carolina. Let the entire League read up on a certain period or subject, while one of the members prepares a paper on the same subject to be read at the next meeting. In this way, you will find that your Leagues will soon become greatly interested, not only in their meetings, but in other departments of church work. I know of nothing that will do our young people so much good as that of coming in contact with the spirit and heroism

and self-sacrifice of the early pioneers of Methodism in North Carolina.

Not only will it do our young people good to go back into the past and study the men, and means, and economy of early Methodism, but it will be an inspiration to all of our people. I know that there is an idea among some people that the pioneers of Methodism were ignorant and with no education. But if you will study their lives and their work, you will find that that is not the case. No ignorant class of men could have created such a stir, and called forth such a storm of persecution as they did. Their opponents not only talked and preached against Methodism, trying to bring it into disrepute, but the strongest men in some denominations took up their pens and wielded them against this new sect that was turning the world upside down.

It is very difficult to make a complete bibliography on any subject. But I have one, published in 1868, that contains titles of 361 anti-Methodistical works. Do you think they would have written all these volumes to counteract a movement of a set of ignorant men? Whether ignorant or not, they had a power that swayed the multitude, and that resulted in experiences that were new and strange to the people of North Carolina. For the genuine Methodist preacher has had a power in this State ever since Joseph Pilmoor first penetrated the wilds of eastern Carolina. Many of them have labored here and gone; in fact, most of them have passed over the River; but may the men who fill their places today in the old North Carolina Conference have this power that was peculiar to the early Methodist preacher greatly multiplied in their ministry during the year 1909!

PETER DOUB, ITINERANT OF HEROIC DAYS

BY REV. M. T. PLYLER*

For many years prior to and during the great Civil War, Reverend Peter Doub was a familiar figure to a great company in North Carolina. In stature more than six feet, of portly build, with massive chest and broad shoulders upon which rested a head of unusual proportions, he moved in a commanding way among his followers. The deep-set, greyish-blue eyes, lofty forehead, heavy brow, prominent nose, high cheek-bones, firm-set lips, decided chin and heavy jaw, gave distinction to his strong, thoughtful face. The strength of the hills had gone into him, securing the sturdy character with determined purpose written in each ligament of his face and displayed in every movement of his body. Though not an Apollo in feature or in form, in no crowd did he pass unnoticed. Something of the Fatherland clung to him and the simplicity of pioneer days had not deserted this itinerant son of the soil. The German blood, the American environment and the Methodist itinerancy combined to make the Peter Doub of the 'fifties. A daughter-in-law,¹ close to him in his latter years, says: "His habits of life were methodical—even to the putting on of his wearing apparel—his collar must allow both hands to pass easily between it and his throat—his 'neck-cloth' was a bit of soft muslin made and laundered by the good wife—his stocking, knitted of home-spun flax by the same untiring help-meet must reach above the knee and the upper part turn down over the calves. A pair of his stockings are still in my possession, also one of his collars. He ate very lightly at all times, eliminating butter from his fare altogether. Once he said to me, 'I could eat everything on your supper table if I did not know that a big man should not indulge a big appetite.'"

Peter Doub belonged to the strong, solid, sturdy stock

* Address before the North Carolina Conference Historical Society, 1908.

¹ Susan Duty Doub in letter to writer.

from the old lands that have furnished the blood and bone for the industrial, civil and religious upbuilding of this great, new country. Into our own State have come the hardy Scot, the resolute English, the patient, plodding German, and the thrifty Dutch. Among those none were superior to the substantial German folk that moved down from Pennsylvania and settled chiefly in the valley of the Yadkin. These, under stress of religious persecution, immigrated from Switzerland and the Palatinate to Pennsylvania, halting for a time in Lancaster and York along the Susquehanna. Such were John Doub, father, and Mary Eve Spainhour, mother, of Peter Doub. The father, born in Germany, March 27th, 1742, tarried for a few years in Lancaster with a step-brother before coming to Stokes (now Forsythe) County, North Carolina. The mother, born November 30th, 1755, across the Susquehanna in York, of Swiss parentage, migrated with her people to Stokes about 1763. So here in the back woods of North Carolina, the two young people met and married about 1780.

John Doub possessed all the distinctive features of a German, received the training belonging to the better class of mechanics of that day in his own land, had a practical knowledge of chemistry, and was well instructed in tanning and all the arts of skin-dressing. Fluent in the use of his native tongue, he gained a good knowledge of English after he was fifty years of age. His religious awakening began soon after coming to America, through the influence of Reverend Mr. Otterbein (presumably Reverend William Otterbein, founder of the United Brethren) but the epochal event in the household was in 1792. Then they began receiving circuit preachers in their home, joined the Methodist Society and their house became the Methodist Meeting-house for years. Six or seven years later, John Doub received license to preach and was ordained Local Deacon in 1802. Devotion to his Lord and a desire to do good, led him to secure a fine knowledge of the Bible and of Methodist Theology. In later years,

a profession of Sanctification manifested its reality by a life corresponding to such a profession. A citizen known for his piety, a father that ruled well his house, never omitting the morning and evening worship, a Methodist of the early type, a preacher clear and strong, he died October 18th, 1813, in the full triumphs of the faith.

His wife, Mary Elve Doub, a member of the Dutch Reformed Church from her fifteenth year, joined the Methodist Society with her husband and literally became a mother of the Methodists along the Yadkin. A woman of strong mind, deep piety, good knowledge of the Bible, cheerful disposition and great firmness of character, she watched and nourished her children, and ever stood ready to do good to others about her. She was much sought after by the sorrowing, and in his mature years her son Peter could write: "In all her domestic relations she had few equals and it is believed she had no superior."²

To more fully appreciate the times out of which young Peter Doub came, we will do well to remember the prevailing conditions in that section of the State at the close of the eighteenth century. There was not a railroad in all the world and not a respectable highway in North Carolina. The only outlet was by wagon to Charleston, or to some other town of the seaboard. Instead of the cotton factory, the machine shop, and the flour mill of today were the wheel and loom in the home, the black smith shop by the road-side and the grist mill with its ponderous wheel down by the creek. These were the real centers of family and community life. Schools were few and provokingly inadequate. The University was taking shape, with here and there a private high school, but no general educational system was known. In 1790, Edenton, NewBern, Washington and Wilmington were the only postoffices in the State and in 1812 there was not a newspaper printed west of Raleigh. Books were few and letter postage almost prohibitive. To pay twenty-five cents for a letter

² In her obituary, 1835.

liable never to go in any reasonable time did not minister to interchange of thoughts. Thus, isolated, without schools, papers or books, the masses did not touch the great wide world's life. John and Mary Eve Doub, with their nine children, passed their simple-mannered, God-fearing lives limited largely to the purely rustic rounds of Stoke's County yeomanry.

Peter Doub, the youngest of the nine children, was born March 12th, 1796. Early taught to respect the senior members of the family and to revere his parents above all others—their will being the supreme law in the household—he learned obedience to, and respect for, superiors. The family regulations were strict though not oppressive, demanding a prompt and uniform response to the established usage. Due deference was shown all, whether rich or poor, but the impure and wicked were not allowed to become associates of the children. Ministers of the Gospel, always received as servants of God, and good men generally had first place in John Doub's home. Young Peter early received instruction and inspiration from the Methodist itinerants, such as Phillip Bruce, John Buxton, Thomas Logan and James Boyd, who often found a welcome under that roof. The impressions, views of truth, and knowledge of the Scriptures gained in those days filled all his after life.

Peter Doub, within a period of eight years, spent about eighteen months in school, progressing sufficiently to "read, write and cipher" a little. A dictionary and an English grammar had small place in the "old field school" of that day. In his own words: "A good English education he never had the opportunity of securing until after he had entered the ministry, and then only as he could snatch up a little time between traveling, preaching, visiting the flock and reading his Bible."

Too much, however, must not be made of this lack of education, since influences momentous in determining destiny came to him in youth. In addition to the instruction and in-

spiration received from the Godly itinerants in his father's home, was the school in the family. To learn and recite to his father or to one of his older brothers "A Scripture Catechism" until he knew every word of it and then to repeat this to the preacher when he came round, proved valuable to the boy. Furthermore, he was required to give his views of the contents in his own language. Wonderful ideas of God, Christ, and the Holy Ghost came to him in these plastic days. John Doub, also, saw that his children read the New Testament consecutively and that during the reading they gave their views on various subjects.

Though religion and the Bible came first in that home, other elements contributed to mental and moral advance. The oldest brother, John, acquainted with general knowledge, had read a few books on Philosophy, sufficient to set up the interrogation point, which resulted in converting the family group into a kind of debating club. The conversation in the home and the necessity of being man of all work on the farm and around his father's tan-yard gave a training too often lost sight of in the general estimate of life's formative forces. One in touch with mother-earth, responding to the call of the field, holding fellowship with plain men and women away from the artificiality of the world, has no mean start in life. Peter Doub's never having seen an English grammar until a member of the Conference, proves to many the possibility of much coming from nothing. How false such a notion! The vigorous body, insatiable desire to know, instruction given at home, tutorage received in the school of life, reinforced by the strength and vigor of a good heritage, gave the young preacher a superior advantage in his long, honorable career. In him were the elements out of which greatness is born and the fibre fit for making a hero in an iron age.

Like Paul, Peter Doub's conversion confronted him at every turn and held priority over all the events of his life. Being the inspiration of his after years, he thought of it much and worked out the related incidents leading up to the

final surrender. In his seventh year, 1802, at the first regularly arranged camp-meeting ever held in North Carolina—this on his father's farm—he was powerfully impressed but nothing came of it more than the feeling that one day he would be a preacher, for the spirit of those times did not encourage one so young. All did not go, however, with the passing of youth. For years, preaching, conversation with preachers, reading the scriptures and a volume of sermons, presented by Reverend Joseph Brown, which brought “awful and alarming convictions,” left him deeply wounded in heart. But the immediate cause of his conversion was a sermon preached October 5th, 1817, at a camp-meeting in Rowan (now Davie) County, by Reverend Edward Cannon from Revelation 11:9. His portrayal of the great multitude which no man could number produced such indescribable longings within a burdened soul that, with tears flowing freely, at the suggestion of Moses Brock, young Peter fell at the altar and struggled till night with no relief. But he did not give up the struggle. Following the sermon Monday morning, about ten o'clock, feeling that he was literally sinking alive into hell the thought came, “Well, if I sink to rise no more I will try to look up once more as it cannot make my condition worse.” He did so. Then and there, amid the groans of the penitents and the shouts of the redeemed, he arose and proclaimed his full deliverance. For the space of two hours or more, he alternately shouted, exhorted the congregation, and encouraged the penitents. That glorious hour and memorable scene lived with him evermore.

Ten days later, he joined the church at Doub's, a regular preaching-place on the Yadkin Circuit since 1792. Soon the long-gone impression of boyhood days came with new vigor, causing anxious moments by day and restless hours by night until the urgent conviction that he must preach the gospel held him fast. The lack of education, insufficient knowledge of the Scripture, lofty views of the ministry and the fear of being mistaken as to the Divine call constrained

him to continue the farming in which he and his brother were jointly engaged. But other council prevailed. After consulting his Presiding Elder, Reverend Edward Cannon, he was licensed to preach and was recommended for admission into the Annual Conference. That same evening hour in the Doub home, the Presiding Elder announced to the astonishment of the family that he was going to take Peter with him. "Brother Cannon," said the mother, "he is too ignorant—he don't know anything about preaching. He is my youngest child and I did hope he might be with me in my old age, but if you think the Lord has a work for him to do I can and will give him up." All eyes overflowed with tears. Peter was to be a preacher. Yes, the youngest boy was going out to be a Methodist itinerant! An hour of conflicting emotions in the home and an epochal event in the youngest boy's life met that night. Surely God was in this place and they knew it not.

Not yet a probationer in the church five months, Peter Doub was received on trial in the Virginia Conference at Norfolk, February 1818. With Christopher S. Mooring, he was appointed junior preacher on the Haw River Circuit, reaching his first appointment in April. His second year was on Culpeper Circuit, Virginia. Two years in the regular work, with the vows of a deacon upon him, being ordained by Bishop George in Richmond, February 1820, eliminated all former intentions to retire from the itinerancy and secured an entire surrender to the work of the ministry. At New Bern, March the 24th, 1822, Bishop George ordained him Elder. This, with his happy marriage, August 17th, 1821, to Miss Elizabeth Brantley of Chatham County, North Carolina, put him well into his notable career of fifty-one years. Of these, twenty-one were spent on circuits; twenty-one on districts; four on stations; one in regaining his health; one as temperance lecturer; three as Professor of Biblical Literature in Trinity College.

Many large and laborious fields engaged the strength and

tested the devotion of this mighty man. His first circuit had twenty-seven appointments to be met every four weeks; his second circuit, fourteen to be filled every three weeks. The four years on the Yadkin District, beginning with his ninth year in the ministry, were abundant in labors and among the happiest of his life. "This district embraced Granville, Orange, Person, Chatham, Alamance, Caswell, Rockingham, Guilford, Stokes, Forsythe, Surry, Yadkin, Wilkes, Alexander, Iredell, Rowan, Davie, Davidson, parts of Randolph, Montgomery and Warren in North Carolina; Halifax, Pittsylvania, Franklin, Henry, and Patrick in Virginia. In four years, he traversed this territory about twenty times; preached on an average of fifty times each round, besides delivering 'many exhortations and addresses;' held one hundred and forty-four Quarterly Conferences, fifty camp-meetings, and attended the General Conference in Pittsburg, Pa. One year, he held sixteen camp-meetings in as many weeks, and preached at each from four to seven times. While on his way to one of these his horse died but he made the balance of his way on foot in good time. During these four years, two thousand seven hundred and thirty-eight souls were converted at meetings which he held in person. More than seven thousand were converted in the district."³

A few incidents⁴ illustrate the overwhelming power of this man at his best. At a camp-meeting in Henry County, Virginia, (1826) more than eighty souls were converted, among these five infidels during the eleven o'clock sermon on Sunday. In September of the same year, at a camp-meeting in Montgomery County, North Carolina, where he preached five or six times and exhorted from one to three times a day, one hundred and eighty were converted and the work spread to adjoining counties. During the year 1820, on Haw River Circuit, one thousand souls were converted, one

³ M. S. Wood in "Centennial of Methodism."

⁴ Idem.

hundred and fifty were received into the Methodist Church, and Methodism was introduced into the town of Hillsboro. Following the longest sermon he ever preached—four hours and fifteen minutes—at Lowe’s Church, Rockingham County, (1830) there were fifty-two conversions. At a camp-meeting in Guilford, following a sermon of four hours, eighty came to the altar at the first call. These incidents are enough to indicate the type of man he was. But a crowd and victory did not always follow his footsteps. Day after day, from place to place on his circuits did he go preaching with “very little liberty” to a few souls after which he would meet the class and press on to the next appointment. Sometimes he had “tolerable liberty” and “a feeling time” conscious of God’s smiles; then again, depressed in spirit with “difficulties innumerable,” he longed for the clouds to roll away. Still he did not surrender. Without reserve, the battle was pressed to the gates.⁵ In a letter to Reverend William Compton, Stantonburg, North Carolina, October 31st, 1821, telling of the great victories won, are these words: “I have labored until I am almost broke down, though my weakness is chiefly occasioned by cold. On Friday afternoon, at the camp-meeting and the fore part of the night, I was almost at the gate of death but the Lord in mercy raised me again, but since that time my health has been bad. I have not seen a well hour since the 12th inst. and I am sometimes inclined to think unless I could stop and rest a week or two that I shall entirely break down. I have a very severe cough which has reduced me very much, perhaps twenty pounds weight since I was first taken but bless the Lord I still feel the traveling spirit and feel determined to go on long as I can get along.” Save the year 1847 in which he was forced to desist because of broken health, a half century of unremitting toil marked his career. During the year given to temperance work he preached fifty-one times on Sabbath, canvassed most of the State, and lectured two or three times a

⁵ *Brief Account*, manuscript.

week; this, too, at a time (1853) when a temperance lecturer did not ride a popular wave. Intervals between Quarterly Conferences were spent in preaching, administering the ordinances and giving expositions of church government. In the three years spent on the Danville District, he visited and preached at nearly every church within its bounds. Often elaborate doctrinal discussions became necessary in these militant days of a pioneer church. While on the Pittsylvania Circuit he preached on controversial subjects at all the appointments, winning men to Christ by these sermons. So much of the experimental entered into these discussions that the Christ was ever to the front. Thus, preaching the word with apostolic zeal, through weariness and in the face of stout opposition, this brave soul carried the gospel to a heroic people of pioneer days.

Peter Doub grew in wisdom and increased in usefulness with every passing decade. The humiliating failure made in an exhortation soon after being licensed to preach taught him the need of the best preparation possible, supported by a determined purpose with full reliance on God. In the first year of his ministry some objected to his preaching because his sermons were too short. On being informed of this by Reverend Christopher Mooring, young Doub affirmed that he said all he knew and did not like to repeat; to which his senior replied: "Brother Doub, read more, study more, pray more, and you will be able to preach more." Aroused by these words, he became a life-long student. "This advice," says he, "laid the foundation of that eager fondness for books and reading that characterized him for more than fifty years." The next year Clark's Commentaries gave a new impulse to Bible study, becoming the basis of his extensive knowledge of the Scriptures. Relieved of district work at his own request in 1830, the eight subsequent years on circuits were filled with a study of the Bible, with general reading, attention to ecclesiastical history, and preaching on

doctrinal subjects, laying special stress on holiness of heart and life.

The bent of mind disclosed in the young preacher's first sermon, on "The Unity of God," continued through the years, resulting in the old preacher full of wisdom, possessed of a marvelously clear and accurate knowledge of the Bible. Reverend F. D. Swindell, a student of his at Trinity, was most impressed with his clear thinking and his extensive knowledge of the Bible.⁶ Reverend W. H. Moore, acquainted with him in the 'sixties, says he was esteemed the best theologian in the North Carolina Conference.⁷ Reverend J. W. Wheeler, once in Dr. Doub's district, writes: "He was an able expounder of the word and a fearless and mighty defender of the doctrines and policy of the church of his choice."⁸ Peter Doub was mighty in the Scriptures.

Bible themes and theological discussions held a steadily increasing fascination for this seeker after God. Ethical in temperament and bound by intellectual process, he did not go far afield in other spheres of life and thought. The poetical the aesthetic made slight appeal to him. In the multitude of his days, surrounded by earth and sky of ever changing mood, in sunshine and storm, never a reference is made to the gorgeous pageantry of nature or to earth in her calmer aspects. The timid thrush in deep wood, the blue-bird, har-binger of spring, the early flowers, the smell after the summer rain, the scarlet and gold of autumn brought no new, strange sensations to his soul. Verdant fields in the softness of summer evenings and starlit skies free from the fever of earth's grime passed unnoticed by one so given to the practical, the doctrinal, the ethical. The fine feelings and delicate emotions of poet and artist did not belong to a mind so fond of abstractions and so lost in the syllogism. Granted his major and minor premises the inevitable conclusions came with the mandatory exactness of mathematical demonstration. In

⁶ Letter to writer.

⁷ Idem.

⁸ Idem.

this way he built up those elaborate doctrinal discussions, Scripture quotations constituting his major premise. Lost in the process, he followed these out into all the minutiae of their bearings. "We knew," says his daughter-in-law, "he was not to be interrupted in his studies for any ordinary occurrence—the extraordinary one of a visit from his only daughter caused him to say, 'I wish her arrival had been delayed an hour, I was in the midst of an argument' " Those wonderful sermons of such length were really treatises on systematic theology worked out in careful detail. Not being willing to omit minor points, the hours passed in their delivery until effectiveness would have been lost but for his own Pauline experience that gave them vitality and conquering power. No phase of a subject was allowed to pass unnoticed.⁹ "Once after preaching two and one-half hours, he quietly informed his hearers that he would continue the subject at the evening service and on some future day, after sifting the subject more thoroughly, he hoped to preach a third sermon on the same topic."

Peter Doub's love of truth possessed his soul and became the ruling passion of his life. Nothing other than the love of truth and his well known demand that justice be done, coupled with an unyielding sense of fairness, led to the many controversies in which he engaged. At the close of a four month's controversy in the *Patriot* with the Presbyterians of Greensboro in 1831, he writes, "I am conscious that *truth* and nothing but the *truth* has been my object from the beginning."¹⁰ In the convention of 1835, Judge Gaston,¹¹ in the supreme effort of his life, speaking of the amendment of Article 32 of the Constitution of North Carolina for removing the restriction upon Roman Catholics in the religious qualification for office, was reported to have made false statements concerning Protestants. To this Peter Doub intended to make reply as soon as a copy of the speech could be secured.

⁹ Letter from Susan Duty Doub to writer.

¹⁰ *Brief Account*, manuscript.

¹¹ Letter to Michael Doub, July 31, 1835.

In 1840 a Mormon Elder¹² began work in Greensboro. He boasted of a controversy at Wolf's School House with Michael Doub, whom he soon silenced. He also reported that said Michael Doub, once vanquished, threatened to send for his brother Peter who could manage him. This, with the error being propagated, was too much for our defender of truth and lover of fair play. He at once wrote Michael for all the facts, supported by competent and reliable testimony, connected with "Mr. Grant, the Mormonite," and made ready for the fight. When Bishop Ives of North Carolina (who finally went to Catholicism) published a small volume of sermons in which he took high grounds on Episcopal Baptismal Regeneration, Auricular Confession and kindred subjects, he reviewed (1845) these sermons in the *Richmond Christian Advocate*, and finally re-wrote the series to be put in pamphlet form. This, however, was never done, but a series of *Discourses on Christian Communion and Baptism* delivered in Raleigh in reply to a Baptist minister of the same city was published in 1854. Beginning May 30th, 1856, he published in the *North Carolina Christian Advocate* a series entitled: "Doctrine of the Final Unconditional Perseverance of the Saints Considered and Refuted."¹⁴ These examples are sufficient to indicate the range of controversy engaging the attention of this doughty warrior and champion of truth.

Thorough investigation of the subject in hand, careful handling of facts, elaborate discussion of detail, and accurate use of terms made this lover of truth, righteousness, and justice a formidable antagonist. He feared nothing. "Attacked by a most ferocious dog, he looked at him straight and asked, 'Are you not ashamed to want to bite a poor Methodist preacher?' The brute dropped his bristles, licked the preacher's hands and walked by his side till he reached the farmhouse door, much to the consternation of the family within."¹⁵

¹² Letter to Michael Doub, Feb. 21, 1840.

¹³ Letter to Michael Doub, Oct. 5, 1849.

¹⁴ *Advocate* files.

¹⁵ Letter from Susan Duty Doub to writer.

A like calm, brave spirit contained him in every arena.

Peter Doub could have led to victory the Roundheads under Oliver Cromwell or have gone to death with William of Orange in the Low Country. A lover of peace, but not of peace at any price, was he. Of one who had seriously wronged him, he wrote, "I was willing even (for peace's sake) rather to suffer wrong than to stir up strife in the neighborhood," and then finally concludes: "I consider that he injured me much, yet, if he will acknowledge his error, and inform me, I now feel it in my heart to freely, truly and fully forgive all the wrong that has been done me by him."¹⁶ To doubt the veracity (which the offender did) of this man of God so crossed his love of truth and sense of righteousness that he demanded justice in truth "without varying a hair's breadth." He lived in the open and demanded of his fellows that they walk in the light of day.

Something of the Puritan spirit belonged to the family and the instinct of the clan was not wholly wanting. In a contemplated business venture, Peter wrote his brother Michael, "I have no particular objection to forming a company of twelve or thirteen; provided, that they are all DOUBS, or, at least, under our family's control. We should be very cautious, so we may not suffer anyone to become connected with the company that is *intemperate*, or of a *vacilating* spirit, or easily disappointed."¹⁷ A fine devotion to his tribe and the desire to prove a blessing to those of his father's household resulted in Peter Doub leading several of the family to Christ and two of his brothers into the local ministry. While busy on his itinerant rounds, letters went pleading the cause of religion and urging the Christian life upon his brothers at the old home.¹⁸ Michael, a substantial citizen and trusted with settling estates and matters of moment in the community life, became for more than fifty years a most useful local preacher. To quote from his memoir: "His services

¹⁶ Letter to Michael Doub March 3, 1840.

¹⁷ Letter to Michael Doub, Dec. 4, 1839.

¹⁸ Letters in 1821.

were much in demand and he went far and near to regular appointments, camp-meetings and funeral occasions. He preached two thousand four hundred and fifty sermons, six hundred and seventy-five of which were funeral services. He baptised seven hundred and thirty-three persons, adults and infants, and traveled in the prosecution of his ministerial work some thirty thousand miles. He was called to visit an almost unaccountable number of sick people and he went gladly by day and by night irrespective of color or creed, riches or poverty. . . . He labored much in the revivals by which Methodism was spread over this portion of the State.”¹⁹

To the substantial folk of his own name and to the plain men and women of the country-side, Peter Doub, scion of a hardy race, ever remained true in sympathy and in fellowship, therein gaining qualification for a ministry to the masses of his day. Then the thousands of Carolina’s children knew little of the gentle life and lived less in the face of the world, but rather grew up in rude simplicity and spent a free, simple, unconventional life. To these, such a plain old prophet of the Elijah type was indeed a man sent from God to bear witness to the Truth that many might be saved.

Ever true and trusted by his brethren, with a commanding place in his own Conference, honors not a few came to him. Seven times a member of the General Conference, one of the delegates to the Louisville Convention (1845), in which he suggested the name Methodist Episcopal Church, South, for the southern division of our Methodism, granted the degree of D. D. by Normal College in 1855, acknowledged the best theologian in his Conference, he remained the plain unassuming and unambitious Methodist preacher whose clear, strong voice proved most regnant in calling sinners to repentance around the camp-fires in the golden age of camp-meeting victories. For, beyond all peradventure, Reverend Peter Doub was primarily and preëminently a preacher of the Gospel

¹⁹ Manuscript.

for the great plain people in a day of religious controversy and social agitation. Revolutionary movements were on. In the decade of the thirties, the application of steam to ocean navigation, the introduction of railroads, and the invention of the electric telegraph were of world-wide import destined to work the greatest revolution of the century. The slavery agitation stirred the nation and the ominous shadows were gathering; but these failed to enlist the interest of a man so given to matters theological and religious. All his controversies gathered about doctrinal themes. Though interested for twenty-five years in a farm, at one time contemplating merchandising²⁰ and for a while making a venture in silk culture, these things did not divert him from the one work ever paramount. Put Peter Doub out in the forest on a summer night under an arbor, surrounded by camp-fires, with a host of eager men and women seated on rude benches listening to some great Gospel theme, a second Pentecost was imminent. As his soul flamed, it seemed that the divine spirits had come down to speak to men. Some said it thundered, others, that an angel had spoken to them.

The sturdy old hero ceased to labor August 24th, 1869. The giant form went down but the measure of his days cannot mark the limits of that life. It has gone out to the ends of the earth. A pamphlet of his on *Baptism and the Communion* made Enoch Marvin, the preacher and saint, a Methodist. He said in North Carolina in 1875, when he was Bishop, "I did not know who Peter Doub was. I had never heard of him before. But that pamphlet forever settled my doubts on that question."²¹

From the rugged untutored young circuit-rider, unable to write a correct sentence, came this father of Israel.²² His form of expression and order of thought improved with the steady growth of half a century. Though he wrote a great deal, an elastic and easy style never came to him. Unwilling-

²⁰Letter

²¹Centennial of Methodism.

²²Letters Sept. 12, 1839, and Jan. 11, 1841. Letter June 25, 1832.

ness to omit minor points and less essential matter often led to tediousness in the discussions drawn out to an undue length. His arguments must be elaborate and complete. Moved by a stern sense of duty and being exacting in the cause of righteousness, with a fondness for the arena when error vaunted itself, one might look for a hard man with little of the tenderer and gentler elements of life. But not so. Says one already quoted: "He was tender as a mother—even the family pets shared his kindness. The kitten would sleep in his lap and bunny squirrel seek a warm place in the flap of his coat. After some of his great sermons, he would come into the home and play with the children like a boy. 'Fine relaxation,' he would say, 'and they enjoy it so.'"²³ Such was the sturdy old itinerant of those heroic days.

Deeds of daring and acts of heroism are told in song and story. Granite, marble and bronze commemorate the achievements of earth's chieftains; but this noble old Methodist itinerant shares none of these. In South Greensboro, one September day, the clouds dropped rain as beneath the oaks, through weeds and undergrowth, I went among the tombs in search of his resting place. How neglected the spot where sleeps the dust of this noble man—once honored and revered! How well that no good deed ever utterly perishes from the earth! But let us not linger at that spot. Rather than bewail the neglect or bemoan the forgetfulness, we would recall his last message to the North Carolina Conference: "Tell my brethren of the Conference," said he to Doctor Fletcher Reid, the day before he died, "that if I am alive I am working my way to the skies, if I am dead, I am alive."²⁴

Authorities: AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF PETER DOUB (Manuscript Copy of the original):

A brief Account of my parentage, education, conversion, call to the ministry, etc (Manuscript).

²³ Susan Duty Doub.

²⁴ Obituary by Rev. W. Barringer.

Discourses on Christian Communion and Baptism, by Rev. Peter Doub (1854).

Rev. A. W. Mangum and M. L. Wood in Centennial of Methodism in North Carolina.

Grissom's History of Methodism in North Carolina.

Letters of Peter Doub (1818-1869); Letters of Michael Doub; Memoir of Michael Doub; Obituary of Mary Eve Doub, by Peter Doub (all in manuscript); Letters from Mrs. Susan Duty Doub, Revs. F. D. Swindell, W. H. Moore, J. W. Wheeler and Prof. W. F. Alderman to M. T. Plyler.

METHODISM IN THE ALBEMARLE COUNTRY

BY HON. L. L. SMITH, Gatesville, N. C.*

The subject assigned me, "Methodism in the Albemarle Country," deserves more than a passing notice. The fact that this section was geographically in one state and Methodistically in another, from the origin of Methodism and especially from the organization of the Virginia Conference in 1802, until the comparatively recent transfer of this territory to the North Carolina Conference, may have caused many events and incidents of Methodist history to become lost to view, and to be now buried more than a century-deep in the debris of the passing years.

In fact, the Albemarle Country, considered in any aspect, is full of historic interest. It was not only here, on Roanoke Island, that the first settlement was made, and the first child was born of English-speaking parents on the American continent, but it was here also "in our county of Albemarle," in 1668, that, in the petition from the "Grand Assembly praying that the inhabitants of the said county may hold their lands upon the same terms and conditions that the inhabitants of Virginia hold theirs," was seen and felt one of the first impulses of that spirit of liberty and of patriotism that developed in the colonies and finally culminated in the American revolution.

The beautiful name, Albemarle, came to us across the waters from the Old World. *Albamarla* of the Middle Ages became the French *Aumale* and the English Albemarle. It was first a countship of France formed by William the Conqueror in the year 1070; and after the passing of centuries it was made a Duchy.

After the Restoration, Charles II. granted Carolina to some of his personal friends and courtiers, in payment of political debts, and the grant of Charles I. to Sir Robert Heath, by royal decree, became a nullity. Among the gran-

* Address before the North Carolina Conference Historical Society, 1910.

tees of Charles II.—the original Lords Proprietors—was General George Monk. He had entered London at the head of an army of 50,000 men clad in the uniform of Cromwell's Ironsides, and, without disclosing his purpose, has restored the monarchy and placed Charles on the throne, and he, in turn, was created the first Duke of Albemarle. That name, in his honor, was first given to our broad waters. Chowan River, by Indian nomenclature, extended perhaps to Roanoke Inlet; and that part of it, now known as the Sound, was called by the early settlers Carolina River, but the Lords Proprietors named it Albemarle River, and afterwards Albemarle Sound, as it is known to-day.

In the meantime the genial climate and the fertile soil had already begun to attract settlers from Virginia, and adventurers from other quarters, to the lands lying north of the Sound, and in 1656 the first permanent settlement was made; and in October, 1664, the Lords Proprietors formed Albemarle County and appointed William Drummond Governor. It was soon afterwards discovered that the settlements made and the county formed on the north of the Sound were not entirely embraced in their grant, and the Lords Proprietors hastened to the King for an extension of the grant for about thirty miles further northward, and on June 30, 1665, the King issued another grant or charter extending Carolina to 36 degrees and 30 minutes north latitude, and that has ever since been the proper dividing line between Carolina and Virginia, but it was for a long time a bone of contention, and it required several surveys to locate the line.

The county of Albemarle was first divided into four precincts—Chowan, Perquimans, Pasquotank, and Currituck, and afterwards Bertie and Tyrrell were added.

Those precincts lying north of the Sound and east of the Roanoke River covered the entire territory that was retained by the Virginia Conference, when the North Carolina Conference was organized in 1837; and this is the Albe-

marle country of which we are to treat in connection with Methodism.

But we must wait a century before we can people it with Methodists. It was just about 108 years after Albemarle County was formed before a Methodist itinerant preached his first sermon within its borders. In the meantime other denominations, notably the Church of England, the Established Church of the Colonies, and the Quakers and Presbyterians, came with the early settlers, and missionaries were sent over who made spasmodic efforts to evangelize the people; but much of their energies was wasted in fighting each other and in trying to control the government in the name of religion, really in the interests of their own church or sect, and that is one reason why more progress was not made.

Unfortunately, many of the missionaries sent over by the Church of England, with some very notable exceptions, were men of dissolute life and character—mere hirelings that cared nothing for the sheep. Let them be judged by their own people.

In a letter written by William Gale, of Perquimans, in 1699 or 1700 and quoted in Ashe's recent History of North Carolina (Vol. I., p. 52) occurs this passage: "The decay of Christian piety is in such large characters that he who runs may read. The 2nd of January last, it pleased God to make me happy in a son who bears the name of his grandfather, but has still the unhappiness to be unchristened to my great grief, the only minister we have had of the Church of England having left us before my son was born, but it was no loss to religion, for he was ye monster of ye age."

Dr. Hawkes asserts that the records of the courts show that Rev. John Urmstone, a missionary of the Church of England, was convicted and punished for drunkenness and profanity.

About the time of the sale of Carolina by the Lords Proprietors to the King, in 1729, Sir Richard Everard wrote to the

Bishop of London that there was not then a single clergyman of the Church of England in the province "while the Quakers and the Baptists were very busy making proselytes and holding meetings daily in all parts of the government." As early as 1672 George Fox, the founder of the Quakers, visited the colony. He came out by way of Williamsburg and Sommertown (the modern Somerton just across the State line over in Nansemond), and proceeding as far as Bennett's Creek, where Gatesville now stands, left his horses there, took a canoe and went out to the Chowan River, thence down the Sound and up the Perquimans River, and found his way to the house of Henry Phillips, about where Hertford now stands. Phillips and his wife were then the only Quakers in the colony, and that was the beginning of the Quakers in the Albemarle country.

The first Baptist church in this territory was organized in 1727, then in Pasquotank precinct, but now at Shiloh, in Camden County; and some few years later one was organized in Bertie, which then included the territory now in Northampton and Hertford Counties. The Baptists made some progress in those localities, and were the champions of the principle of absolute separation of Church and State. That was before the days of the Missionary Baptist Church, and there was no special effort made to evangelize the colony outside of the localities where they had organized.

From this time on to the period just preceding the Revolution, there was not much change in the religious conditions of Albemarle. In fact, it was the period of religious apathy in Europe; and in England it was the darkest part of the night, which immediately preceded the dawn of the Wesleyan reformation; and until that light was reflected upon these shores, it is reasonable to suppose that religious conditions here were worse than there before that reformation. At intervals ministers of the Church of England were sent over to take the places of those who had gone, and in their absence, teachers and lay readers sometimes conducted services in the

old chapels, which had been erected in the several parishes. But most of these old chapels had been abandoned long before the pioneers of Methodism had ever entered the territory.

I mention these facts as important to show the religious condition of the people, and especially to emphasize the fact that other denominations were on the ground—some over fifty and some over one hundred years before “Joseph Pilmoor preached the first Methodist sermon in the colony, at Currituck Court-House, on the 28th of September, 1772.”* From that time there was an occasional visit from a Methodist itinerant, but there was not much religious awakening until near the close of the century.

The peculiarity of the Methodist preachers in that day was that they did not wait for the people to come to an appointed place of worship, but they carried the gospel to the people wherever they might be found. The weary Methodist itinerant sometimes found rest in the Christian hospitality and fellowship of some good Baptist brother or Quaker friend. But the masses of the people were wicked and indifferent, and in high life there was but little religion.

The files of the old State Gazette from January 10, 1794, to October, 1797,—a weekly newspaper published at Edenton (the State organ at that time)—contain only two items referring or appertaining in any way whatever to religion or to any church or religious denomination. The first of these is the presentment of the Quakers by grand juries of the several counties for agitating emancipation among the slaves, for harboring runaways, etc., tending to incite to arson and insurrection. The other item referred to is a notice “To the Clergy and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of North Carolina,” then in its formative period, and was a call for a convention to elect a bishop. It begins: “Whereas, the declining interests of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this State appears to demand the most

* Grissom's History of Methodism in N. C., page 34.

strenuous exertions of those who profess the same faith," etc., and ends as follows: "As the deplorable state of religion, in our country seems to call for the most active exertions of every member of the church. Signed by order and in behalf of the convention—James L. Wilson, President."

Asbury's Journal confirms this report as to "the deplorable state of religion" at that time; but it will be noticed that the activity of the Methodist preachers had even then begun to arouse the sleeping energies of the other churches. On December 24, 1784, Asbury, after leaving Camden, perhaps, writes in his journal: "Set out in the rain to Hartford town. I spoke in a tavern; the people seemed wild and wicked altogether. I journeyed on through the damp weather, and reached Pettigrew's about 6 o'clock. . . . I preached in Edenton, to a gay, inattentive people. I was much pleased with Mr. Pettigrew. I heard him preach, and received the Lord's Supper at his hands."

This Mr. Pettigrew was Rev. Charles Pettigrew, elected Bishop at the convention called as above stated, but on account of ill health was never consecrated. The old tavern in Hertford is still standing and "doing business at the same old stand," in the same old way, and the room at the south end thereof was the very one in which Asbury preached on that occasion.

The first Methodist Annual Conference in America of which there is any record was held in Philadelphia in June, 1773, but it was not until some years later that North Carolina appears in the minutes. In 1775 Norfolk, Virginia, was the nearest named place to the Albemarle section, and that circuit—(all were circuits then)—most probably embraced all this section, and extended even beyond the Roanoke in North Carolina. For as the old North Carolina Circuit appears and develops into Roanoke, Tar River, and New Hope, Norfolk disappears from the minutes, and is not then mentioned again for several years. But Portsmouth Circuit, which appears in the minutes for the first time in

1784, included all Norfolk territory that had not been given to new circuits.

The first place reported in the Albemarle territory is Edenton in 1781, with sixty members. In 1783 Bertie and "Pasquetank" are reported in the minutes, and in 1784 Camden takes the place of "Pasquetank," and from that time until 1809—a period of twenty-five years—Bertie and Camden were the only charges in this entire Albemarle country.

Sometimes it was Camden and Edenton and sometimes Camden and the Banks. In 1809 Edenton again appears, and at the close of the year 1810, just one hundred years ago, Bertie, Camden and Edenton were the only charges in this entire Albemarle country from the Banks to the Roanoke River, with five preachers and one thousand, two hundred and nine (1,209) white members, and six hundred and fifty (650) colored. By way of comparison, the same territory, according to the minutes of our Annual Conference for 1909, reported twenty-one active preachers and seven local, and an aggregate of nine thousand, one hundred (9,100) white members. In 1822 Gates and Murfreesboro were formed, and for some time Gates and Edenton, and then Gates and Bertie, and Gates and Murfreesboro, at intervals, were connected together, usually with two preachers in charge. Elizabeth City is reported in the minutes for the first time in 1827 with Edenton as one charge, and in 1828 it was set off as a separate charge.

Let us now consider some matters of historic interest connected with these old circuits.

Within the bounds of the old colonial precinct of Bertie there was erected an Episcopal chapel known as Bridge Creek Chapel. There is no known record as to when it ceased to be used as an Episcopal church. But at any rate, it became a preaching place for the early Methodists, and it is to be presumed that Asbury preached there on his several journeys through Bertie. He states in his journal that he preached there on the 26th of April, 1785.

That is supposed to be the place of the beginning of Methodism in Bertie. The circuit had been named for two years only, but it may have been included in the Carolina Circuit, and afterwards in Roanoke Circuit. Near the ruins of that old chapel White Oak Church now stands, the oldest Methodist church perhaps in Bertie County. It was perhaps from the influence going out from this church that the other Methodist churches in Bertie were founded.

It would be an interesting study to ascertain where the Methodists worshipped in some localities before the building of their churches. The old pioneers preached in barns, out-houses, on the roadside, anywhere they could find hearers, and the need of church buildings was not at first fully realized. There is quite an interval between the formation of some of the circuits and the building of their churches.

Another place of historic interest is old Knotty Pine Chapel. That was connected with the Edenton Parish, as I am reliably informed, from 1701 until about 1740, and from that time all trace of its record is lost.* It was situated six miles north of Gatesville, on the Somerton road (Sommertown of the colonial period—just across the State line, over in Nansemond) and very near its exact site now stands a large colonial mansion erected in 1775, which was the home of Col. William Baker, and afterwards of Colonel Harvey, who married his daughter.

There is a tradition that Asbury preached at Knotty Pine Chapel. He states in his journal that prior to January 1, 1783, he passed through Gates, Hertford, Bertie, and Northampton, and coming from Williamsburg, Virginia, as he did, and going through Gates to Hertford County, he must at that day necessarily have passed Knotty Pine, and he, doubtless, then preached in the old chapel; and either he, at that time, or some other Methodist preacher before then, organized a Methodist Society at that place. Eighteen years afterwards, to-wit, on the first day of April, 1801, he writes in his journal: "We came on to Knotty Pine to the house of

*Records of Edenton Parish.

mourning for a favorite son. Marmaduke Baker was this day to have gone to Princeton College to finish his education. We hope he has gone to the college of saints and the society of heaven."

We have other evidences tending to prove that he had frequently enjoyed the hospitality of that Christian home. A letter to him from Mrs. Baker dated "North Carolina, Gates County, Knotty Pine Chapel, March 17, 1799," begins as follows: "When you were with me last you desired I would give you an account of the dear saints who are fallen asleep in Jesus in this place. I will give you a list of their names with a sketch of some of their characters." She then named twenty (20), giving a short sketch of each, and how they died, and closed as follows: "I hope the Lord will renew your health and strength, that you may live long to water His vineyard. Pray for me that I may be more holy and more heavenly minded. Give my love to Brother Lee. Mr. Baker and the children join me in sincere love to you.—Your affectionate sister, I. Baker."

Among those named as having died was Moses Kittrell, a man of affairs and a prominent citizen of the county. His son, George Kittrell, became a local Methodist preacher and the founder of Kittrell's church, now on North Gates Circuit, only a short distance from the site of old Knotty Pine Chapel, one of the oldest, and in its palmy days, one of the most prosperous of all the churches in Gates. Savage's Church, also now on North Gates Circuit, was the offspring of the Society at Knotty Pine Chapel, and was organized a few years before Kittrell's church was. The present church building at Kittrell's is the third one erected on that site. The descendants of many of those "dear saints who had fallen asleep" are now members of Kittrell's and other Methodist churches.

In Asbury's day Knotty Pine Chapel, with all of Gates north of Bennett's Creek, appears to have been within the bounds of Bertie Circuit.

But the place of greatest historical interest to Methodism in the Albemarle country, perhaps, is the old Camden Circuit, which probably at one time extended from the Banks to the Chowan River, and from the Sound to Bennett's Creek, in Gates County. The point of beginning, however, gave it a local habitation and a name. It came with the Christmas Conference in 1784, with the founding of the Methodist Church in America, and other circuits may have come and gone, but that goes on forever.

It was probably in Camden County, which lies on the Pasquotank River, where the society was organized that formed the basis of the "Pasquetank" Circuit of 1783, with James Martin and Henry Metcalf as preachers in charge; and the next year Camden Circuit, covering the same territory, was substituted for it; and from Richard Ivey and William Dameron, the first ministers assigned to Camden, to the present time, one hundred and fifteen (115) regularly appointed and ordained ministers have supplied that charge, every one of whom labored faithfully and "kept that which was committed to their trust."

On November 14, 1792, a lease for ninety-nine (99) years was executed and recorded in Camden County—for the consideration of one grain of Indian corn to be paid annually,—conveying a tract or lot of land to the trustees of the Methodist Society and to the trustees of the Episcopal Church for the purpose of erecting a church thereon to be used jointly. There now stands upon that site the third building erected thereon, known as McBride's Church, on Camden Circuit. What a history that old church has! How many have been converted at her altars! How many other churches have been established through the instrumentality of her membership! In 1892, during the pastorate and by the efforts of the greatly lamented Charles R. Taylor, always alert to the best interests of his beloved Methodism, the Centennial of that old church was celebrated. About a mile distant a large tabernacle was erected, and to thousands

of hearers able discourses suitable to the occasion were delivered by Dr. Peterson and Rev. George Vanderslice, then distinguished members of the Virginia Conference. The next year, Rev. Charles D. Crawley, preacher-in-charge, united three churches at that tabernacle in a great revival service, which continued two weeks and resulted in large accessions to all the churches.

But we have some contemporaneous history of the early days of Bertie and Camden Circuits. In a letter from Jonathan Jackson to Bishop Asbury, dated August 20, 1800, Bertie is particularly mentioned. But who was Jonathan Jackson? *A hero of the cross!* He bore the same name, with the exception of the prefix "Thomas" that was afterwards given to a child of destiny, who became the immortal Stonewall Jackson, and he must have been of the same heroic mould. He was Presiding Elder of a district extending from Cumberland County, Virginia, on the north, to the Albemarle Sound on the south, and from the Atlantic Ocean, on the east, to the Roanoke River on the west, and embracing the following charges: Cumberland, Amelia, Brunswick, Sussex, Mecklenburg, Greenville, Portsmouth and Norfolk, in Virginia, and Bertie and Camden, in North Carolina.

When we remember that Cumberland is away up in Virginia, on the eastern border of historic Appomattox, and that his district covered all the territory from thence, including Petersburg and Virginia Beach, thence to the western border of Mecklenburg County, in Virginia, and that Camden and Bertie Circuits embraced this entire Albemarle country; and when we, at the same time, consider the hardships and difficulties and dangers of travel in that day, we are filled with wonder and admiration at the cheerful, sanguine, triumphant tone of his letter. Hear him: "I have been round the district, and glory be to God, I have seen very good and gracious times in all the circuits. There are prospects of a good revival; but in many parts of Bertie and Cumberland, they have great and powerful times, and many have been

awakened, converted and added to the church; I expect not less than two hundred. The preachers were all able to labor and are much engaged in the Lord's work. The local preachers in general seem to be very zealous and useful. We have great peace and union in the district. I have not heard a murmur from any one of our brethren.—Jonathan Jackson.”*

On the 16th of September, 1802, Jesse Lee, Presiding Elder of the same district, writes, among other things, as follows: “The work is considerable great in Bertie Circuit. There is a small revival in Portsmouth Circuit—Camden Circuit has gained a little.”

Daniel Hall, Presiding Elder of Norfolk District, Virginia Conference, which covered about the same territory, on October 12, 1804, wrote to Bishop Asbury, and after describing a camp-meeting near Suffolk, on Portsmouth Circuit, where there were 6,000 hearers and 400 conversions, he added: “There was a pleasing prospect in Camden Circuit. The work is going on gloriously in some parts of Bertie Circuit.”

What heroes these old preachers were! They went everywhere and carried the burden of human souls upon their hearts, and in thunder tones they startled the world with the proclamation of the verity and reality of the Gospel, and the certainty of death and the judgment; and, above all, in the name of their Lord, they offered an *unlimited* atonement without respect to persons.

From this time on—about the beginning of the nineteenth century—there was a healthy and steady growth, manifested by an increase in the number of charges and membership; and in 1837, when the North Carolina Conference was organized, as we well know, all this Albemarle section north of the Sound and east of the Roanoke River, was retained by the Virginia Conference.

But this territory was not neglected. The Virginia Con-

*“Extracts of Letters containing some account of the work of God since the year 1800. Published for the Methodist connection in the United States, 1805.” p. 4.

ference always sent to it some of her ablest and best men, and from that time to the beginning of the Civil War was one of the most prosperous periods of its history.

We love to cherish the memories of those godly men of the days a-gone, whom we heard our fathers and mothers and grand-parents speak of in terms of devotion and Christian reverence. They still live in their name-sakes and, in many instances, they have left their descendants among us to enrich our citizenship. We also recall with tender affection those who served us in our day and generation, in the period since the Civil War. Of all the men in our Southland, who bent their energies to the task of healing and repairing the desolations of war, none worked harder and accomplished more than the Methodist itinerant; and nowhere with better results than in the Albemarle country. New churches were erected, and old ones repaired, and there were great revivals all over the district.

In the early 'seventies old Gates Circuit, with her ten churches (eight in Gates and two over in Nansemond), under the pastorate of that man of God, Rev. Thomas L. Williams, of great learning and eminent piety, was the banner *circuit* of the Virginia Conference.

But Methodism in the Albemarle country would not be complete without the mention of the Wesleyan Female College, of Murfreesboro, which, after a useful and successful career, was finally destroyed by fire. Her presidents and teachers were among the best and ablest men and women in Southern Methodism, and her graduates may be found all over this part of our State and in southeast Virginia; and no more faithful and devoted church workers can be found anywhere. Much of the success of the Woman's Missionary Societies, in the Elizabeth City District, may be traced to the influences that went out from the graduates of that old institution.

Another monument to Methodism in the Albemarle section is the Rosebud Missionary Society of the Virginia Confer-

ence. That, was first organized by the children in Gatesville in 1878, and it was named for one of the children of Rev. Thomas H. Campbell, the pastor of Gates Circuit at that time. A few years ago when the new brick church was erected in Gatesville, that Society presented a handsome pulpit as a memorial of its foundation, with an inscription upon it showing the date and place of its organization, and stating that, since its formation, to that time, it had raised more than one hundred thousand dollars (\$100,000) for missions; and it is still carrying on the good work.

This section has also always contributed her quota of men for service on the fields of the Virginia Conference, and some of the ablest men in Southern Methodism have gone out from her borders; and still among the ablest and best men of the Virginia Conference we find some who were born and reared among us.

But there came a time when, in the eternal fitness of things, the Methodists of this old Albemarle country ought to belong to the North Carolina Conference; and though it was hard and sad to break away from all the old endearing relations with the Virginia Conference, yet it was pleasant and hopeful and joyous to form the new associations with our own North Carolina Conference; and we opened our hearts and let you in.

Of course, Virginia did not wish to give us up, and did not, without a struggle; and as it required two grants from the crown to get Albemarle into Carolina, so in the same way it took two transfers of the General Conference to bring the Methodists of Albemarle into the North Carolina Conference. There was considerable agitation over the matter, and in 1890, a tub was thrown to the whale, and that part of the territory lying between the Roanoke and Chowan was then transferred. But we kept insisting that we wanted to go, too, and four years thereafter the General Conference at Memphis transferred the balance of the territory to the North Carolina Conference, with the exception of Knott's

Island, in Currituck, and New Hope Church, in Hertford County, which are still a part of Newsom's Circuit of the Virginia Conference.

This good old town of Elizabeth City has shown her hospitality by entertaining the North Carolina Conference three times since that transfer was made. That is typical of the Albemarle country.

I wish to say in conclusion, that the greatest monument to the faithful Methodist preachers who have labored among us from the days of Asbury and Jesse Lee to the present, is the fact that the great doctrines of the Universality of the Atonement and the Witness of the Spirit, which they always insisted upon, and which were once strenuously controverted, are now preached from every pulpit. Believe me! I state a fact, not in the spirit of controversy, God forbid, but as a matter of history, that I can recall the day when I never heard these great Scriptural doctrines preached except from a Methodist pulpit. But now in all this section "whosoever will" may come into the Kingdom and all may know it when they get there.

A JOURNAL AND TRAVEL OF JAMES MEACHAM

Part I. May 19 to Aug. 31, 1789.*

May 19. Tues. This morning my all lies in the hand of my Glorious Master. I think since God thrust me out in to his vineyard which was October 1787, I have travelled extensively—First, I travelled one Quarter in Sussex Circuit in Virginia—from thence to Oronoque Ct Northcarolina where I stayed about 5 months—here the Lord wonderfully carried on the work of regeneration. From thence to Bartie Ct (in the same State) here I was much afflicted but travelled about 6 months in these parts. Many Soules were brought to God. From thence I removed into Hanover Ct Virginia where God remarkably revived his work and from Conference April 20 I was sent into Grensville Circuit Virginia. Now I believe my poor Soul is taken another wing for Heaven. Lord give more grace.

Wed. 20. To-day I preached to a small concourse of People, my idiars is but shallow yet I trust there was a word dropt in Season, Lord let fruit thereof be found at the last day.

* Rev. James Meacham, the author of the following diary, was born in Sussex County, Virginia, April 7, 1763. He was the son of Joshua and Anne Lee Meacham, his mother being a relative of Richard Henry Lee. According to family tradition he served in the Revolutionary War, and the papers in evidence of this were destroyed by fire. In the fly-leaf of the diary he says he was "born of the spirit April 14, 1787, and began to travel on the itinerant plan with the Methodist Oct. 1, 1787." However, the Conference Minutes show that he was admitted on trial in 1788, and into full connection in 1790, being assigned in the latter year to Orange Circuit. In 1791 he was ordained Elder but served Williamsburg Circuit that year, Pamunkey Circuit in 1792, Mecklenburg Circuit in 1793, and Portsmouth Circuit in 1794. In 1795 he was appointed Presiding Elder to the Guilford District, and to the Tar River District in 1796. In 1797 he was located, having married Mary Seward, of White Plains, Brunswick Co. To them nine children were born. In 1820 James Meacham died in Mecklenburg County, Virginia.

The diary will prove of value to all who are interested in early Methodism in the United States. Of especial interest is its strong anti-slavery feeling. "O America, America, blood and oppression will be thy overthrow," exclaims the author, and the sentiment is reiterated several times. Quite in harmony with it is the fact that James Meacham was never happier than when preaching to the blacks.

The author of the diary was also a personal friend and admirer of Rev. James O'Kelly; indeed he seems to have travelled some circuits in O'Kelly's district before he was admitted on trial in 1788.

For securing the diary The Trinity College Historical Society is indebted to Rev. W. W. Rose of the North Carolina Conference. The part between September, 1789, and July, 1791, has been lost. In hope that it may be found, the division of the diary into two parts has been made, part II to be published in the next series of Historical Papers.—WM. K. BOYD.

Thur 21. This day I met a small congregation, but little or no liberty in speaking unto them—this remark is hard to account (for) for about three years ago this part of Melenburg County was the flower of Virginia for Religion but now coldness and Dullness seems to overshadow the people, if I may be allowed my sentiment is this—that hateful bloody name of oppression, I say the spirit of blood, kills the life of love and liberty.

Fri. 22. I preached with but little liberty. I met the class, here the Lord wonderfully met with us; after meeting this, I met the Childrens class, separately by themselves. O how tender their little hearts was, a time of spilling of tears—Lord give great success to this constitution.

Sat. 23. This morning I rode to my appointment, brother and Sister Taylor with me. Now the Lord began to break asunder the clouds of Unbelief. this was a time of grace.

Sun. 24. This Sabbath I met a larg concourse of people. the power of God was upon the people—weeping was on every Side. I hope the Lord will carry on the glorious worke of Methodism.

Mon. 25. Here I met a small concourse of dear people waiting to hear the word of the Lord. To whom I cried ye will not come to me that ye might have life! Weeping all around, by this time Hell had call up her forces and made a bold attack upon Israel's camp and began to drag out the Slain in Zion by force, our united cries repetedly was extorted for her Soul (a young Woman) until Satan made a small retreat then we boldly marched forward, and took the slain (or wounded again). O the cries that she extorted was enough to reach the heart of the most obdurate. Lord give deliverance to the oppressed.

Tues. 26. Nothing great here, Lord revive thy work.

Wed. 27. This day I preached to a happy people.

Thur. 28. Here I met with some few good Christians I hope—before preaching began old bro. Melone came up

stares, to me and opened his heart freely. I believe it is an honest one. Slavery he abominates

Fri. 29. the strength of my body failes. I preached with much pain of body—I met the Society then the Children. O that God may give us success in this and every point of Christian devotion.

Sat. 30. this day I preached to a small attentive Congregation of People, in the Evening rode home with Old Bro. O. Myrick of Brunswick County—it is something amazing, I think, he is now with his wife a numerous Age, without any Child, an immense Fortune and yet is as Bloody oppressor perhaps as may be found, we have had a little Conjecture upon Slavery, but to no Satisfaction at all. O how much good might this man do for God,—but perhaps it may be said Tush God doth doth not regard.—Or foolishly immagins in his heart, God hath forgotten: he hidth his face; he will never see it. Psa. 10-11. But when the Lord maketh inquisition for blood, he remembered them. He forgetteth not the cry of the poor Humble (or) oppressed. Psa. 9-12.

Sun. 31. This day I found a large assembly of people awaiting for me to which I cried What is man that thou art mindful of him or the Son of Man that thou so visitest him? uncommon attention overshadowed the people. Nothing great only some few outcries for Mercy.

Mon. June 1. this Day I think we had a Smart war, our Enemies seemed to get ground; but when Israel prevailed, the little camp went forward. Several persecutors Slain, and boldly cried Men and Brethren what Shall I do to be Saved. Some found refuge in the blood of Christ.

Tues. 2, here I meet with our Bro. Lewis Griggs, who was once an Itinerant preacher in the work of Methodism, but now Locative, he stood in my place and preached from I Ep 3-22 Beloved, Now are we the Sons of God; and it doth not yet appear what we shall be but we know that, when he shall appear, we Shall be like him, for we Shall see him

as he is. A time of Rejoicing among the Saints, Some few a crying for Mercy; in the Evening we had Meeting. I sang and prayed, by this time crying was on every Side, after 3 Hours struggling in earnest prayer the Lord set 2 Souls at liberty to praise him.

Wednesday 3, this day I find but cold encouragment.

Thursday 4 Here I met a Small congregation—little or no Stir. the Class in this place (I fear) is about to be broken—the Devil is about to sow the Seed of Discord among the Bretheren.

Friday 5, this Day I preached a Funeral Sermon over a little babe near Bartie, where I had formerly rode in time past. Many of the Dear Bartie Bretheren came to hear me, a time of Love and Happiness, great was my consolation to find so many of my Bretheren in the lord was yet on their journey home; in the Evening I rode home with Sister Saurey in Bartie Ct—where I met near two hundred precious Souls, only hearing I was coming, to tarry one evening. I called unto them for Ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ etc—a time long to be remembered I hope with many; here I met with a poor Backsliding Sister. My face was a terror to her. I began to Labour with her, and to remind her of the Goodness of God in once pardoning her Sins; the Tears began to fall down her poor Blushing face. While I was preaching I called out upon the Backsliders and bad them venture the second time upon Jesus, that he was still on his Mercy Seat interceeding for them, that he had there a massy Crown of Glory for them if they would but come. Conviction fastened upon her Soul, but cryed the Dove of Heaven was Shut against her. I told her ventur her Soul on him, he had promised to heal the Backsliders and love them freely.—the Congregation broke. She still continued to cry in the Bitterness of her Soul, Lord wilt thou love a Backslider—I thought prayer might prevail on God. I Called upon the brethern for prayer. The Lord soon came and broke every chain and set her at liberty to praise his

Glorious Name. O may She ever Stand faithful unto the end.

Sat. 6. This Morning I feel the infirmities of my poor body almost too great for me to labour. I rode for 9 miles in much pain of body where I found a few Souls awaiting for me. I Spoke from these words of St. Paul: But of him are ye in Christ Jesus &c. The Lord was present with us.

Sun. 7. this day I preached to a large concourse of people. The power of God was much upon them. Shouts and crys to be herd on every side.—I strove to meet the Class, but could not, the Lord would not let me, he willed the people should praise him. Several join'd Society.

Mond. 8. the great power of the Lord was with us—a time of melting love.

Tues. 9. Rode to Smiths Church in Northampton County Northcarolina, in this place the Gospel is preached in So many Different lights, that the Devil Sows the Seed of Discord, to the great and unhappy Spoil of Methodism; a few precious Souls met me, to whome I cryed, Submit yourselves to God and, Satra! weeping was on every Side, but how long will these impressions last.—For the Fruit of Righteousness is sown in peace of them that make peace: James 3/18

Wed. 10. the Glory of the Lord appears, my Soul is Kept in peace thro Jesus.—

Thur. 11. This day the Lord met with his people.

Frid. 12. I met at this place some of my Strange Brethren in the flesh, with Several other of the Oronoque Brethren, where I had an Opportunity of hearing from the work of the Lord in that part—(in) almost every Quarter of the Earth, in America the Glorious work of Methodism Seems to prosper.—I preached to this people at 11 O'clock, as I expected to preach again at 5 about 8 Miles above.—the Lord with power applied the Truth to the hearts of the Dear people. Several down whose cry was for Mercy. About 2 I left them after meeting of large Society. Thro much pain

I got to my second appointment where I found a little solemn attentive concourse of people to whom I cried, He that cometh to God must believe that He is and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him. Uncommon attention but no greater good perceivably done, by this my poor Nerves and whole system was relxt. Lord how is it, that my bodily Strength is so extraordinary.

Sat. 13. Bless God, his work seems to move progressively on. In the evening word came that I was to meet brother Paup at Bro. Myricks at his Evening Meeting. I attended but he never came. I endeavored to prove that the Son of Man came to Seek and to save that which was lost. I felt a heart full of love, for the dear People, but I know not whether there was any good done or not.

Sun. 14. I set out early for my next appointment (by the way I met with Bro. Paup, which gave me much Satisfaction,) at Oronoque Chapl. where the people in general flocks out to hear the Word of the Lord. I expect this Day will be held in remembrance thro Eternity, Several Souls Born to God; in the evening I rode 10 Miles and spoke to the dear Black Bretheren, which my Soul Delights to do. (Several White Bretheren came also) the Lord Jehovah was present to help in time of Need. I think a time of sweeter power I never saw. Several Souls I trust powerfully delivered from the Bondage of Eniquity.

Mon. 15. this day I preached a Funeral Sermon over Mr. W. on the South side Oronoque in Melenburge Co'y. I disremember whether ever I spoke to more attentive people in my travels or not, but no other incouragement. yet perceivable, God I believe stood uncommonly near to help the willing in heart; after Preach'g rode home with Sister Elexander, a Comfortable place for the poor Body. O how weak and feeble is my poor System. Lord, Strengthen thy Stripling, make him humble and faithful.

Tues. 16. this day I met a melting congregation of people, the Aweful presence of God was sweetly with us.—I

met the Class there, proceeded to speak to all such as was not of our Society, as is my general rule While I was Speak'g to a young Woman, begging her never to persecute the people of God again, her heart bursted into an Agony of Distress, the Dear Lord speedily came to her relief. In a few Moments a poor Backslider Professed to be reclaimed. My Soul Rejoices every hour of my life when Zion Prospers.

Wed. 17. this Day I thank God, his dear presence was in every heart almost; in the Evening we had a comfortable Prayer Meeting. my Soul grows in Grace Daily, bless God.

Thur. 18. Rode 10 or 12 miles where I met a few Solemn People, a time of love, one Soul born to God, in the Evening Watch or night an uncommon power of Darkness oppos'd us. Several Mourners, but no deliverance.

Fri. 19. a small concourse of people. I strove to meet the Class. O how sweet the Lord filled my cup.—O for more faith and love, at the feet of my Master I dedicate my little all.

Sat. 20 this day my Soul feels grief from Various Quarters. 1. Satan hath Defiled some of the dear children of God 2, an Uncommon coldness among the Bretheren. O how short the Professors of Godliness are of Watching unto Prayer and continuing in the same with Thanksgiving—in the evening held Meeting at a Neighboring Sisters House, the Prayers of the Saints was Jointly sent up to God. We had a little Time of love.

Sun. 21 this Sabbath I met a large concourse of People at this place I was inform'd the people behaved uncommonly bad.—When I was about to introduce my Discourse (which was from Rom. 2:41—2) I cautioned them and begged their attentions, declaring unto them the beauty of Solemnity and attention, both in the Antient and the Young.—Thus I proceeded to my Doctrine, and was much comforted in declareing unto (them) the Word of Truth.—I disremember that I saw but one Soul, but appeared to be thoughtful of Eternal things (this Man is bent to opose, having neither

Wit manners nor breeding.) One of our pious Brothers strove to Reconcile him (by reasoning) but the Satan was raised, until our bro. told him, the Law was made for the Lawless and not the Righteous, which stopped him, I believe from further Mischief. I met part of the Class and Jesus met there with us.—Rode home with Bro. Joseph Speed, Melenburge, comfortable Accomodations for the body.

Mon. 22. this morning my mind is much Disordered, that God may burst the cloud and keep me humble, rode to my Stage where I found twice as many as I really expected; to whome I cried, the Snare is broken and we are escaped; weeping was on every side, many good and Divine impressions upon Antient and Young, but O how long will these impressions last.

Tues. 23. this morning the weather is very warm. I rode Several Miles and spoke with much inability of soul and body; after preaching, I held Love feast and a time of love indeed. Lord carry on thy works. Amen.

Wed. 24. at this time I bless God for a prospect of a revival of religion in general around this Circuit.

Thur. 25. a time of Power among Saints and Sinners.

Frid. 26. here our Dear honest Hearted bro. Seward broke the yoke of oppression from off of his poor Slaves. O that God may make it a growing work. Lord, I trust for more faith and love. This Evening Bro Minter Deacon of Brunswick Co came to Quarter with me on his way to our Q. M. It was a time of love and great power.—He shew me some of his Journals which was rendered very Satisfactory to me, his manner of Journaling gives me a more profitable idea. I must acknowledge my Journal carries but little of my own Spiritual Exercise with it, but for the future I feel resolved to Write more in full.

Saturday 27. This morning we set out for Roanoak Q. M.—a large concourse of people. Bro. Minter preached from these words of the Apostle, Grow in grace—and a time

of grace indeed. Several souls born to God. In the Application my poor Soul broke out in strong desire his perfect will to prove. O what a time of Joy to my heart it was—a heaven begun below—not a cloud did arise to darken the Skies or hide for one Moment my Lord from mine Eyes. This evening we (the preachers) stayed at old Sister Clantons—a time of Grace to our dear Souls.

Sunday 28. at 9 Oclock the love feast began, the house of the Lord was crowded with Christians, a feast of love indeed—the dear Lord soon met with us, which occurred to my Mind the year of Jubilee. Christians filled with the presence of God, Mourners a lying at the pool and Jehovah aperfecting his Saints below—in this time my Soul was filled with anxiety for the Kingdom—praise God my Soul and forget not all his Benefits.

Monday 29. rode home with bro. Cooke. this day my Soul is measurably stayed on the Lord.

Tuesday 30. Much backwardness and dullness of Soul, this state as urksome to me as Dungeon is to the poor Malefactor—bless God, when the people began to approach the House of Prayer my Soul began to breake its gloome, a few happy Souls. I Lectured from Isaiah. 35:50, a time of refreshment from the presence of the Lord. I felt as commonly happy, and feel at present bound for the Cilistial Country.

Wednesday July 1. This morning many are my afflictions of Soul. but I confide in my dear Jesus—Lord help an helpless worm that hangs upon Thee.

Thursday 2. this morning my poor heart and the Corruption thereof raised more against my Soul. I set out for my next stage, where I found a few Precious waiting Souls; I was much more comforted here than I expected. The Class seems to be unstable, and the Enemy of Souls, looses no opportunity but seeks every advantage to scatter tare and slay—in the Evening rode to Bro. B. T. where I met with my dear precious bro. H. Jones, a Deacon, and dear bro. H.

Burchet an Assistant. O how good it is for preachers and People to enjoy Christian Conferences together. Several of the Neighbouring people came out, we had prayer, the Lord wonderfully met with us, 3 or 4 Souls born to God, bless God my soul seems uncommonly drawn out after Sinners. I have late information for Bartie & Portsmouth Circuits—the Lord is at work. O how doth God work in Spite of all the united powers of Earth and Hell.—

Friday 3. this morning the Spirit is willing but the flesh is weak. Lord give Strength for the Day.—Now my Bro's set out for their different Stages, my Soul bids them God speed. I am now Seated in my little apartment for private devotion—a small concourse of people met me, the Lord visited us with power, the Shouts of Israels camp, the cry of the wounded Spirit was heard afare off—in Family pray(er) the Lord came and Delivered one precious Soul.

Saturday 4. this Morning my Soul enjoyed sweet union with God—after riding Several Miles I found my people awaiting for me to whome I cried, The Snare is broken and we have escaped: at this place I felt bound in Spirit.

Sunday 5 this morning I Met a Black class of about 25 Members, a time of Gods power—my Soul was much blessed indeed among my poor outcast of Men—after this rode to the Loground Ch: a large Number of Souls met me to whome I cried, Ye will not come unto me that Ye might have life. Sinners appeared to be very hard—after preaching I took Horse for Sister Clarkes, but was turned back by a heavy rain—the people still continued within the Ch: we sang and prayed, now the Lord broke into our Souls a time of love indeed—thence I took horse the second time but got very wet, but I know not the Prejudice it may prove to my body—my Constitution is much impaired—if I never was to preach again while I live, I never should be the Man in Constitution as I have formily been. O that I had Seven more Youths I'de Spend them all (thro. grace) for God.

Monday 6. at this place the Lord hath never failed bless-

ing the people Yet.—I sang and prayed but the Lord overpowered my Soul with such a Divine Sense and Measure of his fullness, that I was incapable of preaching,—great was our Comfort and consolation—my Soul about this time feels an uninterrupted peace with my Jesus.

Tuesday 7. much hardness attend the people, at this place I felt much drawn out after their Souls. Lord revive thy work.

Wednesday 8. at 12 oclock I bury'd a Man that died on Roanoke in a Vessel.—the Evening I spoke again at Sister Peets. I strove to shew the Rise and Progress of True Christianity.—

Thursday 9. My Soul seemed to be under a Cloud, the presence of the Lord makes every Cloud to Breake, and disperses every Gloom.

Friday 10. this morning the Sea is Still great in my peace and Constitution.

Saturday 11. here I took horse for my next Stage, a few happy people, I preached from Ye know the Peace of the Lord &c—the raptures of the poor Saints was glorious to hear.

Saturday 12. this day I met a large Concours of people. I spoke from Rom. 4. down to 12. The place was awful because of the presence of the Lord—my Soul was amply imprest with an awful nearness of the Judgment—O when shall this body of dust and my Intellectual Spirit be Separated, when shall my Triumphant Soul return to God. Its my thought at the last day when the restitution of all things shall be that the Holy Sanctified spirits shall arise, our dead bodys Shall arise, every particle of our dust shall be raised a Spiritual Body. O then Shall my Redeemed Spirit cry out and Say Yonder is the Body which carried my Soul so many weary steps, yonder is the body that commenced a Capital Ware, in my members and Spirit, this is the body I was weary of, but now it is a Spiritual body, now it is a Holy body. Now it is a Glorious body. Hail thou, once Mortal but now Immortal Body. Hail, all Hail my Eternal

Silistial Household. Now I feel perfect Union with you, enter into thy Palace, and redouble thy reunion. Now I am safe and now I am happy. Not a rival of the least Impurity. 4 Souls Born to God today.

Monday 13. this morning a few words past, introduced the subject of Slavery. I was much opposed to the (same). I felt much disconsolate. Now took horse for my next stage—a number of precious dear Souls to whome I cryed Submit Yourselves therefore unto God. &c. the God of Heaven was there—crying and shouting was on every Side. One dear Soul, I hope, borne again, my Soul was overshadowed with the awful Danger that Sinners contentively risks themselves in. My Cup was a mixture. Evening rode home with bro Baugh—great is my warfare—indeed heir of this flesh and body of corruption where shall I obtain Victory.

Tuesday 14. this morning the way appears very narrow indeed and few there be that find it. Lord may the least of all thy Servants find some humble seat beneath the Brides exalted feet. Rode to my appointment where I found a large concourse of people awaiting for the word of the Lord. To whome I cryed, “Ye know the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ” &c. Many deeply distressed for the Kingdom of God.

Wednesday 15. this day the Lord powerfully met with his little flock—a time of deep distress with Sinners—an overflowing time of love with the Christians, here my Soul tasted the Tree of life. O that I could drop every thought and word as in the presence of Jesus my great and Eternal Judge of Quik and Dead.

Thursday 16. this day my Soul enjoys a measure of Gods presence, it is my Study to live daily for God & the good of Souls—it is my longest grief that my life is no more useful.

Friday 17. rode to my appointment where I joyfully met with Bro. Henry Ogburn an Itinerant Preacher—he spake from these words.—Strive to enter in at the straight gate,

for many shall seek to enter in and shall not be able—a Seasonable time of Grace—this Evening I went with bro. Ogburn to see the wife of our Old Bro. O’Kelly Presiding Elder Virginia—going to prayer before we went away the Lord powerfully blest my Soul—upon our return to bro. T. Jones’s an eminent place for religion, we had a Consort of Musick, O how sweet and melodious transport’g and animating it was. but O if this be so inexpressible glorious, what hight of rapture shall we know when round his throne we meet.

Saturday 18. this Morning I parted Bro. O and out for my other oppoint—a few people met me to whome I cryed Submit Yourselves therefore to God &c. I (had) little or no liberty in speaking, only a burning fury in my Soul against blood and oppression—would to God the abominable custom was buried in Eternal forgetfulness—met the Class, a time of inspeakable joy to my Soul—this being the Eighteenth day of the Month which Night of every Month I have covenanted to watch and pray untill 12 Oclock. It was a time of uncommon Consolation to my Soul. O how little of watchery unto prayer is found among our bretheren. Lord give diligence to our dear people. Heaven drop the Divine Nature into our dear peoples Souls.

Sunday 19. this day I spoke to a lage attentive Congregation of People—a time of love in Class Meeting. I want more grace and every Qualification for the great Ministry of the Lord.

Monday 20. a few hearers—little or no light or liberty in speaking—happy Class meeting. bless the Lord for this privilege, it is worth Millions. this Evening I feel a Strength in my Soul for more of the Nature of God to be instamped within me—Lord make me wise to win souls to thee—help Lord.

Tuesday 21. this morning I feel the capital need for a closer walk with God.—rode to my next Stage—a few people Met me to whome I cryed “The Son of Man has come to

Seek and to Save that Which is Lost"—the Lord was present—a melting time in our Class Meeting—my Soul was much refreshed to find the little flock progressively moving forward.

Wednesday 22. I feel the great need of faith and love, which is Essentially necessary to bare up a Soul under all the Difficulties of this mortal Life. A few attentive people met me to whome I cryed, He that love life and See good Days let him refrain his tongue from evil and his lips that they speak no guile &c. Nothing great done here because of Unbelief—happy Class Meeting—by this time my bodily strength fails me, my Soul loaths this body of clay—Lord stir me to double my Diligence for Heaven, and for the profit of Souls.

Tuesday 23. this morning my mind is much wondring—may God, who never fails them who trust him, break every Obstruction, and let my Soul be staid up (on) his lovely breast—rode to my appt. where I met with a large concourse of people, to whom I cryed, what is man that Thou art mindful of him or the Son of man that thou so visits him—a time of power, happy Class meeting. Met the Children—their little hearts milted with sorrow, bless God for the lively prospect we have with the little ones. Lord carry it on.—evening the dear black bretheren began to sing as they ware in their cottage. I went to join them, we went to prayer—two of them prayed, much to the purpose, the Lord soon visited them in an uncommon manner—my Soul felt as if Heaven was just then at hand, bless God if I mistake not I never met with these people in my life, but God blest my Soul with them—I fear many bloody oppressors heart will get hardened thro the deceitfulness (of) that accursed Sin.

Friday 24. I feel, I thirst, I breathe for more of the mind of my Master. rode to my appointment where I found the people awaiting, to whome I cryed Our Souls is Escaped &c. Ps: 124.7. the Lord was powerfully near, the place felt awful because of his presence, my Soul was much comforted

in class,—thence I met the Dear little Children, I began with prayer, the Lord powerfully operatd upon their little Minds, a outery began among them for Mercy and so continued untill God sweetly and visibly Delivered two of their Young souls. O the Sweet Shout that Christians Echoed to God and the Lamb for his kind presence to heal their little Children. In the Evening met the Black people. O what a time of Grace this was to my Soul, many of the dear blacks power fully wrought upon, whose cry was for Mercy. Here God converted another little dear Child. My Joy in the Holy Ghost was inexpressible, my heart was filled with Tender-ness, here my poor body began to fail me.

Saturday 25. this morning I take horse for my next Stage—on my way I met with one of our Representatives Clo J. J.: after a few sentences of political matter we turned upon Ecclesiastical matter—he soon opened his Sentiment concerning the Abominable Custom of Slavery—a great advocate for blood—we soon parted—little or no Satisfaction—So I met my people, here I visibly felt the effects of Last Evenings Mgs. I spoke from Saint Lukes G. Ch. 19.10. a great time and season of grace indeed to my Soul and I hope to many others—this Evening I rode to bro. M. M. where I met with dear bro. Paup—great was our union with God and each other while together.

Sunday 26. we parted and repaired to our Different Stages—this day great was the concours of people which I spoke unto from Rom. 2, 4. 12. very happy was the dear people in general—one Soul born again. a tolerable degree of peace now rests on my poor insignificant Soul. Lord make more watchful, more Holy, more humble, more pious, and more useful.

Monday 27. this morning my mind is much perplexed by reason of some Temporal Business. I take Horse for my next Stage, where I found considerable Number of Souls awaiting, to whome I cryed wilt thou be made whole—a sweet time among the Christians. I felt as if God would

make some of them whole in a little time. Met the Class—the Lord came—Healed one precious Soul. O how my Soul rejoice—Now I tooke Horse to Meet the presid'g Elder, for our Diocese—by the way I caled in upon one of our Bros. W. A. and took a little refreshment, thence we approached his throne to aske a blessing upon our parting—Jesus came and sweetly water'd our little Spirits.

Tuesday 28. this morning I feel in some measure discompos'd. rod with Bro. G to hear my father in the Gospel preach, (I. G.) his text was, And he came unto his own. and Satra. the people seemed to be much blesed. after preaching Sister W. distressed much my poor Soul, by mentioning an old, infamous report over again which the Devil about 12. months ago was pleased to raise, upon me. I felt very much discompos'd that Evening thro: rode to Bro. E. B. I still felt very unhappy, much tempted that not one of the Bretheren loved me as formerly, I sunk under dejection, I could not forbare but opened my Mind and Temptations, to my dear Bretheren. I proved the Devil to be an infamous liar. In family prayer the Lord came and broke the cloud of Hell. O how Sweetly my Soul rejoiced in the Holy one of Israel. God be thanked for his Grace is freely bestowed on such a worm as me.

Wednesday, 29. Today I rode to hear my Dear old Bro. Okelly preach—a large audience of people indeed, his text in Habikuk 3.17.18.—a time of the outpouring of the Spirit of the Lord upon the people, my Soul felt a sweet peace in time of Sacrament. Rode that evening with my old bro. to Sister Ms—great was our Consolation indeed.

Thursday 30. this morning I set on Horse for my Circuit again—the rain soon began to fall—many ware my Exercises on the way—the rain continually falling for about 23 or 4 Miles. I was much lost at times not being acquainted with the way: so I was water wet. the effects of it I soon felt but the Lord ever provides—O for grace to keep me humble.

Friday 31. this Morning I feel much disordered in body

—took Horse for my next Stage—here I found many of my old Bartie Bretheren from fare to see me. I was scarcely able to preach yet God gave me strength for the day—a time of grace with the people of God. I was measurably happy but as common.

Saturday August 1. this morning I find a struggle within for more gospel grace. Took Horse for my next Stage where I found a number of precious Souls awaiting to hear the word of the Lord to whome I cryed, the Lord oppeneth the Eyes of the Blind, the Lord Raiseth them that are bowed down, the Lord loveth the Righteous—the people called Methodist, in the low Grounds of Meheren, are so prejudiced, against the Doctrine of truth Mercy and Justice, that the fire of Zeal is nearly extinct. Oppression, that hateful name, how my Soul is burdened with the accursed Sight—about this time I had a Sharpe Dagger to my heart, the narrow hearted professors a backbiting and a slandering the preachers. O that poor blind Bro. A. J. that declares to prove bro. P a lyar, and to shut the Church door against him.—Good Lord forgive him, he knows not what he does or says.—well might our Lord say will ye also go away, may God keep me humble, and take me to his Self before I ever fall into that abominable Spirit of Blood.—if ever I get rich through Slavery I shall esteem myself a Traitor, and claim a part in Hell with Judas, and the rich glutton—I feel an Holy Ambition again Blood, blood, blood. O how it cryes from the ground up to God against the poor Antichristian.

Sunday 2. rode to the Lowgions Cr. A nummerous Congregation indeed but their blind angry prejudices dissaffected the word. I strove to speake against that Spirit of Slandering, backbiting, gain saying and Evil Speaking, one of and against another. O how the poor hand hung and no one to bare it up, neither to strengthen the feeble Ne'k. While speaking the vehemency of the weather and the weakness of my body overcame me so that I sunk in the desk—there sat one of our good pious brothers who stood up and spoke

in my place, "Help Lord for that Godly Man ceaseth; for the faithful fail from among the Children of Men"—Took Horse for the dear good Sister Clark (a mother in Israel) we were occasioned by a cloud to call in upon bro. Cl. where my soul was heavy oppressed with sorrow and grief to see the result of prejudice—he showed me a piece which he lately wrote against bro. P. Sermon Preached at or in the Lowgroune Church,—I will Extol thee, O Lord. for thou hast lifted me up and hast not mademy foes to rejoice, over me, thou art my rock and my fortress; therefore for thy Names sake lead me and guide me, for into thy hand I commit Spirit, for thou hast redeemed me O lord God of Truth, —O how great is thy goodness which hast laid up for all them that fear thee. O love the Lord all ye his Saints for the Lord praiseth the faithful. Good is the will of the Lord.

Monday 3. this Morning the Lord is near at hand and not afare off—happy time indeed with the Christians, Class meeting a time of great Grace,—my Soul felt the Holy Sanctifying Streams of love, unspeakable happy, praise God of my Soul, and all and every power, every faculty, every Substance, within me praise the Lord,—In the Evening most uncommonly and powerfully Tempted—I rarely ever get very happy but soon after I feel Some thing as severe all most as the Darts of Hell to my (heart).

Tuesday 4. Took horse this Morning for my next Stage, a bout a Douzin of my near and dear Methodist Bretheren with me; it was rather late when I reached my Stage by reason of a Shower of rain. I was much comforted to find more people than I ever saw at this place before. I cryed unto them the Snare is broken &c. Many and loud was the cryes of the dear people for Mercy. I dont remember whither I ever saw so general impression to the Number of people in all my Circuits. the Lord prosper it but who can tell how long this may stand. Rode home with Sister Peete. my Soul seems measurably happy, but my whole Sistem of Nature Seems to be relaxed.

Wednesday 5. this Morning my body is much disordered but bless God my Sould can truly say that good is the will of the Lord. Now the people began to gather, to whome I cryed,—Wilt thou be made whole—? I strove by the grace of God to inform the peoples judgements of the nature of their Souls, its faculties and essence. 2. I strove to open the wound in this Soul. 3. pointed the phician his means of recovery. 4. what was imployed in being made whole, and lastly inforst the important Question, wilt thou be made whole? Weeping was on every side, I believe God is about to revive his work among sinners. Class Meeting, 5 or 6 down crying bitterly for Mercy. O how is it that my poor Body holds up with that degree of Strength as what it really does. In my evenings Prayer and Meditation I felt a struggle in my Soul for victory. I thought if I fought untill the Mid watch of the Night—I was resolved not to give up the point. It was not many minutes after before I felt as if Hell received a heavy reproof—the Lord Jesus appeared in his beauiiful picture. his Countenance ravished my heart, his presence made all within me rejoice. O he fills me. It fills me. My Dear Jesus you have gained my heart. O that I may be humble.

Thursday 6. this Morning I took horse for my next Stage where I found a few Souls awaiting to hear the word of the Lord, to whome I cryed for ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ &c. I think happier people I never saw in general than these, they are a teachable people, God loves them for their Simplicity and their labours of Love. O my Soul was in raptures beyond Expression, infinitely Happy, While Jesus reigns so lovely in my poor unworthy heart—I am at a loss for language to express my God, in such wonders as he discovers unto me a poor insignificant Worm of the Earth.

Friday 7. I arose with a heart fild with Struggles for more grace—my body thro the effects of much and hard preaching calls aloud for more of the sweet presence of the

helper of the Helpless. I have ever made it a point of Conscience to fast on this day, but oft times feel the weighty effects of the same prejudicial to my Preach'g. I took horse for my next Stage where I found many precious Souls waiting for the precious word of the Gospel.—To whom I cried many are the Afflictions of the Righteous but the Lord delivereth him out of them all; a season of Grace indeed. Met the Class with much weakness of body and took Horse for eveg appointment.—where I met several of my dear old friends which I had not Seen for a considerable Span of time. I preached a coniderable and then rode 5 or 6 Miles to lodge, by this my poor body was well nigh Spint. Yet bless God my Soul was kept as a marracle of grace happy in Gods Holy love—from my feelings I did not Expect to rest scarcely any that evening but honour to God a sweeter nights rest I rearly ever enjoy—the Next Morning rose happy in Soul and took horse for my next Stage with my Bro. & Sister M with me. We had an Uncommon (time) of Grace and love indeed, Jesus was there, my Soul felt a fresh spring for Glory. after Meeting Class to Horse to meet Bro Minter at our bro. M. M. where we by Appt. meet once in 2 weeks—I bless God it was Sanctified an Infinite blessing to my poor Soul. Lord let me be one of the Humble and Meek that shall see the great Glorious Kingdom of God.

Sunday 9. This day I spoke to a large Audience of people,—my Soul was much blessed in Speaking—uncommon attention—a great Time of love, I trust long to be remembered. Rode for 10 Miles to rest. The rain came upon me and wet me considerable but bless God—my often geting wet never proved very fatal as yet.

Monday 10. this Morning I feel much disordered—my poor little Tenament much impaired. Lord stand by. I spoke from these words of Saint Paul—Blest of him are you in Christ Jesus etc. Uncommon hardness attened the people, happy Class Meeting, 2 Souls born again.

Tuesday 11. Rode to my next Stage where generally

many dear People attends on the word of the Lord. I spoke from Jno. 5-6. great attention rested among the people, a time of great power—weeping on every side. Persecution arose very warmly.—in all of this time I felt an uncommon love for the precious Souls of my dear fellow mortals. we had a general Struggle for and with Sinners.

Wednesday 12. this Morning I arose with prayer in my heart to God, but was much oppressed with Heaviness and Sorrow. Took horse for my next Stage, called in and breakfast with Dear bro T. L.—we joined in prayer to give God the Glory of all things. I felt something of the presence of my Master on my way to my next Stage, I felt very Solemn and Awful. about 12 oclock I reached my people awaiting.—after introducing the worship with praise, we with one consent joined in prayer—how the Lord was pleased to break into my poor Soul with power. A sweet time in Class Meeting—I was infinitely in my God. Rode home (this Evening) with dear bro. A. G. a dear Holy Man of God—as we rode, we conversed about Politicall and Spiritual Matter. we particularly observed the reality of religion, and that faithfulness was Required, as an Excellent grace or Qualification to resist Hell in all its attempts. So we freely opened hearts and minds to each other—here was a doore for every fals Imagination to be removed.—O that God may give me grace always to act to his Glory. Amen.

Thursday 13. this Morning I felt barren, the Need of a continual looking unto God.—Lord give Strength—I must now prepare to meet my Adversary and poor Sinners, to reason and fight for my Master. Took horse for my Stage, found a few dear people waiting for me. Text was Psa. 146. 8. The Lord openeth the Eyes of the blind; the Lord raiseth them that are bowed down, the Lord loveth the Righteous—Great was our consolation of Spirit. Rode home with Bro. H., his children wicked around him.—my Spirit felt in a measure bound in Soul—no place of retirement—my Soul was hungry.—I strove to pray as I sat in my chair. So

persued my business of writing—compleating my little System of Divinity.—this Eveng Bro. E. T. came to see me—much Comfort and Satisfaction in Eveng Meditation.—Retired back to the house—Family prayer came on, my Soul was uncommonly led out after the fullness of God: several young people (wicked)—O what a feeling God gave me for them, I prayed and warned them faithfully, and so lay me down to rest—but the next Morn. they arose and left the house before prayer. I hope the Spirit of God will not leave nor forsake them.

Friday 14. this Morning I felt more than commonly weak in body. As usual I fast and pray fervently this day of the weak for Zions general prosperity. I took horse with much weakness of body for Bro. T. T. where our good pious Sister Jones lives, but few people to hear me. I spak from Psa: 34—a season of grace indeed. Met the little class—the sweet presence of the Lamb was there—after preaching and class I fell into discourse with Sister S. J. about Sanctification—that blessed work—may God spread it thro America. She shew me many of her letters from our preachers & people which began to cindle flame of desire in my Soul for more of the Mind of my dear well beloved, amongst which she shewed me one of dear Bro. Okelly's Journals for the year 86—in the Evening I retired to read it and to embrace prayer and Meditation—O how was it, my Soul leaped as an heart within me for joy, whin I have clear view of the God—blest Itinerant plan, the progress of our building here below, my Soul is lost yea lost I say again, lost for language to declare the Unutterable Joy of Heaven in my heart.—O that God ever take such an insignificant dust as me, and put me into this most glorious work. Lord how shall I praise thee.

Saturday 15. this morning my poor Soul is happy yea happy beyond expression—took horse for the Next Stage, Old Bro. Easters, Sister Jones with me. Bro. Samuel Young a young convert set out to take a tower round the Circuit with me. O that God may Sancitify an infinite

Blessing to his dear Soul. Lord help me to lay the Example before him. I arrive to my Stage—a few dear people waiting for the word to whome I cryed. the Snare is broken and Satra The Lord was present with us in Class M'g. Rode home with dear Bro. C. Some comfort in my Evening Meditation—Family prayer the Lord broke in in an uncommon Manner, upon our poor lean Souls—a time of rejoicing. Lay down to rest happy. Some time in the Night—I judge near the Middle watch—I awaked in raptures of Heaven by the sweet Echo of Singing in the Kitchen among the dear Black people (who my Soul loves). I scarcely ever heard anything to equal it upon earth. I rose up and strove to join them—ah—I felt the miserably weight of oppression intolerable upon my heart—while the proud whites can live in luxury and abomination making a mock of God and his word, the African upholds him by his Swet and labour of his willing hands—and if they serve the Lord God it must be in the dead of night when they ought to be taking rest to their bodys, O blood, blood how awful it Cryes up before God, against my poor unjust professing Bro—well I must have patience—hope God will work for his own Glory.

Sunday 16. this Morning my whole System of Nature seems to be confus'd. Took Horse for my Stage—large concourse of people. I felt umch indisposed to speak by reason of my indisposition of body, but I dare to refuse—great attention while I spoke from I Peter 4, 18. None misbehaved only 2 men that ware more like Ragamuffins, than Rational Men. I hope there will be fruit found at the last day.—Rode home with my good bro. and sister J. O. I felt uncommonly poorly. therefore I must needs Glory, I will Glory of the things which concern my infirmityes—for I have nothing whereof to glory outwardly. Noon will I pray unto my God for in God I have put my trust—I will not be afraid what Man can do unto me—this Evening I had a blessed Shower from Heaven as I lay up stairs musing on the Glorified State of the Saints—the dear Sister

below began singing these words—O that day when freed from living I shall see thy lovely face, Clothed in blood washed lining (sic), How I'll Sing thy Sovereign grace; it was like fire to a multitude of Powder. my Soul caught it as lightning, from thence I caught a Bro. just by and so the second untill we raised a shout to God—a time of power in family prayer. O how I felt for Sinners—O that dear Mother of mine—what a struggle I felt in my soul for her. I laid me down to rest in much pain of body.

Monday 17. this Morning as I awok I felt a rack all over my Nervous System. God give grace and Strength for the day—my labour is too hard for the strength of my body—I dont know that I have thought of living long in the sweet work but I wish to die in the cause. Yea sometime I wish to die in the Pulpit. I am now where I expect to preach today by the grace of God to a few simple hearted people—I spoke from these words, What is Man &c. Some degree of liberty but little (or) no good done. Sweet class Meeting—my Soul tasted the grace.

Tuesday 18. rode to my next Stage bro. T. & bro. O. with me, few people—I had some degre of liberty in speaking—I felt for Sinners, a time of love, bro. S. R. from Brunswick Ct. met the Class—this Eving we all had watch Night, good many people—I thought to have spoke but a little while, and so for my other bros. to have preached after me. I began a little after eight o'clock and spoke untill about half after Ten oclock. O how near the Lord laid sinners to my poor heart—Weeping was on every side yet none converted—about 2 oclock we got to rest. My soul is happy in God, sleeping or waking—Glory to my God—not a cloud doth arise to darken the skies or hide for one moment my lord from my eyes.

Wednesday 19. bro. Ogburn spoke for me—my body well nigh spent—a time of power indeed—in the evening to old Bro. Melones—here we had a season of grace.

Thursday 20. this morning I want to be swallowed up in

my God. after a little Breakfast I took a walk under the green shady Bowers and there spent the time in prayer and Meditation untill 12 O'clock, then repaired to face my enemy. To whome I cryed these be they who separate themselves, sensual, having not the Spirit. &c. people behaved badly. Several stayed in Class Meeting. Some join'd—here a poor black Man began to get happy with Shouting—a poor young backslider began to laugh at him, whome I sharply reprov'd and asked him if he was not ashamed and told him if it was me I would go out at the dore if I could not behave no better—he gave me a silly look gritted & gnashed his Teeth and out he went. I looked for him afterwards but could not find him.

Friday 21. this Morning I feel very much oppressed with peevisness of Spirit. Rode to my next appointment, but few people—to whome I cryed Ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ &c. happy Class Meeting—the Evening several blacks came to meet me, as they cannot come to preaching in the day they came out many of a night. the Lord pour'd down his Spirit on the dear people both white and black, a time of love indeed to my poor Soul. I felt God above me Soul and body.—O what a heaven I felt within.

Saturday 22. this Morning I feel uncommonly poorly by reason of the repeted effects of much and hard preaching night and day. Took horse for my next Stage—I found a few simple hearted people waiting to whome I cryed Submit yourselves therefore unto God &c. a Melting time indeed among the Christians: it was a weight of Gods love like Eternity. Sinners stood amazed and trembled, wept and pray'd, O how was it my Soul was so bountifully filled with God—this Evening rode to meet bro. Minter—with him came dear bro. H. Jones one of our travelling preachers, who was appointed to ride the Banks Ct. got part of his way, was taken Sick and returned again,—little bro. Pool with him, a young bro. that I hope my God will make a preacher—a seasonable time of grace, I hope longe to be Remembered.

Sunday 23. this Morning bro. Minter and myself met in Band—my Soul was much blest in the enjoyment of the Same. I have been often tempted, by the feeling of Nature and the many oppositions which arise from various Quarters that I was not fit to Stand or Speak for God.—that no preacher ever was so exercised and tempted as I was, but the Devil is a liar from the beginning. Every preacher finds his own trials which are many. Rode to my next Stage—Number of people—bro. Miles Green from B. Ct. Preached from these words—to make ready a people prepared for the Lord—a season of grace indeed. Meeting this Evening at bro. Droomgols. I began to speak on the goodness of God to Sinners in putting so many Privileges into their hands to make there calling and election sure—a time of power with my Soul.

Monday 24. took horse for my next Stage bro. M. G. with me. he spoke, strive to enter in at the straight gate &c. A great time of love among the people of God—here I parted with bro. M. G. and rode to my next Stage. Much soreness in my lungs.

Tuesday 25. few people—a hard Struggle for victory—at last the cloud broke and the people shouted—Lord carry on thy work among the people.

Wednesday 26. I preached at Hixes ford in the Court-house, few people No prospects—rode home with bro. Jno Myrick—happy this evening in prayer and Meditation. Family prayer—the Lord blessed almost every one in the House—a great power among the Blacks—may the Lord save them.

Thursday 27. this Morning I feel the need of faith and patience. Took horse for my next Stage, a few people, I spake from I Peter 3. 10. 11. 12. Happy time in the first prayer—a poor man sat as if he was nailed to the seat—I prayed for him sincerely—as Soon as prayer was over he took his hat and with resentment went home.—I hope God will follow him—this evening rode to bro. B. T.—met bro. H. P. from Bartie. Several of the friends and Sinners

came out to prayer—a time of the power of the Lord among the people, good News from every Quarter, the Lord's a binding Sinners to his Gospel Septre.—I bless God for the Measure of love I feel toward all Mankind for Christ Sake.

Friday 28. this day I expect to fast and pray. Preached and Exhort. with all long Sufferings, Sinners to come to God: a little time of love among the dear people of God. In the evening rode to bro. Sanreys, Bartie Circuit, Where I met a large congrragation, to whome I cryed what is Man that thou art mindful of him or the Son of Man that thou so visitest him—I divided it into three heads as follows,

1. thus to Show the primevial Rectitude of Man.
2. Consider Man in his state of apostasy.
3. Advance Som Scripture Demonstrations of the visitations of God to Man to bring him unto a State of acceptance again.

I opened the first proposition in a few Sentences—In opening the Second head, the Lord poured down his Spirit upon the people—a general outcry for Mercy and the Noise of the Shout of Joy. Soon over whelm'd (by) my preaching I sat me down and sweetly drank into the sweet spirit of peace, Righteousness, Joy and love. I felt an uncommon desire for Sinners to come to the knowledge of Truth and live. O how beautiful and how pleasant an aspect I saw with my eyes—Several small children happy in the Lord, aclaping their hands with shouts of Glory to the holy one of Israel.

Saturday 29. this Morning I feel but very poorly in my body—took Horse for my Circuit & Stage again, Several of the Dear Bertheren with me,—about 12 oclock I reached my Stage where I found a few precious Souls waiting for the word of the Lord. I went up stares as usual, but could not fix my mind upon any particular portion of Scripture to preach from—I went down and introduced the Solemn worship of God with Singing and prayer—after prayer these

words run through my mind with Spirit and life—Wilt thou be Made whole? Jno. 5-6. I opened it as follows,

1. I opened the wound in the Soul.
2. Pointed out the Phisician and his means of recovery.
3. I shewed what was imployed in being made whole.
4. Inforced the important Question Wilt thou be made

whole—a Small degree of Liberty in Speaking to the first and second heads of doctrine,—by this time my bodily strength failed me—this is Something that I cannot account for—when my Strength of body fails it cuts my ideas Short—we had a happy time in Class. Many sweet shouts of Glory to God: after preaching took Horse and rode to bro. Ms.—many was my exercises this Evening—I began to read the Journal of dear Bro. J. Mintern one of our travelling preachers—it was the first part of his Journal from his Cradle to Manhood and thence to conviction repentance unto Salvation, and to his Calls to preach the Gospel of Christ. It attracted my Spirit and finding Something that bore a witness in my Soul of the reality thereof, that it was rendered an Infinite blessing to my Soul. I retired among the silent groves to meet with Jesus, to read the Journal, pray and Meditate—I found time so sweet and precious, that the silent watches of that night Agt 28&9 witnesseth the Integrity of my Importunity with God. In this sweet space of time several of the Young Sisters also retired in private devotion to God, but was soon filed with raptures of praise to God, so that the sound thereof was heard afare off.

Sunday 30. this morning I find many conflicts with the Enemy. Took horse for my Stage where a large Number of souls appeared with decency—I Spoke from Jude. 19. 20. 20. In my Introduction I shewed the rise and fall of our old Church—basted the Hireling well by the grace of God.—I did not feel the least touch of the fear of men of Devils—and then proceeded to shew the authenticity of our Church, its foundation—Its maker and builder is God. 2ndly Shewed the Separatest Sensual having not the Spirit. 3rdly but

Ye beloved building up yourselves. &c. the Strength of my body was well nigh spent. I called upon one of our pious bros. to conclude but he did not speak long before the Measure of his cup was filled with Joy so that he could not stand—by this time the Lord was all over the church—I called for bro. F. C. to go to prayers. O the outpouring of the Spirit of the (Lord) was great:—the dear black people was filled with the power & spirit of God and began with a great Shout to give Glory to God—this vexed the Devil. He entered into the cruel whitemen with violence (who) eagerly ran into the Church with sticks clubs and caines—abeating and abusing the poor Slaves them outcast of Men for praising of God—O America how she groans under the burden of Slavery—Remark—a Magestrate, that has take the oath, was the Instagator of it—with his bloody hand Stretched out against God and in the hands of Satan his father strives to prevent the worke of the Lord and establishes vice and Immorality. I hope God will by Some turn of providence remove him from his office and replace another.—With bitter oaths and gnashing of teeth he put up a prayer that we the preachers was all in Some Miserable Infernal Place. I think he ought to be presented and oncommissioned!—What think Ye? I think if ever I saw happy people it was today under persecution—O the tears, screams, crys and groans for the wicked it was awful.—I looked out at the window while I stood at the desk and behold: a poor black bro. lucked me in the face, with bursting grief tears of blood, roling down his bruised face, and cried, this is what I have got for praising of my dear Jesus.—It reached my poor heart, I begged him to bare it for Christ Sake, he would Soon (if he was faithful) be out of the reach of their Clubs—O how can I rest when I see my bro unhumanely intreated. O America, America; blood and oppression—will be thy overthrow. So I took horse for my next Stage—this Evening thro Mercy I safely arrived there with Several more of the Bretheren.—When our Horses and bodys was comfortably refreshed—thence

I retired with bro. C. H. & T. C. for private devotion—the Lord met with us in a sweet manner.—We had a Smart combat with the Enemy—at last Jesus crowned bro. C. H. with victory—he cryed out Victory, Victory and Jesus, I have Seen thee. Let the Earth drink my blood before ever I submit to captivatee by the Devil.—we still rasled in prayer to God—in a few minutes bro. F. C. broke thro and rejoiced in God his Saviour with Raptures unspeakable.—while the Spirit of victory bid my feeble Soul to fear not—I felt a little Heaven within—peace sweetly Harmonizing every power—O Jesus keep me more humble and give me more grace, O could I find some swifter way to gloryfy my dear Master—my every prayer diligently be employed to his New and living work. Supper was set, and then family prayer. O how Jesuses sweet lovely features attracted my whole Souls attention—I gazed upon him with unspeakable delight. O how all Nature rejoiced with my Soul. I laid me down to rest with Jesus in my Soul

Monday 31. this Morning I awoked in the sweet spirit of peace, the first thing every Morning after puting on my Appal. is to pay my vows unto the Lord. I must now lay down my pen to prepare for publick preaching.—a few people to whome I cryed ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ &c—a time of love and power among the Christians—happy class Meeting. I have so often observed the blessed Effects of the class Meeting that I highly esteem it, one of the richest pastures we enjoy—it appears if we were not to enjoy that privilege our people (would) soon be a lump or body of formality.

HISTORICAL PAPERS

Published by the Trinity
College Historical Society



SERIES X

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

1914

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PREFATORY NOTE

The three essays in this series of Historical Papers are the work of members of the Trinity College Historical Society. The first two were written by members of the class of 1914 of Trinity College and the third by the Professor of History in that institution. For most of the manuscript of James Meacham's Journal and Travel the Historical Society is indebted to Mr. G. N. Meacham of Atlanta, Ga.

WM. K. BOYD,
For the Committee on Publication.

October 1, 1914.

HISTORICAL PAPERS

SERIES X

Reconstruction in Cleveland County

BY J. R. DAVIS

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I. ORIGIN AND DESCRIPTION OF CLEVELAND COUNTY

During the session of the Legislature of North Carolina in the year 1841, Dr. W. T. Miller of Rutherford County introduced a bill to form a new county, to be formed partly from Rutherford and partly from Lincoln counties.¹ By the assistance of Honorable Michael Hoke and John Bunyan of Lincoln County the bill passed the legislature.² The new county was named Cleveland in honor of Colonel Benjamin Cleveland of Wilkes County; and the county seat, Shelby, in honor of Colonel Isaac Shelby. Both of these gentlemen played an important part in the battle of Kings Mountain, October 7, 1780.³

The purpose in chartering the new county was to enable

¹ Dr. Miller was a very wealthy physician who lived in the southern part of the territory taken from Rutherford County to help form Cleveland. After being successful in getting a charter for the new county, he represented Cleveland in the legislature for several terms.

² See Chapter 9, Laws 1840-'41, of North Carolina.

³ See Draper's *"King's Mountain and its Heroes."*

the people of the lower part of Rutherford and the western part of Lincoln to have a Court House and common meeting place of their own. The territory of Rutherford and Lincoln was so large that many of the inhabitants were too far away from the Court House. The people in the territory which is now Cleveland had been complaining for quite a while. As early as 1836 a mass meeting of all the citizens of lower Rutherford and western Lincoln met to petition the legislature for a new county. The following account of the meeting appeared in the *Carolina Gazette*, of Rutherford County, edited by Gray Bunyan:—

“A numerous assemblage of the citizens of the lower part of Rutherford County and the upper part of Lincoln County convened at the dwelling house of Teator Beam on Thursday, September 22, for the purpose of consulting together upon the expediency of petitioning to the next General Assembly for redress of their grievances so long endured by reason of the extent of territory composing the two counties and the consequent remoteness from their respective Court Houses, whereupon the meeting was organized by appointing George Cabaniss, Esq., chairman, and William Roberts secretary. On motion of Dr. W. J. T. Miller a committee of six from each county was appointed to take the subject into consideration, to wit: John Niell, James S. Oates, John Roberts, Robert Falls, Joshua Beam, and William Graham on the part of Lincoln County, Samuel Bailey, Yancey Reisendine, Thomas Roberts, Isaac I. Irvine, George Cabaniss, and William Covington for the County of Rutherford, who reported that the secretary prepare a petition to be presented to the citizens of said counties for their signatures and that the same be laid before the ensuing General Assembly praying that a new county be established, beginning on the South Carolina line at a point so that a line due north will strike the mouth of second Broad River, thence a direct line to Burke line so as to pass near the cross roads at John Smith's and thence by Seretzie's, thence with the Burke line to the Lincoln line, thence to the South Carolina line running near Thomas Black's, Isaac White's, William Cloteese's on Crowder's Creek, thence with the South Carolina line to the beginning. Which report being unanimously concurred in, the proceedings were ordered to be published in the “Carolina Gazette” and the “Lincoln Transcript” for the space of thirty days.

GEORGE CABANISS, *Chairman*,
WILLIAM ROBERTS, *Secretary*,
October 6, 1836.”⁴

⁴ A copy of this petition was secured from Mrs. T. C. Borders, who had in her scrap book a newspaper clipping which contained the petition.

The assemblage of citizens above mentioned must have been the genesis of Cleveland County history. The members of that meeting deserve to be remembered, for their efforts were awarded in 1841 by the grant of a charter for the new county.

Cleveland lies in the southwestern part of the State. It is bounded on the south by the South Carolina line, on the west by Rutherford and McDowell counties, on the north by Burke County, and on the east by Lincoln and Gaston counties. The area of the county is four hundred and twenty square miles, or 268,800 acres.

The general slope of the county is to the south. The surface is somewhat rolling, especially in the northern part, where small chains of mountains are found. The most level portion is in the southern part. The soil is generally sandy, especially in the level sections.

The county is dotted with streams, such as rivers, creeks, and spring brooks. Many of these streams have been harnessed and are generating much power—power which is utilized in running cotton gins, factories, corn mills, etc. The valleys along these streams abounded in early days with many herds of fleet-footed deer, dens of clumsy brown bears, fierce wild cats and panthers, and many beavers built their dams on the creeks. These beavers were responsible for the name Beaver Dam as applied to the western section of the County.

Transportation facilities were exceedingly poor in the early years of the county,—there being no good highways nor railroads. The first dirt road of any consequence to be established across the county was laid off in 1852. The road from Lincoln County via Froenberger's Paper Mill to the upper Island's Ford and thence to the South Carolina line in the direction of Greenville, South Carolina, was thus opened up. The first overseers of the above road were F. L. Hoke, from Shelby to the old county line road, Lewis Gardner, from there to Yarboros, and Newton Long from Yarboros to the Gaston Line, and John W. Logan, from his home to the Rutherford line, with all the hands within three miles of said road to cut it out and keep it up.⁶

⁶ See the Mss. Minutes of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Session of Cleveland County.

The first railroad to be built across the county was not constructed until after the War between the States. Cleveland, though, voted in 1857 for one thousand shares in the Wilmington, Charlotte, and Rutherfordton Railroad, but this road was not built through the county until 1872. The vote in the election for shares in the road stood 698 to 502. A tax of fifty cents was levied on the poll to pay for the railroad stock. However, bonds were issued and sold at 7 per cent interest to pay for the above mentioned shares.⁷

The early settlers of the county were Scotch-Irish and Germans. They came in the early part of the eighteenth century from Pennsylvania and Virginia. These, as many other settlers, came to America seeking religious and economic freedom and finding those two colonies too crowded moved on into North Carolina. Among those of the Scotch Irish settlers were the Allens, Armstrongs, Berkleys, Barnetts, Coopers, Coxes, Davises, Grahams, Hunters, Jettons, Kings, Stacys, Thompsons, Alexanders, Beatys, etc. Some of the early German names in the county were Beam, Anthony, Dellinger, Weber, Hoke, Hull, Lutz, Plunk, Schenck, Workman, Heil (Hoyles), Jonas (Jones). Many of the above still retain the Scotch-Irish and German accent. In some instances Weber has changed to Weaver, Heil to Hoyle, etc.

The population of Cleveland for 1860 was 12,348 or an increase of about two thousand over 1850. Of these, 2,131 were slaves. The largest slave owner was Mr. Froenberger, who lived near Buffalo Creek in the eastern part of the County and ran an iron and paper factory in which he worked about one thousand slaves. With the exception of Mr. Froenberger, the slave owners possessed on an average about five to ten slaves each.⁸ The average size of the farms was small. A great many of them ranged from two hundred to three hundred acres.⁹ One reason for so many small farms and small slave owners is that there were no nearby markets to encourage large scale productions. Also the farmers were ignorant of the modern scientific methods of farming. Therefore it was impossible for them to produce abundant crops on soil that

⁷ See minutes of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions of Cleveland County for 1857 and 1859.

⁸ Census for 1860.

⁹ *Ibid.*

required fertilization and rotation sufficiently to make slavery profitable even if they had had a market for their products. They cultivated only the rich spots and left the poor lands for pasturing. The following statistics will give an idea of how much farming was done in the County in 1860:¹⁰

Ginned cotton, bales of.....	476
Corn, bushels of	379,985
Wheat, bushels of	86,317
Oats, bushels of	22,099
Tobacco, pounds of	24,317
Wine, gallons of	246

It is interesting to note that there were only 476 bales of cotton ginned in 1860 as compared to 23,474 in 1913.

As mentioned above, there were no convenient markets. The farmers had to haul their products either to Columbia or Charleston, South Carolina. The above table shows that 24,317 pounds of tobacco were produced; today there is none. Most of the tobacco was carried to Columbia for sale. The method of carrying it is different from that of the twentieth century. The tobacco was packed in an immense hogshead, a cylinder was put through the center, shafts were fastened to each end of this to which a horse was hitched. In this manner the hogshead was rolled to a distant market over the rough roads and through the small streams, yet the tobacco remained dry and uninjured.¹¹

There was some manufacturing in the county before the war. The women made nearly all the cloth for clothing the family; the men made the shoes and the hats. Moreover, in the Sharon settlement there was a pioneer hat factory. The hatters took the hides of muskrats, otters, and minks, fastened them to a flat table, ten feet from which was fastened a large bow and string. The string was caught in the middle, pulled back arm's length and let fly, thereby cutting the fur from the hide. The hide was then boiled and cut into circles large enough for hats. The circular piece of hide was put into the shape of a hat and then a string was tied around it.¹² These hats would last for several years. They usually sold

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Narrative of Mr. W. H. Miller who yet lives in Cleveland County.

¹² *Ibid.*

for \$3.00. The following statistics show just how much manufacturing was done in 1860. There were in all thirty-five establishments; capital invested, \$126,934; cost of material, \$38,780; number of employees, 96; amount paid for wages, \$16,944, and the value of the products, \$97,380.¹³ According to the above the manufacturing industries must have been very small and run on a very small scale.

Notwithstanding the fact that there were no large slave owners or immense manufacturing establishments, the majority of the farmers in the county were good liver. There were scattered here and there a few who were exceedingly prosperous. Here is a glimpse of one of these wealthy homes. Crowning a hill that over-shadows Buffalo Creek, whose waters were used in the manufacture of iron, there were two large two-story buildings, each containing only two rooms in each story, but these rooms were of immense size. For doorsteps there were massive hewn rocks. At the huge fireplace were iron hearths with cast iron backs. Here presided abundant hospitality and the owner made big money manufacturing iron. He possessed six of the finest mules in the county, which, with bells on their harness, attracted the attention and admiration of all who saw them.¹⁴ The above is a specimen of the home of a prosperous southern gentleman before the war. The above mentioned dwelling house is still standing in good condition, and has been standing for over a century.

II. THE WAR PERIOD

In 1861 the call came to the farmers in Cleveland to leave their homes and support the cause of secession. The call was answered in May, 1861, when Miss Zulia Durham, now Mrs. Green, who yet lives in Shelby, presented the flag to one hundred gallant soldiers under the leadership of A. W. Burton.¹⁵ Miss Durham, who was then only fifteen years old, together with a few other ladies of the town, made the flag one night and Miss Durham presented it next morning to the company with the following words:

¹³ Census of 1860.

¹⁴ Narrative of Mr. W. H. Miller.

¹⁵ Narrative of Mrs. Zulia Green.

"To the Cleveland Guards:

We, in the name of the ladies of Shelby, present you this flag. It is to assure you of the deep interest we feel in this coming crisis. Regardless of northern scoffing and southern terrorism you have at last faced your destiny and may the gods of battle assist you to maintain the honor of the Old North State and defend those rights maintained by our forefathers on the 20th of May 1775—We have adopted the flag of the Confederate States, whose interests are inseparable from our own, and for the purpose of expressing our heartfelt sympathy for, and co-operation with our noble brothers of the Sunny South—Those hands shall unfurl this banner to the breezes and it will never be lowered at the command of the hired minions of old Lincoln. Our cause is just and God will be with us. May you who have sacrificed your greatest interests to come forward and seek eagerly to defend your country at every hazard return back to your fond homes and kindred uninjured. We bid you God's speed."¹⁶

A week later, May 27, 1861, ninety-six mountain boys of Cleveland led by Captain W. S. Corbet¹⁷ marched off to war. On the flag of Corbet's company was the picture of a pine tree with a rattle snake coiled around it. The motto of the company was, "If you step on me I will bite you."¹⁸ The patriotic gentlemen of Cleveland volunteered freely and rapidly to fight for the cause of secession. It is claimed that more men went from Cleveland in proportion to the voting population than from any other county in the State.¹⁹ On one occasion the patriotic men of the county in order to show their loyalty to the South secured an old cannon that was used in the battle of Cowpens, South Carolina, during the Revolutionary War, brought it to Shelby and fired it all night, burning up three kegs of powder. They fired first in honor of the states that joined the Confederacy, second in honor of the State of North Carolina, and lastly in honor of secession. The last shot was loaded so heavy that it burst the old canon and jarred every window-light out of the Court House.²⁰ On the next day there was a big barbecue in Shelby and speeches on secession. By the latter part of 1861 the county

¹⁶ Taken from the original manuscript which is still in the possession of Mrs. Zulia Green, who yet lives in Shelby.

¹⁷ Mr. Corbet was captain of Company B in the 49th regiment. (See Clarke's *Regimental History*.)

¹⁸ Narrative of Mrs. T. G. Borders.

¹⁹ There were in all 2,800, while the voting population was only 1,800, according to the statement of Captain S. A. Hoey, of Company H, 34th Regiment.

²⁰ Narrative of Mr. Samuel Randall, a Confederate soldier, who yet lives in the southern part of the County.

was drained of its men; many of the scattered schools were deserted, and the farms and manufacturing establishments were left for the old men, women and children to manage and operate.

There were a few Union men in the county who opposed secession from the very beginning of the war. These men together with W. W. Holden through the *Standard* attempted to start a movement for peace in 1863. But Cleveland's soldiers were too firm in their convictions and too set in their course to return home with anything less than a victory or a defeat. The following letter written for the paper published in Shelby at that time shows how the Cleveland soldiers viewed the peace agitation of 1863:²¹

"For the Mountain Eagle:²¹

MR. EDITOR:

I send you the following extracts of a letter from a private in Company E, 'Cleveland Guards' for the purpose of showing the public that Mr. W. W. Holden of the Raleigh *Standard* is mistaken in supposing that certain officers only are opposed to his course. The gentleman will find to his cost that not only officers, but the rank and file are opposed to his Toryism and will be ready at all times to spurn and treat with the utmost contempt and to scorn his base and perfidious tinclicking to the Yankees."²²

ORANGE COURT HOUSE,
AUGUST 13, 1863.

DEAR FATHER:

Mr. ———— has just arrived in camp from Cleveland and brings us the news that General ———— is riding over Rutherford County making Union speeches, and that a Union Reconstruction flag has been run up at the Court House and that several other counties are following suit. This, if true, is the result of the teaching of the *Standard*. But is it true? Surely the people at home do not think that the soldiery is disheartened by the late reverses. I tell you my father, the soldiers are more determined now than ever that the independence of the South shall be secured at all hazards. How would it look after suffering so many hardships in camp and engaging in so many hard-fought battles, and nearly all of which we have been victorious, just as the day star is beginning to rise to cowardly back down and give up to be subjugated thereby taking upon our neck the yoke of old Abe's despotism? Oh, it would be such a burning shame!

²¹ This was a democratic paper which favored secession, and was published in Shelby during the Civil War.

²² The foregoing letter is only a sample of the feeling existing in the army from Cleveland towards the Reconstruction movement.

I say as a soldier that any man at home or anywhere else that is found exerting an influence against the cause we all should have so much at heart should not only be dressed in petticoats, as suggested by some, but shot down as a dog. If the people at home were as determined for independence as the soldiers in the field and just quit for a while their speculations and exhortations, and lend a helping hand to those, and the families of those who now stand between them and the enemy, we have peace much sooner.

III. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS DURING RECONSTRUCTION

But finally on April 9, 1865, Cleveland's soldiers were forced to give up their hopes for victory and accept a defeat. They returned to their dilapidated homes with the fixed purpose of rebuilding their County, but what a task lay before them! The farmers who were once wealthy and lived in style and extravagance for their day, were in poverty. The emancipation of their slaves and the depreciation of their money had deprived them of thousands of dollars and left them in distress.

One of the most disturbing elements in the county was the Union Soldiers. Immediately after the war about one hundred and fifty soldiers came to Shelby, the county seat, and took possession of the Court House and Court Square. They burned many of the Court records and fed their horses on the Court Square. In evening they sang songs which were very vexing to the old Confederate soldiers. They also attempted to control the county elections and to appoint many of the county officers.²³ They were in the county as late as 1872. In that year they succeeded in breaking up the annual meeting of the Kings Mountain Baptist Association, which was holding its session at Bethlehem Church.²⁴

The negroes too began to cause much trouble. For the first year or two after the war they were pretty quiet. They were willing to work at almost any price, but they soon grew saucy and boasted exultantly that the bottom was raised

²³ Conversation with Mrs. Zulia Green and others.

²⁴ John R. Logan's *History of Kings Mountain and Broad River Baptist Association*, p. 217.

on top.²⁵ They also began to claim social equality. Some went so far as to say that they intended to marry white girls. They also organized their militia and their secret leagues, which I shall describe shortly.

But the greatest problem that confronted the people of Cleveland in 1865 was restoring the economic life of the county. When the farmers returned home from the war they found their fences torn down and their houses dilapidated. Their land was becoming dotted with gullies and their labor was demoralized. The fifty-seven water wheels which were converting the water of the streams into power in 1860 were in the majority of cases now standing idle and many of the dams bursted.²⁶ But the farmers were not overcome by discouragement. They went to work, although progress was indeed slow. The cash value of all farms in 1870 was only \$686,785 as compared with \$1,310,613 in 1860. But by 1880 the valuation had reached \$2,444,056, or an increase of a million dollars over 1860. The value of the farm implements in 1870 was not more than two-thirds as much as in 1860. The value of live stock had decreased over one million dollars. In 1860 the value of all live stock in the county was \$397,837 while in 1870 the value was only \$254,297 and in 1880, \$248,777. Also there was a great reduction in some of the agricultural products. In 1870 there were only 415 pounds of tobacco raised, while in 1860 there were 24,317 produced. This was due to the fact that the farmers began to turn to raising cotton after the war. In 1870 there were 236,252 bushels of corn raised, while in 1860, 379,985 bushels had been produced—a decrease of over one hundred thousand bushels. But by 1880 the number of bushels had increased to 390,281. Cotton in 1870 had increased a little over 1860. In 1860 there were 476 bales ginned while in 1870, 520 bales were produced, and in 1880, 6,126. This increase must have been due to the fact that the negroes began to rent land and farm it themselves, cotton being their favorite crop. Many other products were small in comparison to 1860.²⁷ The size of the farms remained about the same after

²⁵ Conversations with many old citizens of Cleveland.

²⁶ Narrative of old citizens.

²⁷ Census 1860, 1870, 1880. (Agriculture.)

the war as before.²⁸ There were no exceedingly large land owners. There were only two men in the county who possessed over five hundred acres. In all there were only two thousand two hundred and sixty-one farms and the great majority of these ranged from fifty acres to five hundred.²⁹

Progress in manufacturing was more rapid than that in farming. In 1870 there were 84 establishments, which included grist mills, cotton gins, sawmills, etc., while in 1860 there were only 33. The capitalization of these establishments was \$124,900; the number of employees was 199, while in 1860 there were only 96; the amount paid for wages was \$25,627, in 1860 only \$16,944, or an average wage of \$10 per month; the value of the products turned out was \$292,126 or an increase over 1860 of more than \$200,000.³⁰ Among some of the largest establishments was the paper and iron factory owned by David Froenberger & Company. This establishment was located near Buffalo Creek. It was capitalized at \$30,000 and produced \$50,000 worth of products in 1870. There were 19 hands employed at an average wage of \$25 per month. Among the other establishments was the cotton and yarn factory located at Double Shoals. It was owned by N. A. Jackson & Company and capitalized at \$20,000. There were 22 employees in this mill, whose wages averaged \$8 per month. The value of the products turned out in 1870 was \$20,400. The remainder of the establishments were small concerns, such as boot and shoe makers, saddlers, harness makers, and all kinds of mechanics—there being in all 18 different mechanical shops, such as silver-smiths, gun-smiths, wheel-wrights, etc. It seems to have been characteristic of Cleveland people for many men to have some small trades of their own.

The valuation of real property in 1870 was only \$865,962, while in 1860 it was \$1,591,337 or a decrease of \$735,375. But by 1880 real property was valued at \$1,001,895. There was a still greater loss in personal property. In 1860 the total valuation of personal property was \$2,488,459, while in 1870 it was only \$554,484. This was due largely to the abolition

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Census 1870.

³⁰ *Ibid* 1860, 1870, 1880.

of slavery. The total taxation for 1870 was only \$17,659. Although the economic condition of the county looked poor in 1870, yet the county by 1880 had almost reached the point where it stood in 1860.

IV. EDUCATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

The schools suffered the same fate that the other organizations of the county did. In 1860 there were as many as 2,537 children enrolled in the public schools of the county. However, this did not include all of the children in the county between the ages of 6 and 21. In fact, there were more than half as many children not going to school as there were in attendance.³¹ The total amount expended upon the public schools for 1860 was \$3,750.06.³² Most of the schools during the war were deserted, but a few, however, were kept open by some patriotic ministers who were willing to teach for almost nothing. I might mention one typical school which was not closed during the war. It was situated in the Sharon settlement in the southern part of the county. It was a log house daubed with mud and was the only school house in a radius of about six miles. A log was taken out for a window and slabs were used for writing desks and seats. The only book that was used was the "Blueback Speller." Reverend Smith, who yet lives in that community, was the teacher for twenty years. The salary paid to Mr. Smith averaged about \$12 per month.³³ The most that was done in the county for education during reconstruction was done through individual effort on the part of the teachers as in the above mentioned instance. The county as a whole took but little interest in public schools. The illiteracy statistics for 1870 show the effect of this neglect on the part of the county towards education. In 1870 the total number of children attending schools was only 1,100; 1,036 of these were white and the remainder colored. In 1860 there were 2,537 in school attendance. In 1870 the total number who could not write was 4,029; 2,940 of these were white children and 1,089 colored. In other words, about 30

³¹ Report of J. R. Logan, chairman of County Board of Education, to the State Superintendent, Public Documents of N. C., 1860.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Conversation with Reverend Mr. L. L. Smith.

per cent of the white population and 50 per cent of the negroes were completely ignorant.³⁴

Before leaving the discussion of the schools it might be well to mention the attitude of the people of Cleveland towards the issue of mixed schools in the Constitutional Convention of 1868. The county of Cleveland was bitterly opposed to such a possibility. The attitude of the county was expressed by Plato Durham, member of the Convention from Cleveland. The Committee on Education having made its report, Mr. Durham offered an additional section to the report as follows:

"The General Assembly shall provide separate and distinct schools for the black children of the State from those provided for the white children." This amendment brought forth a warm discussion. Mr. Ashley, the chairman of the Committee, immediately offered the following amendment: "It being understood that this section is not offered in sincerity, or because there is necessity for it, that it is proposed for the sole purpose of breeding prejudice and bringing about a political re-enslavement of the colored race." There being only thirteen Conservatives in the Convention, Mr. Durham's amendment was voted down by a vote of 86 to 11.³⁵ We can naturally infer that the people in Cleveland would oppose any scheme to establish mixed schools from the position taken towards slavery and secession and the activity of the Ku Klux Klan.

V. CHURCHES DURING RECONSTRUCTION

The Civil War had a marked influence upon the history of the churches in the county. Before 1860 both the Baptists and the Methodists were devoting much effort to missionary work and to education and Sabbath schools.³⁶ But naturally the movement for missions and education received a severe check by the war between the States—a check which it took several years to overcome. But the most important effect upon the churches was the separation of the negroes from the white churches. Before and during the war the negro had no church of his own, but worshipped with the white people,—

³⁴ Census of 1870.

³⁵ Convention Journal, p. 342.

³⁶ See Report of Kings Mountain Baptist Association—J. R. Logan.

special seats being arranged for him. In 1861 there were in the Methodist Churches alone as many as 200 colored members and 18 who were on probation.³⁷ By 1864 the number had increased to 237. But as soon as the war was over a separation of the races began to take place in all denominations. The first question to come before the Broad River Baptist Association in 1865 was "what to do with the negro."³⁸ A committee was appointed to decide whether to let him continue to worship with the white people or to help build churches for him. The committee decided that no arbitrary arrangement could be made, but if the negroes wished to continue to worship with the white people they could do so; if they did not wish this, it was the duty of the church to help to build churches for them. The negroes gradually left the white churches and assembled to themselves. By 1872 the two races were entirely separated in their worship. Statistics taken from the Minutes of the Methodist Conference show the gradual decline of negro members from 1865 to 1872. In 1864 there were 113; in 1866, 70; in 1867, 10; in 1868, 6; and by 1872 none.³⁹

Although the war had checked progress in the churches, in mission work, schools, etc., yet the membership of the churches did not suffer. In fact the membership of the churches increased more rapidly during the war than in any period just previous to it. The war seemed to serve as an impetus to get people to join the churches. It is impossible to give the exact increase in the Baptist Churches, but the Minutes of the Methodist Conference show a marked increase in membership from 1860 to 1870. In 1860 there were only 614 members in all the Methodist Churches in the county and 35 on probation. In 1861 the enrollment leaped up to 780 and to 74 on probation; in 1862 to 827 with 102 on probation; in 1864 to 993 and in 1865 to 950. In 1866 the number ran up to 1135 but by 1872 the enrollment had dropped back to 965.⁴⁰ This increase in membership was the result of the religious wave that swept over the entire South during the war.

The number of churches in the county during the decades

³⁷ Probation became obsolete during the war.

³⁸ John R. Logan's History of Broad River Baptist Association, p. 112.

³⁹ Minutes of South Carolina Methodist Conference.

⁴⁰ Minutes of the South Carolina Conference.

of 1860-70 was 37,—one Presbyterian, 15 Methodist, and 21 Baptist. The Presbyterian church was located at Shelby with Rev. M. N. Shotwell, pastor. The names of the Methodist churches were Shelby, Mount Harmony, Clover Hill, Friendship, Elliott, Rehoboth, Palm Tree, Double Shoals, Elbethel, Sherrill, Salem, Mount Tabor, Sulphur Springs, Mount Moriah, and Kistlers. Reverend J. W. Hulbert was pastor of the first thirteen and James Deems of the latter two. The names of the Baptist Churches together with their pastors were as follows: Rev. Shelby Barnett was the pastor of Sandy Plains and Shelby; Thomas Dixon of Double Springs, Mount Perran, and New Prospects; J. S. Ezell of Sandy Run, Boiling Springs, Zoar, Mount Pleasants, and Beaver Dam; Robert Poston of Zion and Mount Bethel; R. P. Logan of Pleasant Hill; P. R. Love of Bethel; L. H. McSwain of Mount Sinai; M. N. McSwain of Walls; Pond B. Bonner of Camp Creek; Walter Hill of Capernaum; Elmer Curry of Mount Zion; and E. A. Poe of Mount Zion.⁴¹ These preachers were paid very small salaries and they had to look to their farms and some to the teaching profession for their support. In most of the churches there was no Sunday School and in those that had Sunday School the "Blueback Spelling Book" was used in several places. The valuation of all church property was only \$15,000. This shows that the church buildings must have been small and cheap.

VI. COUNTY GOVERNMENT

The old system of county government was not abolished at the close of the war but continued in vogue until the constitution of 1868 was put into force. This county government centered around the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions. This little court was the nucleus around which the whole county was organized. It was an oligarchy within itself. The justices who composed it were appointed by the Governor, in turn appointed the county officers, tried civil and criminal cases, looked after the public schools, and made internal improvements. In fact, it did what our County Commissioners do today, besides its appointive and judicial function. In other

⁴¹ Branson's *Business Directory* for 1868.

words, in order to have a voice in the government of the county one had to be a member of this court. But in 1868, as I have stated above, this court was abolished and the County Commissioners and magistrates for the different townships took its place.

At the close of the war the justices who composed this court were turned out of office and provisional Governor Holden on July 5, 1865 appointed the following men justices: John Starnes, B. Goforth, Eli Lutz, Lewis Gardner, A. B. Blanton, W. P. Rove, F. S. Hoke, James Roberts, James M. Ware, W. W. Green, Andrew Parker, E. A. Bryan, John F. Aydlotte, Jefferson Black, Rufus W. Quinn, David Beam, R. Swann, Washington Harry, J. A. Bumgardner, J. R. Ellis, J. Z. Falls, and Peter Peeler.⁴² These men were not satisfactory to the people of Cleveland. It was claimed that they were not loyal citizens. So on July 14, 1865, 98 citizens of Cleveland signed a petition for the removal of all the disloyal men appointed by the Provisional Government. The following is the petition:

COUNTY OF CLEVELAND

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA, July 14, 1865.

*His Excellency W. W. Holden,
Provisional Governor of the
State of North Carolina:*

Believing it the desire of your Excellency to act in accordance with the proclamation of the President of the United States; we the loyal citizens of the County of Cleveland do petition your Excellency to remove from office those disloyal men whom you have appointed through misrepresentation and to appoint loyal men in their stead. The names and principles of which will be presented to you by our delegate B. Willis, in whom we have full confidence and whom we send to you as our representative to confer with you in our behalf in regard to this matter.⁴³

The above petition had the desired effect for on July 19, Governor Holden wrote a letter to R. Swann stating that several of his former appointees had proved disloyal; that their acts would be considered null and void and that he wished to appoint the following new men: James Jolly, Samuel Young, Newberry Pruitt, William B. McNeely, B. A.

⁴² Mss. Letter Book of Governor Holden, July 5, 1865.

⁴³ Letter book of Governor Holden of 1865. (98 citizens of Cleveland signed the petition.)

Hogue, J. R. Willis, Durham Hicks, Glen Borders, Noah Moss, Isaac Bridgers, James McKinney, William McCall, John W. Logan, A. B. Grigg, James McNeely, Banister Willis, and Threat Brigg. In addition to these officers Martin C. Roberts was appointed provisional sheriff and Silas Williams clerk of the court. Governor Holden also appointed officers for the town of Shelby. W. H. Fullenwider was appointed mayor and M. C. Roberts commissioner. With but a few exceptions all of these officers were re-appointed by Governor Worth in 1866.⁴⁴ In 1868 the members of the court lost their offices, since it was abolished and the following men were elected to serve as commissioners: J. R. Logan, David Whisenant, Joseph Latimore, George Green, and Isaac R. Oats.⁴⁵ All of these men were under disabilities except Mr. Oats. None of them bore arms through the war, for during that period Mr. Logan was a member of the legislature, Mr. Whisenant was a justice of the peace, Green was sheriff of the County, and Latimore was a Confederate Assessor. The other officers elected in 1868 were J. Z. Falls, sheriff, Jessie Jenkins, clerk of the court, E. H. Fullenwider, treasurer, Elisha McBrayer, coroner, and C. Carpenter, register. All of these officers also had disabilities to be removed before they could serve. The above election clearly shows that the Conservative Party was in power and was running the government of the County, for all of the officers above mentioned were members of that party. They were not running the county government in accordance with the Republican Party's plan, though. Governor Holden would not recognize many things they did, so on June 29, 1869 the citizens of Shelby and County had a meeting in the Court House for the purpose of petitioning Governor Holden to appoint a town council for Shelby and to appoint magistrates for the county and to organize the county according to his plan. Mr. H. Caviness stated at this meeting that under the existing state of affairs the wheels of government were at a dead lock; letters of administration could not be granted, overseers of roads could not be appointed, orphan children had to go without guardians,

⁴⁴ Mss. Letter book of Governor Worth for 1867.

⁴⁵ It will be noticed that there were five commissioners elected while today there are only three.

etc.,⁴⁶ After this meeting the county government was re-organized and administration of county affairs began anew. The conservatives were compelled at this time, although they were in the majority, to submit to the plans of the Republican party.

VII. SECRET ORGANIZATIONS

The secret organizations entered Cleveland shortly after the war closed. These societies had a greater influence probably upon the county's history during Reconstruction than any other one thing. The Ku Klux Klan, which is often looked upon as being unnecessary and exerting a detrimental influence upon the county, really had a great mission and a noble purpose and truly did a great work at first. It must be admitted, though, that the Klan finally became too violent in its methods and too corrupt and disgraceful in its procedure. Therefore it is a question today as to whether its influence for good was greater than for evil. The membership of the Klan was about 800. There were several dens in the county but the most prominent ones were at Shelby, the county seat, another in the upper part of the county, and one in the southern section. Some of the very best citizens were members and officers of these dens. The Grand Chief of the county was Plato Durham, a prominent lawyer and statesman of Shelby. The Cyclops of the Klan was Mr. Lee McAfee of Shelby. He was Mr. Durham's law partner and a member of the legislature in 1870 and a very prominent man.

The other secret organizations were the Union League and Red Strings.⁴⁷ These were merged shortly after the war closed. The membership of the former organization was about 200. This organization was Republican and had for its purpose the election of Republican candidates and to strengthen the republican party. It endeavored to secure the negro votes but was in most cases disappointed by the intimidation of the Ku Klux Klan.⁴⁸

Let us now see if we can find the real cause or causes of the introduction of the Ku Klux Klan into the county. In the

⁴⁶ Letter book of Governor Holden, June 29, 1869.

⁴⁷ Conversation with Mr. McDuff Davis.

⁴⁸ Union League was a northern organization while the Red Strings was local.

first place some of the officers in the county were corrupt, unfair, and incompetent. This made it impossible for the people to get justice,—hence a turn to lawless force for justice. The most prominent example was George W. Logan, judge of the Ninth Judicial District. Mr. Logan was a “turncoat” Republican. He had been a member of the Confederate Congress during the war. He had also been a prominent man in Rutherford County and possessed some property. He was clerk of the court of Rutherford shortly after he was 21 years old, and afterwards engaged in the practice of law. He was also a man of good family. His ancestors were among the first and best families that settled in the County. But as many others have done, he became an office-seeker at the close of the war and turned over to the Republican party. He was elected as Superior Court Judge in 1868 by that party and it is claimed that he became very partisan and incompetent in his official duties as a judge. The criminal laws, it seems, were not enforced by him. Many of the negroes who committed crimes went unpunished. The sentences on the negroes that he did punish were light, while the punishment of the Democrats was heavy. In fact he became so partisan that all of the lawyers of the Ninth Judicial District signed a petition at a meeting in Charlotte for his removal.⁴⁹ For an illustration of Logan’s partiality, I mention the case of Wade Price. Wade Price, a colored man, was found guilty of selling whiskey without license. Price was set free by Logan. A few days later a one-legged Confederate soldier was found guilty of the same charge. Judge Logan at this time attempted to impose a \$25 fine but was kept from it by Plato Durham, who pointed out his inconsistency.⁵⁰

In the second place, the general plan of reconstruction was bitterly resented by the people of Cleveland. The Scotch-Irish and German stock of people in Cleveland were opposed from the first to granting the negro the right of suffrage. They had been strong believers in slavery and in ruling and governing without the help of the negro. When the negro was granted his freedom they yielded to that extent, but they

⁴⁹ Report of Committee to Investigate Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States, second session, 42nd Congress., volume for North Carolina, p. 370.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

could not go further and give to him more rights and privileges than many of the white men possessed. The attitude of Cleveland people on negro suffrage was well shown by Plato Durham in the Convention of 1868. Mr. Durham was on the suffrage committee and wrote the minority report.⁵¹ He contended that the negro was not worthy of the ballot and that it was not a constitutional duty to give it to him. His report lost 75 to 27. Naturally the people of Cleveland, since they bitterly opposed granting the negro the ballot, would seek to intimidate him in order to keep him from using it. No better method could have been found for such intimidation than the Ku Klux Klan. The Convention of '68 also gave to all the citizens the right to organize militia and it seems that the negroes in Cleveland were using this privilege. The negroes met for drill in at least three places in the county and this caused much excitement and trouble. So the Ku Klux Klan was resorted to in order to protect the white people from the negro militia. And above all there was a political reason. The Democrats wished to destroy the power of the Republicans and they fell upon the method of the Ku Klux to do it. By means of the secret organization they could intimidate the negro Republicans and keep them from the polls, and could thus destroy the alliance of the negroes with the Republican party. So partial courts, bad government, inefficient officials, together with a political desire to defeat the Republican party, were responsible for the Ku Klux Klan in Cleveland County.

By 1869 the Ku Klux Klan was strongly organized with a membership of the very best citizens of the county. The following is a description of the Klan and the impression which it left upon the mind of one of Cleveland's brilliant men:

"The most vivid picture that comes back to me from my childhood was the passing of the Klan through the silent streets of my native village on a beautiful moonlit night in 1869. I can yet feel the chill of the pine floor on my little bare feet as I leaped from the trundle bed, rushed to the window and watched the long line of white-robed horsemen ride by in perfect cavalry form. Their Night Hawk blew his whis-

⁵¹ Conventoin Journal, p. 238.

tle at the corner and the shining columns wheeled suddenly and galloped away in the cool December night. Shivering with terror I grasped my mother's hand and whispered, 'Do you think they will hurt us?' With a low laugh she bent and kissed me!

'Of course not, silly—they're our people—they are guarding us from harm.'"⁵²

The Klan claimed that it had for its principle object the protection of the Constitution of the United States and of the State of North Carolina; protection of each other; the protection of the women and children, and to vote the democratic ticket. The following is the oath which members had to take when they were initiated:

"I, —————, before the great immaculate judge of Heaven and earth, and upon the holy evangelist of Almighty God, do, of my own free will and accord subscribe to the following sacred binding obligations:

1. I am on the side of justice and humanity and constitutional liberty, as bequeathed to us by our forefathers in its original purity.
2. I reject and oppose the principles of the Radical Party.
3. I pledge aid to the brother of the Ku Klux Klan in sickness, distress or pecuniary embarrassment. Females, friends, widows, and their household shall be the special object of my care and protection.
4. Should I ever divulge or cause to be divulged any of the secrets of this order or any of the foregoing obligations, I must meet with the fearful punishment of death, death, death at the hands of the brethren."⁵³

The Klan had several signs—one was to put the right hand over the right ear, and if you were a member you would put your left hand over your left ear; another was to put your hand, all except your thumb into your pocket. If a member were in distress he was to say "Avalanche."⁵⁴

The Klan did more whipping than killing in Cleveland. One noted case was that of Martin Hawkins and wife. Mr. Hawkins was a creditable man but a strong Republican who lived near the Rutherford County line. About thirty or forty members went to his home one night disguised. They stripped him and beat him severely. They cut and bruised his skin

⁵² *Bookman*; January 1914. (Article by Thomas Dixon, Jr.)

⁵³ Report of Committee to Investigate Affairs in the late Insurrectionary States, 2nd. Session, 42nd Congress, p. 399. (Volume for North Carolina.)

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* (See pages 414, 415, for the Constitution and By-laws of the Klan.)

and lacerated his body. They dragged his wife down stairs and crippled her. Mr. McGahey, a friendly Republican of Hawkins, knew who one of the members was, namely, Decatur Depriest. McGahey upon seeing him shot him, causing instant death and then fled from the county.⁵⁵ But the most famous whipping and trial was that of Aaron V. Biggerstaff. Mr. Biggerstaff was a prominent Republican who lived just across the line in Rutherford County. He was a man of some property and was a good farmer and belonged to the Union League and Redstrings. The greatest fault with him, it seems, was that he was too talkative. He would tell Judge Logan everything he could hear about the Democrats. His first whipping took place in Rutherford County, and he was later whipped in Cleveland while on his way to trial. At the first whipping he was dragged out of his house one night into the big road where he was badly bruised. The road and yard were full of men and horses which made a very exciting scene. The members of his family were also beaten.⁵⁶

General Joseph G. Hester, with about nine federal troopers, arrested thirty of the disguised persons who made the raid on Mr. Biggerstaff and family.⁵⁷ He brought them to Shelby and turned them over to the United States Commissioner, J. S. Moore, who resided at Shelby. He then sent for Biggerstaff to come in order to serve as a witness. Mr. Biggerstaff and family started, they traveled until about ten o'clock at night and finally came to a little house on the side of the road where they decided to camp. All went into the house except the elder Mr. Biggerstaff, who was too sore to get out of the wagon. At about ten-thirty o'clock they were attacked again by the Ku Klux. Mr. Biggerstaff was taken out of the wagon and carried off into the woods where he was kept for some time. The nephew of Aaron hid under the house. Mrs. Biggerstaff had gone into the house as soon as they stopped there that night, but Mrs. Norbill was expecting a raid and they went to the woods, thereby escaping the Klan. Finally the Klan got the Biggerstaff family together and just as they raised their guns

⁵⁵ Report of Committee to Investigate Affairs in Late Insurrectionary States, 2nd Session 42nd Congress, p. 107 (volume for N. C.)

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 112, 113, 114, 172.

⁵⁷ The Secretary of War states that no definite report has been made of the federal troops stationed in Cleveland.

to shoot them their horses made a noise causing their gunmen to turn their heads and then young Biggerstaff ran. They shot towards him, but he escaped. The Klan then let the rest of the family off on the condition that they would not testify against them. After this the Biggerstaff family returned home and stayed there. The Commissioner, Mr. J. S. Moore of Shelby, sent a subpoena for them to come to court, but they refused. They claimed that they were afraid that they would be murdered.⁵⁸

Judge George W. Logan on seeing the Klan in control, wrote a letter to Governor Todd R. Caldwell asking for military aid. Logan stated that he could not hold court at Shelby since his life was in danger there. He further stated that civil authority could not at all be maintained and that the county must have protection or else many must flee.⁵⁹

Governor Caldwell on realizing the critical conditions in Cleveland wrote to President Grant asking for federal troops. Governor Caldwell in his letter to the President stated that the Ku Klux Klan was committing crimes in Cleveland and that it could not be punished by the civil authorities. He further stated that it was useless to call out the State Militia since part of it was composed of Ku Klux members.⁶⁰ Shortly after the President received this letter federal troops were sent to Cleveland and Rutherford counties.

The members of the Ku Klux Klan who whipped Mr. Biggerstaff were soon arrested by the federal officers and were carried to Raleigh where they were placed in jail. The following is an article which appeared in the *Raleigh Sentinel* on June 24, 1871, concerning them:

"Despotism—On Thursday 39 citizens among them some of the most respectable citizens of Cleveland and Rutherford Counties were committed to jail here for the want of bail for the sum of \$2,000 each for an assault and battery upon one Aaron Biggerstaff."

The citizens did not remain long in prison for the people of Cleveland were loyal to them. The following from the *Sentinel* of July 1, 1871, tells of their relief:

⁵⁸ Report of Committee to Investigate Affairs in Late Insurrectionary States, 2nd Session, 42nd Congress p. 172. Volume for North Carolina.)

⁵⁹ Governor Caldwell's Mss. Letter book, April 9, 1871.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* April 29, 1871.

"Went Home Rejoicing.—About seven o'clock on Thursday evening the prisoners from Rutherford and Cleveland Counties were released on bail from the foul dungeon into which Judge Bond had committed them, after refusing bail of the sum of \$45,000."

The members of the Cleveland Klan made a raid not only upon Mr. Biggerstaff in Rutherford County, but they did the greater part of their work in that county. They made a raid on the Star printing office of Rutherfordton, in which a Republican paper was edited by Mr. Justice. The printing establishment was almost completely demolished. Likewise the majority of the raids made in Cleveland County were made by members of Klans from other counties, chiefly from Rutherford and from Cherokee County, South Carolina. There were in all twenty-five outrages in the county and the burning of one school house. Several of the prominent men of the county became frightened at the Klan and left the state. Among them we might mention Madison McBrayer and Richard Martin. But the Ku Klux really did accomplish two purposes,—the protecting of the virtue of the young white girls and the strengthening of the Democratic vote. Plato Durham stated that the poor white girls before the Klan came into existence were having mulatto children. It seems that the "poor white" women and the negroes were mixing rapidly but the Klan put a stop to this. As to strengthening the Democratic vote, the Klan accomplished that task. The Republicans were intimidated so that many of them stayed away from the polls on the election days. In the election of 1868 the Democratic majority was 850. For fear of a riot between the Democrats and Republicans in this election Governor Holden sent thirty armed troops up to Cleveland to protect the ballot box. The Republicans were so intimidated that their strength was greatly decreased. In 1868 they polled 750 votes, but in the election of 1870 only 250 Republican votes were cast. The Klan not only accomplished its purpose at the polls but it conquered the negroes. It completely destroyed the negro militia and the negro leagues. In the southern part of the county about forty negroes had organized themselves under the leadership of one Roundtree. The purpose, it is claimed, of this negro league was to take away the property from the white people, which the negroes

made for them while they were slaves. The league usually met in a school house. The Ku Klux Klan heard of the league's plot to go on a raid a certain night. The Klan on the appointed night went to the school house and found the negroes in it. Roundtree, their leader, attempted to escape. He went up into the loft and leaped from the window, but was shot to pieces when he reached the ground.⁶¹ Thus ended the negro league and probably saved much property from being stolen and much trouble between the whites and the blacks.

Although the Klan did much good for Cleveland yet it did many things that it should not have done. In fact, after the young reckless boys joined, it became a dishonor to the county and a disgrace to the state. It continued to grow worse until stopped by the federal power in 1872. In that year Plato Durham was summoned to Washington by President Grant to testify as to the real condition and causes of its affairs, which testimony was given before the investigation committee of Congress. At this particular time there were several hundred people of Cleveland under arrest, some of them in jail, some of them who had already been sent to the Sing Sing Prison of New York, and some to the prison at Charleston, South Carolina.⁶² Mr. Durham was promised by President Grant that if he would come back home and put a stop to the Ku Klux Klan all who had been arrested would be set free. Mr. Durham did so, and thus ended the Ku Klux Klan in Cleveland County.

POLITICAL PARTIES

The Democratic party has always dominated affairs in Cleveland. From the formation of the county in 1841 those who held other political views than those held by the Democrats were losers. Not only were the county officers members of the Democratic party, but Democratic candidates for President and for Governor always received a good majority in Cleveland. In 1860 John C. Breckenridge, the Democratic candidate for President, received over his Whig opponent, John Bell, a majority of 955 votes. The County gave Mr. Breckenridge 1041 votes while Mr. Bell received only 196. In the same year the Democratic candidate for governor, Mr. John W. Ellis,

⁶¹ Conversation with Mr. Sammy Randall, who yet lives in the southern part of the county.

⁶² Conversation with several citizens of Cleveland.

received 998 votes while his Whig opponent, John Pool, received only 419 votes in Cleveland.⁶³

At the close of the war the names of the political parties were Conservative and Union. The Conservative was composed of all who had been in favor of secession and some of the old line Whigs, while the Union party was made up of the Union men, carpet baggers, and scalawags. The total vote cast in the gubernatorial election of 1865 was 670, Worth receiving 386 of these and Holden 302. The small vote cast was due to the fact that the great majority of the Conservatives were debarred from voting since they could not take the "iron clad oath." By 1868 the Conservatives assumed the name Democrats and the opponents Republicans. The number of votes now had changed considerably. In that year there were 1840 registered voters, 1528 of whom were white and 312 colored.⁶⁴ In the presidential election for that year the Democratic party cast 1037 votes while the Republican party polled 556.⁶⁵ The Republicans made desperate efforts to use the negro vote in 1868 and 1870 and thereby defeat their opponents but the Ku Klux Klan and other influences thwarted their purposes. In some sections of the county the Democratic party organized for the sole purpose of keeping the negro from voting the Republican ticket. In the southern section of the county the Democratic farmers united together in refusing to rent land to a negro who voted the Republican ticket.⁶⁶ The success of the Democratic party was also due very largely to the fact that it always had some exceedingly strong leaders during the days of reconstruction. There were some as good and strong men in Cleveland who allied themselves with the party as could be found within the state. Among them I might mention Plato Durham. Durham was a statesman of high order. He knew how to lead men and make his party strong. He was born at High Shoals, now Henrietta, Rutherford County, in 1840. He was the oldest son of Micajah Durham, who was a direct descendant of Lord Grange. In 1861 Mr. Durham came to Cleveland County and joined the Cleveland Guards as a private and finally rose

⁶³ Manual of N. C., published by State Historical Commission.

⁶⁴ Branson's *Business Directory*, p. 186.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Conversation with Mr. T. G. Borders, who yet lives in the southern part of Cleveland County.

to the rank of captain. After the war he began practicing law in Shelby. In 1867 his party elected him by a big majority to the Legislature and in 1868 to the Constitutional Convention. In this convention he fought the bill proposed by the Republicans to establish a common school system and offered as an amendment to the bill: "The General Assembly shall provide separate and distinct schools for the black children of the state from those provided for the white children."⁶⁷ He was also very active in the discussion of several other constitutional questions in the convention. In 1868 he was also a candidate for Congress and the Democratic party of Cleveland stood by him to a man. Durham's opponent in this election was A. H. Jones of Henderson County. Mr. Jones was a Republican who ran a hotel in Hendersonville, North Carolina. Durham received in Cleveland County 1,042 votes, while Jones received only 648 and about 200 of these were cast by negroes. In the whole Congressional District Durham received 10,347 votes and Jones 10,329, making a majority of only 18. Mr. Durham was not permitted to take his seat in Congress, though. The Republicans raised the cry of "fraud" and the votes were sent to General Canby at Charleston, who threw out enough to defeat Durham. In 1868-69 he was chosen again to represent the County in the legislature, and in which position he served his county well.⁶⁸

Durham was succeeded in the legislature by Mr. Lee M. McAfee, his law partner. Mr. McAfee was also a strong Democrat and added much to the strength of his party.⁶⁹ Among the Democratic leaders Dr. W. J. T. Miller, the founder of the county, also deserves mention. Mr. Miller represented the county in the legislature for several terms and did much for his county and party.

⁶⁷ Convention Journal, p. 342.

⁶⁸ Manuscript of Robert Durham.

⁶⁹ Mr. McAfee drew up the bill of impeachment which removed Governor W. W. Holden from office.

The Quakers and the North Carolina Manumission Society

BY P. M. SHERRILL

Undoubtedly the strongest anti-slavery influence in North Carolina was that of the Quakers.¹ The Friends had strong convictions against slavery and they were as true to them as they were to their doctrine against war. They opposed slavery, not only in the abstract, but in practice; they not only tried to better the conditions of those living in servitude, but were actively engaged in manumission in the face of obstructive legislation. The Friends never had many colored members, neither did they ever own many slaves, and most of those they did own were freed even before the Revolution and a member could not continue to hold slaves and remain a Friend.

The first case of emancipation on record by the Friends as a body was in 1776, when the Yearly Meeting appointed a committee to aid Friends in emancipating their slaves. With the aid of this committee forty slaves were freed. But these slaves were emancipated illegally, and they were taken up by the authorities and resold into slavery. The Quakers claimed that the slaves were resold under a statute of 1777, passed after the slaves had been freed. They fought the matter through the Courts and won the verdict. But this victory was temporary for, in 1779, the Assembly passed a law confirming the sale of the slaves and providing that any others, similarly freed, were to be resold. This act was based on a colonial law of 1741 which the Assembly held was still in force.² The Quakers claimed that this was an *ex post facto* law and upon this claim and upon the Bill of Rights in the Declaration of Independence they drew up a petition to the legislature saying in part "that no law, moral or divine, has given us a right to, or property in, any of our fellow creatures any longer than they are in a state of minority." This petition, upon the advice of certain men, friendly to the Quakers, was not pre-

¹ See Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, and Bassett, *Slavery in the State of North Carolina*, pp. 64-71.

² Bassett, *Slavery in the State of North Carolina*, p. 65.

sented.³ Although this petition was not presented during the following years many others were submitted, upon various matters pertaining to slavery. In 1817 the Legislature was petitioned to take joint action with Congress in colonizing the free negro. But this petition received the same treatment that previous ones had met with. Upon this failure the Quakers gave \$1,000 to the American Colonization Society.

In the meantime, notwithstanding the fact that so far their efforts in behalf of emancipation had met with no success, they began to educate the negroes in Sabbath and Day schools. This was before the law had been passed prohibiting the teaching of slaves to read and write, and some considerable success was obtained. When the Legislature in 1831 passed the act prohibiting the education of slaves, the Quakers petitioned for its repeal. In this same petition they asked that negroes be allowed to preach. "We consider these laws unrighteous and contrary to the spirit of Christianity, offensive to God; and your memorialists believe, if not repealed, they will increase the difficulties and dangers they are intended to prevent."⁴

In order to evade the emancipation law the Friends, as a corporate body, became one of the large slaveholders of the state. In 1808, "certain parties were authorized to act as agents and to receive assignments of slaves from masters who wished to be rid of them."⁵ The agents thus appointed could do as they saw fit with the negroes, hire them out and receive their wages, and they had the power to "act discretionary with particular characters, and if they or any of them will not comply with the directions of the agents, after the necessary care has been taken they may give them up to a course of law" and "they may be subjected by the most moderate means that will effectually reduce the object to industry for the benefit of himself or herself."

The Quakers did not take this step hastily, but on the advice of William Gaston, later a member of the Supreme Court of North Carolina. In 1809 he wrote as follows:

"By the act of 1796, Chapter II, it is made lawful for any religious society or congregation in the state to elect any

³ *Ibid*, p. 65.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 67.

⁵ Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, p. 224.

number of their body, as trustees, which trustees and their successors in office shall have full power to purchase and hold in trust for their society or congregation any real estate, and to receive any donations of whatever kind, for the use and benefit of such society or congregation; to this power of making purchase and receiving donations there is but one limitation, which is, that under this act, no single congregation or society shall hold more lands than shall amount in quantity to 2,000 acres and in value 200 pounds per year. It necessarily follows that donations of personal property, such as money, slaves, etc., may be received to any amount,—such donations cannot be set aside by any persons claiming under the donors, nor can they be impaired by any one; unless by the creditors of the persons who have made such gifts fraudulently to defeat the recovery of just debts, or by those who can show a superior and paramount title to the property given, nor are they liable for the debts of the individual trustees to whom the conveyance is made,—for the act especially provides that conveyances and donations in the manner above mentioned shall be valid in law to convey to the society or congregation the absolute estate of the property comprehended in the instrument of conveyance of gift. And if the absolute estate therein be vested in the society, of course there is none in the trustees through whose medium the transfer is effected or at most a legal and not a beneficial interest.”⁶ With this document Gaston included a proper legal form for such gifts. Evidently he thought that the Quakers had a perfect legal right to hold slaves in this way, but notwithstanding his opinion, many suits arose. Some of them will be discussed later.

At first this system did not meet the approval of all the Friends but soon the entire Yearly Meeting was actively engaged in the work. The agents not only received negroes from Quakers but also from others until it was found necessary to prohibit the further gift of slaves by others than Friends.

Under this system a great number of slaves were received by the agents. By 1814 more than 350 negroes had been transferred to the agents. In 1822 there were 450; in 1824 there were 500 under care and 727 had been received in all; in 1826, 600 were under care; in 1830, 402 were under care; and

⁶ Manuscript in Guilford College Library.

in the Eastern Quarter in 1834 there were 300 under care.⁷ As late as 1836 eighteen were still under care.

Most of these negroes were sent to free states, a large portion to the west, and some to foreign ports. As early as 1814, 40 were sent to Pennsylvania. A report of the agents in 1830 says that up to that time 652 had gone to free governments. In 1834 300 were sent to Indiana from eastern Carolina.⁸

Not as many went to foreign ports as to free territory. One of the agents says that many of the negroes refused to go to Hayti or Liberia, contending that they would rather stay in America and remain in servitude than go so far from home.⁹ However, of the 600 under care in 1826, 316 were willing to go to Liberia, 101 to the west, 15 to Philadelphia and 99 to stay at home.

The cost of getting this large number of negroes to free territory was heavy. It was estimated by the Eastern Quarter in 1834 that the cost of sending 133 negroes to Indiana was \$2,490.¹⁰ To meet this heavy cost the Quakers, or a great many of them, contributed freely of their own means. They also received many contributions from Friends in New England, New York, and Indiana. Friends in England also contributed largely, £500 in 1835 and £534 in 1836. These facts are taken from Manumission Papers in the Guilford College Library, and from their contents it seems likely that the English Quakers contributed annually. These English letters are generally addressed to Jeremiah Hubbard, a Guilford County Friend, and signed by Josiah Forster. It is interesting to note that Jeremiah Hubbard had Indian blood in his veins.

In 1822 \$200 was appropriated for the purpose of removing negroes to free territory. This fund which was increased year by year was called the "African Fund." By 1830, \$12,769.51 had been spent in sending negroes to free governments. In 1837 the African Fund was \$3,375.05. After that time it began to fall off so that in 1856 it was only \$353.12.¹¹

⁷ Weeks, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-228.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 225-228.

⁹ MSS. in Guilford College Library.

¹⁰ MSS. in Guilford College Library.

¹¹ Weeks, p. 228.

The North Carolina Friends kept up a close correspondence with the American Colonization Society. Some Friends, Levi Coffin for example, were not in favor of co-operating with this society and looked on it rather as a slaveholder's scheme than an anti-slavery one. The Friends who took this view were usually rank abolitionists. But notwithstanding this division the Quakers contributed to the Society and served as a sort of collecting agency of negroes for it. The North Carolina Friends were most active in this work during the years 1825 to 1830. They contributed to its funds over \$2,000. In 1826, \$5,000 was given to the Quakers to send negroes to free governments, and, acting under the advice of the Society, a vessel carrying 119 emigrants sailed from Beaufort, North Carolina for Hayti. Of these 119, 54 were sent by the agents of the Yearly Meeting; 55 by members of the Society; eight were free negroes, intermarried with slaves; and two by persons not in the Society. They were so favorably received in Hayti that the President asked for more emigrants. In 1826 a ship sailed for Africa from North Carolina with 50 emigrants and in 1827 another sailed with 67 on board.¹²

About the year 1831 the free states of the west began to be alarmed at the large number of negroes who were coming to that section. They accordingly passed laws forbidding masters to bring their slaves there for the purpose of freeing them and also they forbade free negroes to migrate to the West. The Friends of Indiana, many of whom had migrated from North Carolina, held this view. A summary of a letter from Samuel Charles to Jeremiah Hubbard in 1826 shows "that the prejudice against a colored population, was as great in Indiana as in North Carolina, and that there was as much of it in the minds of members of our Society there as in other people, that they say as others do that they ought to be free, but they do not want them there, and notwithstanding that is called a free state, a free black person is not allowed as much privilege there by law as in North Carolina."¹³ A company from North Carolina reached Indiana in 1837 and when they found they could not stay they

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 229, 231.

¹³ *Weeks*, pp. 232, 233.

went on to Pennsylvania, but were not allowed to stay there, and finally had to migrate to Africa.

The policy of the Quakers brought them into many law suits. One of the most famous, *Contentnea Society vs Dickinson*, was heard by the Supreme Court in 1827. The case was as follows: In 1817 the agents of the Quaker society of Contentnea in Wayne County received a slave from William Dickinson. This negro was to be watched over by the agents who had power to hire him out, but the negro himself to receive the profits of his labor, until he could be free by the laws of the state. Nothing was said about sending him out of the state, even if he was eventually freed. The opinion, written by Chief Justice Taylor, declared that the system of the Quakers was practically emancipation. By law a religious society could hold property for its use only, not when conveyed to it for a purpose which was contrary to policy of the laws of the state. It was well known that Quakers did not hold slaves for their own use or profit because it was strictly contrary to their principles. One, Justice Hall, dissented. He held to the earlier view of Gaston that a religious society could hold personal property unlimitedly.¹⁴

Another case was that of *Redmond vs Coffin* in 1833. Redmond had conveyed six slaves to the Quaker agents, E. Hunt, Timothy Mauney, Josiah Unthank, and George Swain. After his death, Redmond's wife brought suit for the possession of the slaves. She won the case, and the opinion by Chief Justice Ruffin said: "A bequest of slaves for the purpose of emancipation, is void, and a trust results to the next of kin."¹⁵

Of the 600 negroes under care of the Quakers in 1826, 78 were involved in lawsuits.¹⁶ But as has been seen above the Quakers, regardless of these adverse decisions, continued to hold slaves in this way.

After 1835 the slavery question began to decline among the Quakers. Many of them had emigrated to the west and other issues, such as the whiskey question, began to claim the attention of those who remained. Also the people of North

¹⁴ 12 N. C., Reports 154.

¹⁵ Guilford Equity Cases, 1831; Minute Doc., Superior Court Reports, 18-431.

¹⁷ N. C. Reports 431.

¹⁸ Weeks, p. 228.

Carolina were beginning to take a reactionary view toward slavery.

Such were the sentiments and the activities of the Friends as a body toward slavery. In addition to the work of their Yearly Meeting, there existed among them a local anti-slavery society, known as "The North Carolina Manumission Society."¹⁷

This society was organized in the so-called Quaker counties of North Carolina—Guilford, Randolph, and Chatham. The movement was probably originated by the great Quaker anti-slavery preacher, the founder of *The Philanthropist*, Charles Osborne. He organized an anti-slavery society in Tennessee in 1814 and from his journal we learn that he organized such societies in Guilford County, North Carolina, in 1816. These were probably the Center, Caraway, Deep River, and New Garden branches which united in 1816 to form the North Carolina Manumission Society. Their first meeting was on July 19, 1816 when the above mentioned chapters or branches were represented. They reported a total membership of 147. The first officers elected were Moses Swain, President; Thomas Swain, Clerk; and Hugh Sherwood, Treasurer. The Swains and Coffins are especially prominent in this first meeting. About all that was done except to organize was to appoint two committees; one to look after all printing, and the other to get extracts from the slave laws of different states. At the next meeting rules of order were drawn up and the proposed constitution was discussed. The preamble of the constitution contained the following which sets forth the views of the society: "that we adhere to the Declaration made by our countrymen in the year (1776) viz, 'that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.' That the command of the great father of mankind is, that we do unto others as we would be done by." The name was to be "The North Carolina Manumission Society." The meetings of the representatives of the various branches were to be held alternately at Deep River and Center Meeting Houses to "delib-

¹⁷ Facts concerning this Society here given are taken from the MSS. "Minutes" in the Guilford College Library.

erate upon, and adopt such measures as in their judgment will be likely to promote the gradual abolition of slavery." Any free white male could become a member of the society upon recommendation and a majority vote. This constitution was ratified in 1816 and revised in 1819.

The membership rapidly grew around the nucleus of the first 147. In 1817 the membership was as follows: Center Branch 66, Deep River 46, New Garden 68; total 180. There was no account from Caraway. In 1817 two new branches were entered on the roll, Springfield and Reedy Fork, with 31 and 32 members respectively. The total number of members at this time was 256. In 1818, "in consequence of the neglect of some of the Branches the aggregate amount of members cannot be ascertained." By April, 1819, the membership had increased to only 281. In 1825 there were 35 branches, 27 represented at the meeting—15 branches reported 497 members. This was an average of 33. There were probably 1150 in all. In March, 1826, 23 branches reported 1000 members; 14 branches were not represented. The total membership had probably increased to 1600. The roll in September, 1826, was as follows:¹⁸

BRANCHES	MEMBERS
New Garden, Guilford County	40
Center, Guilford County.....	112
Deep River, Guilford County	50
Caraway, Randolph County	31
Springfield, Guilford County	77
Deep Creek .....	...
Trotters Creek	30
Cane Creek, Chatham County	44
Jamestown, Guilford County	75
Richland Creek, Randolph County	87
Emanuel	79
Ebenezer, Chatham or Randolph County	41
Rocky River, Chatham County .....	...
Uwharee	119
Newberry	28
Tabernacle	76
New Salem, Randolph County	44
Beans Shoals .....	...
Mount Olivet, Chatham County .....	...

¹⁸ The counties in which the branches were located are given as far as they can be ascertained by the writer.

South Fork .....	...
Union, Randolph County .....	...
Bethel, Chatham County .....	...
Dover, Guilford County	27
Morris Chapel	19
Blues Creek	41
Providence, Chatham County	41
Westfield .....	...
Sandy Creek, Randolph County .....	...
Marie's Creek .....	...
Muddy Creek, Forsythe County .....	...
Shiloh, Chatham County .....	...
Hunting Creek	13
Prospect, Randolph County .....	...
Reedy Fork, Randolph County .....	...
Brush Creek, Randolph County .....	...
Hillsborough, Orange County .....	...
Greensborough, Guilford County .....	...
Rehoboth, Guilford County	18
Jersey Settlement, Davidson County	21
Loves Creek, Chatham County .....	...

There was a total of 1,116 members from the 22 branches reporting and a total number of branches, 40. Probably one cause of this growth was the visit of Benjamin Lundy to North Carolina in 1824. There were also four Female Societies.

The first mention of a Female Society was in 1825 when such a branch at Jamestown contributed a sum of money to the treasury. It was recognized as an auxiliary. In 1826 there were four of these female societies and an address was received from one or more at almost every meeting. In answer to their addresses in 1826, the committee reported that "they contain a fund of good sense, and noble sentiment; but when we reflect that they sprang from the female sex, their excellence is doubly enhanced." And again, "their alleviation of our toil, may be likened to the music of a vernal grove adjoining a field of labor; or to a sprightly companion along a rugged path, at once beguiling the hours and smoothing down the asperities of the way." The addresses of the women were answered at almost every meeting with some such tribute as the foregoing. Another association of women called the "New Salem Benevolent Association of Females" was recogniz-

ed as an auxiliary in 1827.

From 1826 on, although the branches rose to the number of 45 at one time, there is not again given the number of members, and the number of unrepresented branches increased, especially after 1830.

In 1834, at the last meeting of the Society, there were only three branches represented—Center, Springfield, and Union.

There are several reasons for this decline. One was that the pro-slavery sentiment was on the increase in North Carolina, with which came hatred of the radical ideas of the northern abolitionists. And the same dislike fell on the North Carolina Society, for it had become abolitionist in its doctrines. This leads to the division of sentiment within the organization itself.

As early as the third meeting of the society, April 28, 1817, a division occurred when it was proposed to add to the name the words "and colonizing." This was adopted, it seems, without much discussion but when, at the next meeting, it was proposed to strike out "colonizing" and insert "colonization" in its stead, a sharp debate occurred. The proposition carried however. Levi Coffin in his *Reminiscences* says of this change: "The last convention that I attended was held at General (Alexander) Gray's in Randolph County. He was a wealthy man and owned a number of slaves, but was interested in our movement. The meeting was held in his large new barn, which was covered but not weatherboarded, and which afforded ample room for the assembly. Quite a number of slaveholders were present who favored gradual manumission and colonization. They argued that if the slaves were manumitted, they must be sent to Africa; it would not do for them to remain in this country; they must return to Africa, and this must be made a condition of their liberty. A motion was made to amend our constitution, so that the name of our organization would be 'Manumission and Colonization Society.' This produced a sharp debate. Many of us were opposed to making colonization a condition of freedom, believing it to be an odious plan of expatriation concocted by slave holders, to open a drain by which they might get rid of free negroes, and thus remain in more secure possession of their slave property. They considered free negroes a dangerous element among slaves. We had no objection to free negroes going to Africa

of their own will, but to compel them to go as a condition of freedom was a movement to which we were conscientiously opposed and against which we strongly contended. When the vote was taken, the motion was carried by a small majority. We felt that the slave power had got the ascendancy in our Society, and that we could no longer work in it. The convention broke up in confusion and our New Garden branch withdrew to itself, no longer co-operating with the others. Our little anti-slavery band, composed mostly of Friends, continued to meet at New Garden until the majority of the members emigrated to the West, preferring to live in a free state."¹⁹

It is clear that there was a majority who did not take Coffin's view of the change, because the Society continued to grow; but it is also clear that the Society was not as completely abolitionist in its views as at first. In 1819 there was a proposition from Springfield to strike out "Manumission" from the name. This proposition was referred to a committee. At the next meeting it was decided to retain "Manumission" in the title.

Although Coffin says that New Garden drew out of the Society, there was a proposition from the branch in 1820 to strike out "Colonization." It was referred to the next meeting, when it was at first decided to strike out the word and then decided to reconsider the proposal at the next meeting. At the next meeting action was again deferred, but finally in 1822 it decided to retain "colonization." The word was later dropped out, but from the minutes of the Society it does not appear when. In the latter part of 1824 the Minutes give the name as the "North Carolina Manumission Society."²⁰

At the same meeting at which the word "and colonizing" was added to the name of the Society, correspondence with the "American Society at Washington City, for colonizing free people of color" was authorized. In 1819 a proposition to contribute to the American Colonization Society was referred

¹⁹ Coffin, *Reminiscences*—pp. 75-76.

²⁰ Weeks, in *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, pp. 239-40, says that the term "colonization" was dropped from the name at the April meeting, 1824. From the minutes it may be seen that there was "no quorum" at that meeting. The only business transacted was to acknowledge the receipt of some books from the American Convention. Further the President in June, 1824, refers to the society as the North Carolina Manumission and Colonization Society, saying that he thinks the name ought to be Manumission Society of North Carolina.

to a committee which reported that the Society could not now become a member of the "Colonizing Society at Washington" because it was too poor, which report the house adopted. In April, 1820 it was decided to refund \$18 collected for the American Society to the original subscribers. The reason for this action is not stated. In 1825 it was decided to encourage emigration to Hayti and Liberia to a limited extent, the negroes being given the choice of the place. The members thought that free negroes should go and slaveholders should prepare their slaves to go. They went further in 1826 and gave one of their members \$23 to aid in sending some negroes to Hayti. At the next meeting they decided to print a monthly sheet devoted to Manumission and Colonization. This project was later dropped because of the lack of funds. At the same meeting another small amount was contributed toward sending negroes to Hayti. The next year a speech of "Mr. Secretary Clay before the late annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society" was read. In September 1827 it was stated that "some of the members of the North Carolina Society have thought that the principles of the American Colonization Society were congenial with the views of the Manumission Society, others have thought not. Therefore it is resolved that the North Carolina society sympathizes with Abolition societies but also with colonization, because colonization naturally means gradual emancipation." The Society also contributed \$20, together with a petition to Congress to aid colonization. But by 1829 the Abolition element seems to be again getting in control for a resolution for co-operating with the Colonization Society was indefinitely postponed, which in effect meant a loss of the resolution. But in contrast to this, in 1832, after an animated debate, a proposition for the branches to contribute to the Society was decided in the affirmative. A committee was evidently appointed, for at the next meeting they reported nothing done, and it was moved that it be "exonerated" from the performance of its duty at all.

The Manumission Society also kept up friendly relations with the American Convention for the Abolition of Slavery. In 1819 a motion to send a delegate to the Convention was indefinitely postponed. In 1826 a committee was appointed to

write to the Convention and give it some information for which it had asked. In 1827 Benjamin Swain attended the convention as a delegate. In September 1827, although there were not enough funds to send delegation to the Convention, it was resolved to send a communication. In 1828 it was again reported that there were not sufficient funds to send delegates. The same thing was reported in 1829, but a communication was to be sent and also \$5 to be contributed to its funds. The Society also received from time to time tracts and books from the Convention. The relations between the two were closer after 1825.

The Society also corresponded with Bible and Peace societies. This fact brings out the strong Quaker element in the membership.

There was a so-called North Carolina Abolition Society at Newberry. Little is known of this society, except what is learned from its relations with the Manumission Society. In June 1824, a committee from the Society was appointed to meet with Newberry Society and try to unite the two. In September of the same year, Aaron Coffin reported that the North Carolina Abolition Society could not agree to the Manumission Constitution. He recommended that a committee be appointed to serve with a like committee of the Abolitionists, to come to terms and draw up a constitution. At the next meeting, October 1824, the constitution drawn up by the joint committee was unanimously adopted. It is unknown whether the abolition society took like action but it probably did adopt the constitution, for after this time Newberry appears on the roll of branches.

Now let us study some of the propositions taken up by the Society and see what it did in itself for the negro.

Among other things the General Association (as the Society is designated in the minutes) sent many memorials and addresses to Congress. Perhaps it would be more nearly correct to say that many were drawn up and few were sent.

The first mention of a petition to Congress was in 1817 when the Association resolved to send a petition "on behalf of the people of color held in slavery." This petition was reconsidered at the next meeting and rejected. A committee was

appointed to draw up a more suitable one. At the next meeting the committee reported that 260 signers, not members of the Society, had been secured, and the Society instructed that the petition be sent to Thomas Settle, the representative from that district. Another memorial was drawn up in 1824 to be sent to Romulus M. Saunders or John Long, representatives in Congress. This petition asked for the prohibition of the slave trade between the states. At the same meeting there was a motion to memorialize Congress for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and also asking for governmental aid to the Colonization Society. In the next year a memorial contained the following: "That in North Carolina, its (slavery) malign influence on the agricultural interest, on the public morals, and on the simplicity of her republican virtue, is felt and deplored by an important portion of her citizens." It is interesting to note in this connection that in 1825 the people of North Carolina were divided as follows in their attitude toward slavery, according to the estimate of the Society: two-sixtieths were for immediate emancipation; three-sixtieths for gradual emancipation; four sixtieths supported schemes of emigration; thirty-six-sixtieths were ready to support schemes of emancipation; three-sixtieths did not care for the subject; nine-sixtieths opposed emancipation as impractical; and three-sixtieths were bitterly opposed. Of course these are the estimates of an anti-slavery organization.

From the one report of the reception given to memorialization by Congress it is clear that that body was not favorable to the cause. In 1829 Congress said in part "that for the consolation of those whose feelings are exerted in their behalf, that in the separation of their (slaves') families, their condition is frequently bettered, and their minds made happier by the exchange—and that their prisons are kept, from humane considerations, to shield those who are destined for sale, from the inclemency of the weather."²¹

The first motion to petition the Legislature was in 1818 and was lost. The discussion of a petition was kept up however until 1819 when it was dropped. In March 1825 the minutes speaks of a petition which had been forwarded to the

²¹ I have not been able to find copies of the memorials to Congress or any other reply of Congress than the one quoted.

Legislature, and in September of the same year an address was to be sent by the representatives, Jonathan Parker and William Unthank. In 1827 the Board of Managers was instructed to petition the Legislature to prohibit the importation of slaves from other states into North Carolina. Seemingly nothing was done for the society recommended the same thing in 1828. In the latter part of 1828 it was resolved to petition for better laws for individual emancipation, and a committee was appointed for this purpose. In 1829 this committee reported that it was not expedient to petition the next Legislature "to leave owners of slaves at discretion in liberating their slaves, although we believe it a subject of vital importance and one which ought to be well considered." From this time on committees on this subject generally report either "no progress" or that it is inexpedient. In 1831 the report of a committee in favor of petitioning the Legislature for the repeal of the acts prohibiting the education of slaves after considerable debate was rejected, but another committee was appointed to "draft a Remonstrance against the enactments of the Last Legislature, Relative to Slaves."

One aim of the Society was to get its views before the public through newspapers. It was unsuccessful in this at first. As early as 1816 it tried to get an address which had been delivered before a meeting published in the Raleigh papers. This is the answer they received to their request:

"Dear Sir:—I received by a young man who passed thro' the place some days ago an oration delivered before your Manumission Society, with a Request that it might be inserted in the 'Register, Star, and Menerva.' I am not willing to insert it in the Register, it is on a subject which the people of the state will not bear discussed with temper at present, it might also produce consequence of a direful kind by getting into the hands of Slaves, for many of them can read—I wish with you, that an end could be put to Slavery, but it will be of no use to attack the people's prejudices directly in the face, it must be brought about by slow, but gradual means—if you wish the copy returned say so.

Yours Respectfully,

Raleigh, September 6th, 1816."

JO. GALES

So unsuccessful were the attempts to get articles in the papers that the Society considered established a printing press of its own. Although many plans were made, none of them were carried out. Sometimes, however, they did print certain addresses and distribute them to the branches.

The Society was given a medium through which to give its doctrine to the public when William Swaim became editor of the *Greensboro Patriot* in 1827. Before this time some manumission copy was published by the editor, T. Early Strange, who was prominent in the Society. Swaim was editor until his death, in 1835. During this time there are frequent anti-slavery articles, together with calls for Manumission Meetings. Swaim was also prominent in the Society and served as its Secretary for a number of years. A thoroughly anti-slavery man, he lived up to the motto of his paper, "The Ignorant and Degraded of Every Nation or Clime must be Enlightened Before our Earth can have Honor in the Universe." Levi Coffin says: "He advocated the manumission of slaves, and though he met with a storm of opposition and was assailed by other papers, he continued his course boldly and independently. He received letters from various parts of the state full of threats and warnings. These he published in his paper, and replied to them in editorials. Many public speakers and writers engaged in discussion with him, but they could not cope with him, and generally retired from the combat much worsted." Here he was true to another motto:

"Truths would you teach, or save a sinking land,
All fear, none aid you, and few understand."

In his paper he often writes against the slave trade, and in favor of colonization. He says his object is "to *persuade* our fellow citizens not to permit less important things to divert their attention from a question which, it has justly been said, is 'Big with the fate of this Union'."

Swaim was not, as was generally thought throughout the state at that time, a Quaker. He makes this clear in an editorial which appeared in the *Patriot*, May 9, 1832.

After Swaim's death the paper was taken over by A. E. Hanner and C. N. B. Evans, and advertisements for fugitive slaves and slave auctions begin to appear in the *Patriot*.

At an early meeting of the Society it was decided to investigate cases of kidnapping, and in 1819 a standing committee was appointed on the subject, and, on motion at the same meeting, "it was resolved for the committee on the subject of kidnapping to take into consideration, the case of a number of colored people in the eastern part of this state, supposed to be illegally held in bondage, and if the committee thinks proper to pursue the subject, they are authorized to draw on the treasurer for money to bear their expenses." There is no account of a report by this committee. In 1825 upon the information that certain negroes were held in illegal bondage in Surry County, it was decided to take no action as a body.

The Society also gave some aid to those who wished to emancipate their slaves. In 1825 they thought it inexpedient to help free the slaves of certain persons, except to raise in part the money for that purpose. In 1827 a committee was appointed to correspond with one Nancy Moore who wished to manumit and colonize her slaves. This was the extent, as appears from the Minutes, of direct aid to persons who wished to manumit their slaves. At one time the appointment of an agency for that purpose was considered but is was deemed inexpedient.

Individual members of the Society, however, were active in the cause of emancipation. One of these was George C. Men-denhall, a prominent politician. The following letter, written when the Society was most prosperous, well illustrates the sentiment of the membership.

JAMESTOWN, GUILFORD, NORTH CAROLINA
June 14, 1825

"MARTHA MOORE:

My brother Richard on his way to Richmond, Virginia, a few weeks since, wrote a line home, stating that he visited you on his way, and requested a line written to you pointing out a certain method of effectually emancipating your slaves after your death. I have waited for my Brother to return to find if he knew of any further circumstances than he has written, respecting your determination to effect their freedom, but his written statement contained, as he says, all his information on the subject. I now proceed to state, that I know of no other way that you can insure them their freedom by will, and as a

confirmation of this I will refer you to two cases already decided on by the Supreme Court of this State—first case that of Huckaby against Jones and others (from Franklin County) . . . *lawful property* and for them to keep or dispose of as they shall judge more fit for the glory of God, and good of said slaves, it was decided that as those 4 men took no beneficial interest under the will, they were mere trustees, and as the intention of their testator was to give his slaves freedom, such intention was illegal as against the Policy of the Law and next to kin was to hold the slaves; this case will be found in the second volume of the Supreme Court Reports by F. L. Hawks Page 120. The other case was Turner against Whitted from Orange County to the same effect. Hawks Report Page 13.

“The only way therefore seems to be, to set them free by removing to a free state or country in your own life time for you cannot set them free here in this State, either by deed or will, because the Laws will not allow thereof.

“You can employ an agent and give him a Power of Attorney to convey them to Ohio or Indiana State and leave or settle them there; it is a plentiful country where they would no doubt in a short time be in a measure comfortably situated and where they could enjoy more privileges and a greater degree of Liberty than free persons of color can by our law enjoy in North Carolina. If you are disposed to remove them I can only say it might be well for their security that it should be done at as early a period as practicable with convenience. The slaves themselves if hired out would in a few months raise a sufficient sum to defray all expenses attending their conveyance to any of the Western States. I will further add that any other or further information which you may at any time wish, I will freely and cheerfully impart, or any writing on the subject, which you may require I will attend to by your having a line sent to the Post Office.

With due Respect

GEORGE C. MENDENHALL.

“Jeremiah Hubbard is of the opinion that if you would appoint Vestal Coffin of this County as an agent, he would honestly and safely convey your slaves to any other state that you may desire. He has been engaged heretofore warmly in the

cause of emancipating slaves and securing Liberty to those of color who are free but improperly held in Bondage.

G. C. M.²²

The Society attempted to do something for the education of the slave. One branch, New Garden, did establish a school for slaves, and the Society recommended like action to other branches. Any further action was stopped by the anti-education acts of 1831.

One of the chief agencies for carrying on the work of the Society, especially in the intervals between the semi-annual meetings, was the Board of Managers. This board was first appointed in 1825. It was generally composed of the more prominent men in the Society. The number was at first fixed at nine. Later it was reduced to six, although it seems that the number was not continuous. The Board, besides looking after the business of the society between meetings, drew up petitions, prepared essays, and acted as a committee on many of the important discussions of the society. In their report in 1828 the Board said: "—and although we have but little to felicitate ourselves upon with regard to the progress of our institution we believe that the cause of emancipation is gaining ground in this state—and that if members would do more in promulgating our principles, the cause might be advanced with more facility."

The Society was always in need of funds. Many of the propositions brought before the meeting could not be carried out on account of the lack of sufficient finances. The first report of the treasurer in 1817 placed the balance in his hands at \$2.50. But in 1819 the amount had grown to \$55 which was out on interest. It was held in 1823 that the Society must have larger funds if it was to continue. In 1825, \$36.32 were contributed to the treasury. The balance in the treasury in 1826 was \$45.48. In the next year at the first meeting \$36.71 were contributed. Smaller amounts were contributed from time to time. By 1828 the balance had increased to \$79.39. After this time the funds grew smaller and the Society was constantly asking the branches for more funds, until 1833 when the cash on hand was 55 cents. At one time

²² MSS. letter in possession of the Trinity College Historical Society.

it was moved that each member devote the profits of one day's labor to the funds of the society. This motion was indefinitely postponed, however. Up to the very last the Society was lamenting the meagreness of its funds and asking the branches for more.

As was pointed out at the outset the Society held its last meeting at Marlborough Meeting House on July 25, 1834. At this meeting a resolution by Benjamin Swaim was adopted which read: "Resolved, that this Institution has not yet achieved the whole object which Providence had designed for it. Therefore, be it further resolved that we continue this Institution." With the adoption of this resolution, the election of Benjamin Swaim, President, William Reynolds, Secretary, and Benjamin Williams, Treasurer, and with instructions to the President to use "expedient means" for arousing the sleeping branches, the Society adjourned never to meet again so far as is known.

What remained of the Society had been growing more and more abolitionist in its views and drawing closer to the abolition movement. After the meeting in 1834 the Society ceased to be, save as a part of the Underground Railroad.²³

²³ There was one branch of the Colonization Society in Guilford County. In the *Patriot*, Oct. 27, 1827, appeared the following:

"Notice—A special meeting of the Greensborough Colonization Society will be held in the town of Greensborough on the 27th day of October next (it being Saturday of the Fall Term of the Superior Court). A punctual attendance of the members are called for, as the officers must be elected on that day."

In the *Patriot* of the next year, July 5, 1828, there was a notice of a meeting of the "Guilford Colonization Society." And the next year on June 20, there was a call for a meeting of "The Greensborough Auxiliary Colonization Society." These notices are about all that can be learned of the colonization movement in the Quaker counties.

Currency and Banking in North Carolina 1790-1836

BY WILLIAM K. BOYD

I. INTRODUCTION: ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITION

When North Carolina entered the Federal Union in 1789 it ranked third among the states in population; from 1800 to 1820 inclusive it stood fourth; but by 1830 it had dropped to fifth. During these decades there were strong evidences of economic stagnation. Land valuation in 1833 showed a decline compared to that of 1815. Textile products as late as 1810 surpassed in value those of Massachusetts: but by 1830 the industrial revolution in that state gave it precedence by a wide margin, and the trend of industry in North Carolina was toward agriculture.¹ Thousands of people left the state to fine homes in the northwest or in other parts of the south.

For this condition various explanations were offered by the observing and thoughtful men of the time. Perhaps the one most emphasized was the system of trade and commerce. Communication between the various sections of the state was so difficult that most North Carolina products were marketed in the cities of South Carolina and Virginia. The cost of transportation was so heavy that the profits were seriously reduced. Illustrative of this evil is the following quotation from a legislative report of 1833: "In North Carolina it is apparent that the reward of labor has ceased to be a stimulus to industry and to enterprise; that agriculture has ceased to yield to the land owner a compensation equivalent to the expense attending the transportation of his surplus produce to market. The consequent result of this state of things is, that real estate throughout the country has so depreciated in the hands of the farmers, as to be considered not to possess a fixed value estimated upon its products. Hence our citizens are daily abandoning the places of their birth for situations in other states less healthy, and often not superior in fertility of soil; but which, by the improvement of those states, rendered by the fostering aid of legislative patronage, the faci-

¹ Tench Coxe, *Statements of Arts and Manufactures in the United States*, 1810.

lities to wealth and the means of acquiring the necessities of life, the profits of labor hold out stronger inducements to agricultural pursuits than is to be found in North Carolina."² The situation revealed in this quotation along with the diversion of North Carolina products to Virginia and South Carolina markets show an ancient economic basis for the characterization of North Carolina as "a valley of despondency between two mountains of conceit." Out of it grew the demand for state aid to the building of roads and canals known as internal improvements.

A second cause of the deterioration of North Carolina suggested in the contemporary prints was the lack of a system of public schools. Ignorance led not only to poverty but was a factor in causing many to leave the state and find new homes where better educational opportunities were available. A system of common schools was therefore regarded as one of the remedies for existing evils. "It is humiliation in the highest degree," said a newspaper correspondent in 1825, "to behold the gigantic strides by which our sister states have surpassed us in the march of improvement Our agriculture is nearly what it was in the days of our fathers; enterprise, of every kind, seems to have taken wings and fled to some congenial abode; our political existence has been but barely acknowledged; and, with very few exceptions, our representation at Washington has been such as to corroborate the degrading opinion of our state. It is now high time to retrieve our lost honor, and establish our character for intelligence, patriotism and enterprise. And in accomplishing this grand object, the intellectual improvement of the lower classes must constitute the adamant basis of the whole structure. Do this, and agriculture will feel its genial influence; commerce will wave its flag; talents and ability will mark our representatives; foreign influence will vanish from our deliberation, and our state assume that rank to which its resources and its political duration so eminently entitled it."³

Progress was also greatly retarded by the sectional conflict between the east and the west. Up to 1835 the eastern counties had a larger representation in the legislature, though

² Report of the Committee on Internal Improvements.

³ *Western Carolinian*, Jan. 11, 1835.

the western counties developed more rapidly in population and wealth. The antagonism which resulted prevented any spirit of co-operation for a common cause. Deadlocks and log-rolling were common in the legislature, and local and private acts far out-numbered the public laws. It was this bitter spirit of local sectionalism that Governor Swain arraigned in 1835 as follows: "The history of our state legislature during the first half of our political existence will exhibit little more to posterity than the annual imposition of taxes amounting to less than \$100,000, one half of which constitutes the reward of the legislative bodies by which they were levied, while the remainder was applied to sustain the train of offices who superintended the machinery of government."

Undoubtedly another factor which contributed to the sense of depression in North Carolina was slavery. The per cent. of increase in the slave population from 1790 to 1830 was greater than that in the white population; also, by 1830 the negro population, including the slaves and free negroes, had reached the limit of its expansion; its relation to the total population, 36 per cent., was practically the same as in 1860, 37 per cent., while in 1790 it had been 27 per cent. However, public expressions of the economic evils of slavery were few. The most notable was that of William Gaston in an address at the University of North Carolina in 1832. "Disguise the truth as we may," he said, "and throw the blame where we will, it is slavery which, more than any other cause, keeps us back in the career of improvement. It stifles industry and represses enterprise—it is fatal to economy and providence—it discourages skill—impairs our strength as a community, and poisons morals at the fountain head."

In addition to these influences there was another one equally effective in limiting the development of North Carolina from 1790 to 1830. That was the state's financial system. It was not mentioned so often as a factor in the general depression, partly because it was such an ancient heritage that its essential evils as well as its relation to the general progress of the state were not realized. But an analysis of financial conditions, though superficial, must create a surprise that the eco-

conomic decline was not greater than it really was; for the three main elements in the financial problem, a confused and fluctuating currency, an inadequate system of taxation, and inefficient administrative methods are the very factors that most certainly produce business crises, lower the standards of the public conscience, and make extensive appropriations for public purposes impossible. Of these three elements in the fiscal policy, the currency was by all odds the most complicated and the most demoralizing, and most directly related to general economic development. It is very significant that there was no great appropriation for internal improvements nor marked progress in industry and trade until the problem of the currency was vigorously attacked through the agency of banks. Hence for its relation to the general march of progress, as well as for its technical interest, the history of currency and banking in North Carolina is of interest. The aim of the present study is to present the main lines of that history from 1790 to 1836, the latter year marking the close of one, and the beginning of another, epoch in the state's financial history.

CHAPTER I

II. THE COLONIAL AND REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

The origin of the currency problem is found in conditions during the colonial and revolutionary periods. Fiat money, rather than taxation, was the prevailing method of meeting public obligations.

The total bills of credit emitted from 1715 to 1764, when Parliament forbade any further colonial issues, was £219,092 and in 1771 debenture notes to the amount of £60,000 were also put into circulation. Various measures were taken to redeem this paper money but their effectiveness cannot be estimated. When the constitutional controversy which resulted in revolution came to a crisis in 1775, the amount of paper money in circulation, including the debenture notes, was probably £100,000, while the population was 250,000. Depreciation, ever present since the first issues, was then at the rate of 150 to 100 sterling.⁴

⁴ For a discussion of the Colonial issues of paper money, see Bullock, *Essays on the Monetary System of the United States*. Or Raper, *North Carolina, a Study in English Colonial Government*, ch. VI.

This excessive use of paper money suggests an accompanying evil, the lack of any efficient system of taxation. The popular economic fallacy was to meet the public debts with new issues of paper money rather than by taxation. Direct taxes were levied only seventeen times prior to the revolution; fourteen of these levies were poll taxes and one was a tax on law suits.⁵ One of the controversies that ushered in the revolution in North Carolina was that of continuing a poll tax to redeem certain issues of paper money. The Assembly held that the redemption was complete and that the tax should be dropped, while the Governor maintained that the tax should be continued to redeem the debenture notes. Nor was indirect taxation any more stable. Duties were twice levied on general merchandise, six times on liquors, and a tonnage duty was occasionally collected.⁶ Thus the traditions of colonial days were not favorable to a thorough system of taxation.

The restiveness regarding taxation was doubtless increased by the methods of administration. The office of treasurer was a double one, one official being elected for the northern district which included Currituck, Pasquotank, Perquimmons, Chowan, Tyrrell, Bertie, Edgecomb, Northampton, and Granville counties, and the other for the southern district which included the counties south of those mentioned. Below the treasurers were the sheriffs or county treasurers who collected the taxes on the basis of property values given in to county courts by the property owners. Inefficiency and corruption characterized the local administration. In 1770 every county in the colony had at least one defaulting sheriff and the total amount of arrears due by the sheriffs was estimated at £49,000.⁷

The revolution and the years immediately succeeding saw a continuation of the colonial fiscal policy. As taxes had been unpopular under the British administration, the war was supported, especially in the earlier years, by paper money. The third Provincial Congress in 1775 decided to return to the people the poll taxes collected since 1771, which had been a subject of controversy with Governor Martin, and provided

⁵ Raper, p. 146.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ C. R. VIII 278-281.

for public expenditures by ordering the prosecution of delinquent sheriffs and by issuing \$125,000 in bills of credit.⁸ Thus a new currency was established, the dollar to be equivalent to 8s of the old money; also the new bills were to be redeemed by a poll tax of 2s to be levied in 1777.⁹ In 1776 there was another issue of \$1,250,000 (£500,000), to be redeemed by a poll tax which should go into operation in 1780; in 1778, \$2,125,000 more were authorized without provision for redemption; and in the face of depreciation varying from 6 to 1 in 1779 to 32 or 50 to 1 in 1780, \$3,100,000 were authorized in the latter year.¹⁰ In 1780 and again in 1781 the taxes for the redemption of the issues of 1775 and 1776 were suspended; the result was that this early money of the revolution, popularly known as state dollars, became practically worthless. With the collapse of paper money the circulation of specie revived, a process well under way in 1782.¹¹ Then came the first real crisis in the currency policy of the state; the return of specie promised a sounder basis for commerce than had existed, but the fever for paper money, although allayed to some extent by past experiences, was strengthened by the temporary stringency which accompanied the return of specie and the claims of the revolutionary soldiers. So in 1783 two measures of a radical nature were adopted; one repudiated the revolutionary issues and the continental currency as legal tender in the payment of debts; the other provided for a new issue of £100,000 in bills of credit in denomination of shillings and pence, thus setting aside the dollar denomination of the revolution. For redemption of the new currency was reserved the confiscated property of loyalists. A scale of depreciation to be used in settling debts contracted in the past was also adopted, but all who had refused paper money before 1777 or had lost property by the confiscation acts were excluded from its benefits.¹²

The conservative leaders in the state were opposed by principle to the new issue of paper money; they also criticised the

⁸ C. R. X 184-194.

⁹ C. R. X 195.

¹⁰ C. R. X 572-573; Laws, 1778, 2nd sess. ch. I; 1780, 1st sess. ch. V.

¹¹ Laws, 1780, ch. XVI; 1781 (3rd sess. 1780) ch. 10. Elliott, *Debates on the Federal Constitution*, IV 90, 189.

¹² Laws 1783, chs. 1, 4,

policy toward the loyalists. Depreciation of the new currency soon commenced, and caused a demand for a second issue. So in 1785 £100,000 more were authorized with a tax for redemption and the reservation of £36,000 for the purchase of tobacco which should be sold and the proceeds be applied in payment of the state's quota of the interest on the continental foreign debts.¹³ Depreciation, of course, continued; in 1787 it was at a rate of 13s paper to 8s specie, and in 1786 Richard Dobbs Spaight declared that the North Carolina delegates to the Continental Congress could not attend that body because their salary, paid in state currency, was worthless outside the state.¹⁴

By no means the least interesting phase of the issue of 1785 was the appropriation for tobacco. It well illustrates the inefficiency and the loose standards of public morals which prevailed. First of all the commissioners who purchased the tobacco were allowed to offer 50s per hundred, which was higher than the market price; the next year, however, they were instructed to offer only the market price. Then considerable weight was lost in storing and transporting the tobacco. Finding a purchaser was also difficult. The delegates in Congress were authorized to act as selling agents and they succeeded in making a contract with an English firm at \$3.50, Spanish milled dollars, per hundred weight for nearly half the authorized purchase. After more than 100,000 pounds had been delivered, the company became insolvent; but credit to the amount due by the company was granted to the state by the continental authorities. Soon another contract was made at \$3., Spanish milled dollars, per hundred. A small sale was also negotiated by Richard Blackledge, one of the commissioners, with a French firm; he withheld the proceeds on the ground that he had a claim against the state for supplies furnished during the war. The legislature, however, refused to recognize the claim and payment was thus forced from Blackledge. Altogether £37,577.55 was spent for tobacco, more than the law contemplated, and to this must be added the commissioners' fees of two and one half per cent., the cost of storage,

¹³ Laws 1785 ch. 5.

¹⁴ Letters of Sylvius written by Hugh Williamson in *American Museum*, vol. II, p. 113; Elliott *Debates*, IV, 183; S. R. XX 309.

and transportation. The amount purchased was between one and one half and two million pounds, the amount sold was considerably less, the difference being due to shrinkage and low grade leaf. The story of inefficiency spread beyond the state and was one of the public scandals of the day.¹⁵

In addition to the forms of currency which have been outlined above were the certificates, undoubtedly the most confusing element in the revolutionary finances of North Carolina. These were promises to pay, bearing interest, either in specie or paper. They were first authorized in 1779 and 1780 when the paper money was depreciating so much as to be practically without value. According to the statutes of those years the Governor and the Treasurers were to receive as loans "such sums of money as the good people of this state shall be willing to supply" and to give in exchange certificates bearing five per cent. interest, redeemable in coin or paper, according to the nature of the loan.¹⁶ In 1781 bounties to the amount of \$26,250,000 were offered as bonus to volunteers, payable in certificates and currency, and the district treasurers in setting claims against the state "for articles heretofore furnished or impressed for the use thereof" were also directed to issue certificates which should be receivable for taxes, and future purchases by the state were to be made in specie, or in certificates.¹⁷ In 1782 certificates redeemable in specie were authorized for the settlement of soldiers' claims arising from the depreciation of paper money or deficiency of clothing.¹⁸

For the redemption of certificates three measures were adopted. One was to accept them in payment for public lands beyond the mountains. In 1783 the land office was opened for the entry of all lands except those of the Cherokees and the district reserved for soldiers' bounties. The rate of sale was fixed at £10 specie per hundred acres or its equivalent in specie and currency certificates rated by law. The next year the land office was closed on account of the cession of the western lands to Congress but it was re-opened when the cession was repealed.¹⁹ By 1787 4,393,945 acres of land had been entered.

¹⁵ State Records, vol. XX passim; McRee, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell* II, 139. Elliott, *Debates on the Federal Convention*, IV, 84, 89. Writings of James Madison, I 244.

¹⁶ Laws, 1778, ch. II; 1780 2nd sess. ch. II.

¹⁷ Laws, 1781 (last Sess. 1780) ch. I.

¹⁸ Laws, 1782, 1st sess. ch. III.

¹⁹ Laws, 1783, ch. II; 1784 ch. XX; 1786 ch. XX.

This was sufficient to redeem £439,394 of certificates but only £362,662 had been paid in; the balance of £76,731 was never collected, for the entry taker, John Armstrong, died and his estate was insolvent.²¹

Another method of redeeming the certificates was to make them acceptable in the sale of confiscated property, to the extent of two thirds the purchase price, at the rate of 150 to 1 for certificates issued prior to 1781 and 800 to 1 for those issued after that date.²² A third method of redemption was taxation. The law of 1783 which provided for the new state currency allowed certificates to be accepted in payment of taxes and this policy was renewed in 1784 and 1785.²³ In 1786, however, a tax supplementary to the regular revenue was levied in certificates, continental or state dollars, at the rate of 3s on the hundred acres, 9s on town lots, and 12s on the poll. This special tax was renewed in 1787, 1788, and 1789, but was abandoned in 1790.²⁴

The certificates, except those redeemable in specie, like the paper currency, depreciated. In 1782 the ratio to specie was fixed at 150 to 1 for those issued prior to 1781, 800 to 1 for those after that date, bounty certificates excepted.²⁵ In 1784 the ratio of continental and state dollars and bounty certificates was fixed at 800 to 1 specie, currency certificates as rated in 1782, while specie certificates were rated at their nominal value.²⁶

Unfortunately depreciation was not the only evil associated with the certificates. Counterfeiting was prevalent, especially as a means of buying public lands. Also officers holding certificates would often re-issue them after they had been redeemed and were technically valueless. The crowning fraud in certificates was exposed in 1786. Over a score of individuals secured forged certificates and due bills for military ser-

²¹ State Records, XX, 133. In 1792 Treasurer Haywood said that he had not brought suit against Armstrong's estate because such proceedings might affect the rights of settlers to the lands; but in 1800 he notes that judgment has been taken for \$50,000, the amount of Armstrong's bond in the court at Hillsboro, and an early settlement was expected. This is the last mention of the case in the Treasurer's reports. Evidently the bond was never collected, *House Journal*, 1792, 144; *Ibid.*, 1800 p. 58.

²² Laws 1782 ch. VI; also, 1786, ch. XII.

²³ Laws, 1783, ch. 1.

²⁴ Laws, 1786, chs. VIII; 1788, XI; 1790 ch. XIV.

²⁵ Laws, 1782, ch. VI.

²⁶ Laws 1784, 1st sess. ch VI, 2nd sess. ch. IV.

vice, signed by military officers, and presented them to the Commissioners of Army Accounts whose duty was to settle the claims arising from the Revolution. The Commissioners were a party to the frauds, for they received a discount for the false certificates and due bills which they approved. These were cashed by the Treasurer to the amount of £47,175.17 3-4 before the Governor issued an order forbidding further redemption. The Assembly of 1786 made an investigation, ordered the arrest of the offenders and their prosecution by the Attorney-General at the succeeding court at Warrenton. Indictments were found against a number; four were found guilty and were imprisoned, among whom were some of the most prominent men in state politics.²⁷ Memecun Hunt, Treasurer of the state, was implicated; he resigned and was succeeded by John Haywood in 1787.

The total amount of certificates issued and the total amount redeemed can not be ascertained. "It has been alleged," wrote Hugh Williamson in 1787, "that our certificate debt bears some resemblance to that many headed monster which defied danger; whenever one of its heads was cut off, two other heads arose to support the loss."²⁸ In 1786 the amount of certificates outstanding was estimated at £786,264.6, face value, with an annual interest of £47,575.1 3-4. The next year the amount outstanding was estimated at £1,000,000, with an interest accruing at £60,000. In 1786 there were in the Comptroller's office £855,763.6.3 specie certificates, £18,701,559.2.1 currency certificates, and £113,653 loan office certificates; these had found their way into the fiscal offices through taxes, land sales, etc., and presumably were burned.²⁹

The effects of paper money and certificates on standards of public morality were perhaps their worst feature. Business transactions were honeycombed with fraud. "Some time ago," wrote Williamson, "a young adventurer in North Carolina married a widow who had three children. She chanced to have three thousand hard dollars in the house, two thirds of which belonged to the children. The guardians claimed their share of the specie for the children, and the honest step-

²⁷ S. R. vol. XVIII, passim; McRee's Iredell, II 155-156.

²⁸ *American Museum* II, 226 (Letters of Sylvius.)

²⁹ S. R. XVIII 281: XXI, 352.

father is now buying up paper at twelve or thirteen shillings for the dollar; and such money will be a legal payment for the use of the orphans. Is it strange that paper depreciates when such men are profited by depreciation."³⁰

The effects of paper money on trade and credit were indeed confusing. One of the first duties of the legislature after the close of the war was to make provision for the settlement of debts. In 1783 the statute of limitations was suspended from all debts contracted from July 1776 to June 1784, and no suits for debts contracted prior to May 1783 should commence until a year from that time, unless the debtor should attempt to leave the state to avoid payment. Also, in rendering decisions in debtor cases the courts were ordered to give judgment in specie according to a given scale of depreciation although the contract or bond made the obligation payable in paper of the Revolution, and the provisions of the law making these paper issues tender in the payment of debts were repealed.³¹

The statute was so general in its terms that several doubtful questions arose which had to be settled by the courts. First of all was the extent to which the repeal of the tender laws could be applied. Creditors went so far as to claim that payments already made in revolutionary currency should be raised to meet the new scale of depreciation; also that debts previously contracted and unpaid should be settled according to the new standard. Such principles if applied would have worked untold hardship on the debtor class. Hence the court decided that the law of 1783 did not "destroy the effect and operation of the laws upon transactions that had already taken place under them," that the scale of depreciation applied only to claims unadjusted that had been established since depreciation set in (1777), and that in settling debts contracted during the revolution payment should be made according to rate of depreciation for the year in which the debt was contracted. On the other hand the debtors attempted to take advantage of the law by settling their obligations, payable in specie, according to the ratio between specie and state currency set forth in the scale of depreciation. The court held that the scale of de-

³⁰ *American Museum* II, 113 (Letters of Sylvius.)

³¹ Laws, 1783 ch. IV.

preciation could be applied only to the year 1783 in which the act was passed and to previous years, and could not be binding on the future; therefore in the absence of any prohibition the juries might settle all cases of depreciation between paper and specie relating to the same after 1783. A favorite method of adjusting the depreciation was to allow damages for withheld interest equal to the difference between the depreciation fixed in the law and the actual depreciation.³² Thus the sphere of judicial activity was greatly enlarged and the doctrine of implied powers was invoked. Doubtless much of the opposition to the courts was due to this financial decision, as well as activity in cases arising from confiscated property.

Paper money was closely identified with political development. There was a strong minority opposed to the inflation of the currency; in it were some of the powerful minds of the state. Prominent among them were James Iredell and Samuel Johnston. They were the leading spirits in a popular meeting at Edenton, August, 1783, which, in a series of resolutions, included a protest against the paper money policy of the legislature.³³ James Hogg, writing to Iredell, described the members of the Assembly of 1783 which issued £100,000 of the new bills of credit, as "a set of unprincipled men, who sacrificed everything to their popularity and private views."³⁴ One of the arguments against the ratification of the Federal Constitution in North Carolina was the prohibition of the states issuing bills of credit, and another, a fear that the existing state currency would be impaired by the monetary clauses of the Federal Constitution.³⁵ Consequently one of the amendments of the Constitution recommended by North Carolina was a prohibition of Congress or the judiciary interfering with the states "in the redemption of paper money already emitted, now in circulation, or in liquidating the public securities of any one of the states."³⁶ Moreover the influence of paper money and certificates in politics continued after the ratification of the constitution. Among the nationalising measures of Alexander Hamilton was the assumption

³² Anonymous, 1 Haywood, 138; *Bruton vs. Bullock*, Conference Reports, 372; Winslow vs. Bloom, 1 Haywood 217.

³³ McRee's Iredell, II, 60-66.

³⁴ McRee II, 46.

³⁵ Elliott, IV, 128-185; McRee II 241.

³⁶ Elliott IV, p 243.

of the state debts by the Federal Government. It was opposed by the North Carolina representatives in the first Congress. Among the objections made by Hugh Williamson was the fact that the proposed measure did not credit North Carolina with any of the certificates which had been redeemed by 1790 or any payments of the revolutionary claims in the paper money of 1783-85; he also quoted the amendment proposed by North Carolina against Federal interference with state currency and securities.³⁷ When the state debts were finally funded, the portion assumed for North Carolina was \$1,793,804. There was also a debt to the Federal Government in 1790 of \$568,195.33,6, the difference between the amount advanced to North Carolina by the Continental government and the amount received from the state. In 1793, this was revised, being \$501,082. It was never paid, the claim against the state being dropped in 1801.³⁸

CHAPTER II

III. THE CURRENCY—1790-1816

Thus, when North Carolina joined the Federal Union in 1789, one of the most demoralizing influences in the state was the inflated currency. Ratification of the Constitution forever ended the possibility of fiat money. There remained, however, the task of retiring the various issues of paper money then in circulation. The following table of the finances for the year 1788 illustrates the four kinds of paper money in use, the double standard of North Carolina currency in force, and the relative values.

³⁷ *Annals of Congress*, II, pp 1487-1490.

³⁸ *American State Papers*, vol. VII. (Finance, I 53, 697).

	Money of 1783-'85	Certificate	Cont'l Doll's	State Doll's	Remarks
Receipts					
Balance ---	6,745. 53	65,227.14.11	13,231	408,068	Continental bills 800 to 1 certificate, State Dollar 800 to 1 Certif. 1 £ equivalent to 2.50, face value
Arrears ----	54,131.18.8	45,329.10. 8 56.12. 2 204.10. 8			
Taxes -----	35,862.14.3	28,475.16.10 16. 2. 4 84.14. 4	32,315	169,476	
Total -----	96,739.18.2	139,994.11.11			
Expenditures					
for arrears--	60,877.3.11	90.12. 8 110.557. 5. 7	160,112	431,919	The certificates, includ- ing contin'al and State Dollars reduced, charged to expenditures, repre- sent redemption, for they were punched or burned with exception of 90. 12. 8
Current exp.	27,555.10.9	80. 1. 1			
incl'g sinking	88,432.14.8	215.19. 3 221.16. 9			
fund burned--		111.360. 3. 5			
Balance -----	8,307. 3.6	28,034. 8. 6			

The relation of the state to the four kinds of circulating medium in the above table was not uniform. There was no obligation to support the continental and state dollars, for the former had been issued by the Continental Congress and had been in part funded by the paper money issued by the state during the revolution; while the latter, which composed the revolutionary issues, had been repudiated as a tender in the payment of debts in 1783. But they were still receivable for taxes and their contraction was desirable; hence large quantities were burned each year by order of the finance committee of the legislature.³⁹ But the obligation to the state currency of 1783 and 1785 and the certificates was different; the former had been issued by the state as its standard money; the latter were promises to pay, bearing interest, and the honor and credit of the state required the redemption of them.

The confusion in the certificates, their great depreciation, and the interest accruing from them demanded careful and thorough consideration. In 1788 a tax of 3s on 100 acres of land, 9s. on the £100 value of town lots, and 9s. on the poll was levied in state or continental dollars, bounty certificates at 800 to 1, specie certificates at their nominal value, or currency certificates at the legal rate of depreciation, as a means of redemption.⁴⁰ Thus the state and continental dollars were to be contracted along with the certificates. The next year a more specific measure for "redeeming the certificates and paying the domestic debt" was enacted. This provided for calling in all the certificates by January 1, 1791, and replacing the genuine ones with new certificates, to be redeemed by a tax of 1s. on the 100 acres, 3s. on the £100 value of town lots, and 3s. on the poll, and the money in the treasury not reserved for some other purpose.⁴¹ The report of the reissue, made in 1792, showed that £49,301,s.9,d.4 of new certificates had been put into circulation and that there was an outstanding interest debt of £38,372, 16s, 9d. The next law concerning certificates was that of 1794 which made them receivable for land grants at the rate of 50s. per 100 acres and required a second filing of certificates, but excepted from the

³⁹ In 1789 \$2,067,242.00 were destroyed. S. R. XXI 352.

⁴⁰ Laws, 1788, ch. 1.

⁴¹ Laws, 1789, ch. V.

benefits of the law were the Warrenton certificates of 1786 and those issued by Patrick Travers, of Cumberland county.⁴² In 1799 a third registration of certificates was ordered, to be completed by Dec. 1, 1800, and all certificates not registered by that date were forever barred from redemption and were not to be received in any payment made to the state.⁴³ The amount registered was £16,598.5.11 and the accrued interest was estimated at £32,000, increasing at the rate of £1,000 per annum. In 1801 the principal of the certificate debt was estimated at £15,000 and the treasurer was authorized to purchase that amount and to issue new certificates for interest due, but the results were not published. In 1802 another purchase was authorized at the rate of 15s. to each £ of certificate; again, the result is unknown.⁴⁴

In the meantime the sale of land for certificates went steadily on and seems to have been the principal means of redemption. Just when the process was completed is hard to find for the treasurer never made a special report concerning it; no redemption is mentioned in his annual reports after 1817 though income from land sales continued to be given for several years. The following outline, culled from the treasurers' report, shows this process of redemption:

1795	£10,108, 18s, 5d.	1807	£2,515, 0s, 1d.
1796	£37,043, 19s, 3d.	1808	£2,023, 11s, 9d.
1797	£8,171, 0s, 6d.	1809	£1,694, 17s, 9d.
1798	£4,852, 96s, 2d.	1810	£2,606, 18s, 11d.
1799	£7,134, 9s, 6d.	1811	£2,618, 1s, 4d.
1800	£2,918, 19s, 5d.	1812	£2,550, 10s, 10d.
1801	£4,169, 16s, 0d.	1813	
1802	£5,987, 1s, 1d.	1814	
1803	£4,858, 0s, 7d.	1815	
1804	£5,518, 2s, 9d.	1816	\$5,477.55.
1805	£3,331, 8s, 3d.	1817	\$6,352.56.
1806	£3,643, 5s, 10d.		

The state currency, as well as the certificates, required redemption for three reasons; first, its continuous depreciation, the ratio to specie never being less than two to one; second,

⁴² Laws, 1794, ch. XVI.

⁴³ Laws, 1799, ch. III.

⁴⁴ Laws, ch. VII.

no new bills of credit could be emitted to replace the depreciated currency after the ratification of the Federal Constitution; and third, the new standard of currency adopted by the Federal government made the North Carolina pound, shilling and pence currency an anachronism; indeed, in 1809 the currency of the United States was recognized as the lawful currency of the state, and permission was given to keep the records of the state in dollars and cents, but the state currency was too widely circulated to permit carrying out the latter provision.⁴⁵

The first step toward redemption was the tax of three pence on each £ value of property in the currency act of 1783; in that of 1785, 5s. 6d. on the 100 acres of land, 1s. 6d. on the £100 value of town lots and 1s. 6d. on the poll were levied for the same purpose.⁴⁶ During 1786, 1787, and 1788 £27,304, 19s, 1d. were collected and were burned; with it worn out currency was also destroyed, making a total of £40,218, 19s, 4d. retired.⁴⁷ But in 1789 and each subsequent year the sinking tax was suspended; doubtless the immediate pretext for this was the tax imposed on certificates, but a larger and more permanent cause was the general antipathy to taxation in the state.

The final method adopted for retiring the currency was the use of dividends from bank stock and the co-operation of banking institutions. The first banks established in North Carolina were the Bank of the Cape Fear and the Bank of New Bern, which received their charters in 1804.⁴⁸ Their combined capital was \$450,000, of which the Bank of the Cape Fear had \$250,000, and the Bank of New Bern \$200,000; the amount of notes and debts of the former was not to exceed \$750,000 over the monies on deposit, of the latter \$600,000; also the right of the state to subscribe 250 shares in each institution was reserved.

The immediate effects of the banks on finance and commerce were good. Their notes, engraved on silk paper, were exchanged for the ragged state currency. The dividends were promising. So in 1807 the Treasurer was ordered to subscribe the number of shares reserved for the state.⁴⁹ Soon,

⁴⁵ Laws, 1809, ch. XVII.

⁴⁶ Laws, 1783, ch. I; 1785, ch. V.

⁴⁷ Finance Com., 1793, H. J., p. 38.

⁴⁸ Laws, 1804, chs. XXI, XXII.

⁴⁹ Laws, 1807, ch. III.

however, the banks began to return into circulation the state currency which they had received, offering it in the payment of debts instead of specie or their own notes. Thus specie was hoarded and depreciation of the bank notes set in, for they were redeemed only in the depreciated currency. Two remedies were applied. The first was to levy a tax of one per cent. on bank stock held by individuals and to limit excessive note issues by ordering the forfeiture of the charters of the banks, if notes in excess of the amount authorized were issued.⁵⁰ This was a conservative measure, enacted in 1809. The next year a radical, almost revolutionary measure was taken. That was the charter of a new bank, to be known as the State Bank of North Carolina, which, it was hoped, would absorb the existing banks and equalize the relation between currency and specie. The charter provided for a central bank in Raleigh with branches at Edenton, New Bern, Wilmington, Fayetteville, Tarboro, and Salisbury, with a capitalization not exceeding \$1,600,000, of which \$250,000 were reserved for the state to be paid for in gold and silver or stock of the United States. In subscriptions preference was to be given to the Banks of New Bern and Cape Fear, and no new bank was to be chartered until the charter of the State Bank should expire in 1830. As the charters of the existing banks expired in 1820 it was intended that their capital would thus be invested in the new institution. Three-fourths of the capital stock was to be paid in specie, one-fourth in paper. The indebtedness by bond, bill, note, contract or otherwise was not to exceed \$4,800,000 above the amount on deposit, and all such liabilities, also debts due the bank, were to be redeemed in gold and silver upon judgment in the courts. After the bank went into operation the state currency should not be received as legal tender in payment of debts to the bank, but the state's dividends should be used to redeem the paper currency when presented to the bank.⁵¹ Thus the redemption of the outstanding paper money was provided for along with new banking facilities.

As subscriptions for stock in the new corporation were not as liberal as was expected the charter was amended in

⁵⁰ Laws, 1809, ch. II.

⁵¹ Laws, 1810, ch. V.

1811 by extending its duration until 1835, allowing the bank to withhold 4 per cent. of the interest on unpaid stock subscribed by the state, and by exempting the stock and dividends from taxation, provided that the bank would, for one year, from December 18, 1816 to December 18, 1817, take up and exchange the paper currency of the state for bank notes or specie at the rate of 10s. for \$1.00; on compliance with this provision, the Governor was authorized to issue a proclamation that the paper money was no longer a legal tender except to the bank, and the bank should return the currency to the state as dividends on the State's stock.⁵²

Thus the redemption of the state currency was provided for and in 1816 the state's financial transactions began to be reckoned in the currency of the United States instead of the state currency. How much of the state currency was retired by the State Bank in the year 1817 is unknown; the amount redeemed by dividends from 1813 to 1824 inclusive was £93,915.⁵³

III. BANKING PROBLEMS—1804-1835

The state currency was disposed of through the co-operation of the banks. But the old evils of inflation and depreciation, which had characterized the long experience with paper money in all its forms, were perpetuated. The chief difference was that instead of paper money the bank notes were the cause of confusion and commercial depression. Two influences contributed to this condition. First of all, there was a rapid increase of banking capital. In 1804 the total authorized capital was \$450,000 with the right to issue \$1,350,000 of notes. In 1810 the authorized capital was increased to \$2,050,000 and the possible note issues to \$6,150,000. However, the operation of the banks was not so extravagant as these provisions might suggest, for their notes stood the strain of the second war with Great Britain well. Said a legislative report of 1817: "When the banks to the west and the south of New England suspended specie payment, the notes issued by the State Bank of North Carolina became in a general degree a continental currency. In Georgia they were at par, receiv-

⁵² Laws, 1811, ch. I.

⁵³ This amount has been computed from the annual reports of the Treasurer.

ed and issued by the banks of that state. In South Carolina they were always at par, except occasionally in the city of Charleston, where they were subject to a small depreciation. Everywhere else they bore a premium, often a considerable one."⁵⁴ In 1816 the notes of the North Carolina banks were in demand in the money markets, being quoted at a premium in Philadelphia and in 1817 specie payments were resumed by the banks.

Contemporary with this expansion of the currency there developed a desire for speculation. The more bank notes issued, the greater was the demand for them. This is well illustrated by the re-charter of the banks of New Bern and Cape Fear. In 1814 the directors of those institutions petitioned the legislature for an extension of the charters, which would expire in 1820. The petition was granted on condition that the banks would increase their capital to \$800,000 each.⁵⁵ In favor of the measure it was argued that the existence of only one bank after 1820, viz: the State Bank of North Carolina, would create a monopoly and an aristocracy of money which would be dangerous to the liberty of the people.⁵⁶ Competition in the banking business was therefore desirable. So the Bank of the Cape Fear was allowed to add 5,250 shares to its capital stock, the bank of New Bern 5,750; of this the state was to subscribe 1,000 shares in each institution, and 180 shares of each subscription should be a bonus, and 410 in each should be paid for in treasury notes, the rest at the convenience of the state with no interest on the deferred payments. The state was to receive dividends on the stock subscribed, but only the margin above six per cent. on the stock unpaid for.⁵⁷

Thus an element of confusion was injected into the monetary condition by the issue of \$82,000 of treasury notes with which bank stock was purchased. But the taste for treasury notes, once aroused, could only be satisfied by another issue. So in 1816, when specie was scarce, \$80,000 in denominations of less than one dollar were thrown into circulation through the State Bank, to be accepted in payments of obligations to the

⁵⁴ Report of A. D. Murphy on the *Banks* (Senate Journal, 1817, pp. 89-91.)

⁵⁵ Laws, 1814 ch. VI.

⁵⁶ Debates in a bill directing the prosecution against the several banks of the State (Raleigh, 1829) Pp. 42-43.

⁵⁷ Laws, 1814 ch. VI.

state and again thrown into circulation by the Treasurer, and when received at the State Bank were to be credited to the debt of the state to the bank.⁵⁸ In the meantime the banks increased their note issues, the State Bank from \$145,000 in 1812 to \$1,283,677 in 1818; by 1819 those of the Bank of New Bern were \$553,180, of the Bank of the Cape Fear \$739,935.⁵⁹

The desire for banking investments increased with the inflation of the note issues. In 1817 a legislative committee recommended an increase in the capital stock of the State Bank and when the directors declined, the unsold stock amounting to 4,240 shares was by legislative action placed on the market. There was a feeling that the state should assume the entire amount, but this seemed impossible because the directors declared that preference was to be given to small investors and that no proxies would be permitted at the time of subscription. The legislature thereupon resolved that members might purchase shares with money advanced by the Treasurer and quietly turn them over to the state. Only 18 shares were thus secured; evidently the legislators exhausted their bids in making personal purchases and neglected the commission for the state.⁶⁰ At the next session a bill to increase the capital stock of the banks of the Cape Fear and New Bern was introduced but lost in the Commons.⁶¹

In 1819 a third influence, the inevitable result of expansion of the currency and speculation, increased the confusion and created an incalculable depression. That was a rapid return of the surplus bank notes upon the banks, and a drain on specie. Brokers began to buy the notes of the banks and to submit them for redemption in specie, thus greatly reducing the coin in the vaults of the banks. The process and its results are well described in a legislative report of 1819 as follows: "Waggon after waggon was loaded with specie until the banks found, or thought they found, that the facility of procuring specie produced an effect opposite to that which is usual with established credit. The notes were not permitted to circulate, but were collected, and sent in for payment. The specie in the vaults was rapidly sinking and the difficulty of continuing

⁵⁸ Laws, 1816, ch. VI.

⁵⁹ Reports and Minutes of the Proceedings of Joint Select Committee on the Banks, *passim*.

⁶⁰ Debates, pp 44, 46, 48. (Speech of Swain.)

⁶¹ Debates, p 44. (Speech of Swain.)

specie payments appeared imminent. The only practicable means were to call on the debtors for payment. To the banks it was not material whether the notes were paid in their notes or specie. The first withdrew their notes from the reach of the brokers. The last enabled the banks to meet them by whomsoever presented. Unquestionably this was the regular remedy, if it were not forbidden by peculiar reasons. But it was represented that the situation of the state did not leave it in the power of its citizens to pay these debts without the most ruinous sacrifices of property and universal distress. This distress the banks were obliged to occasion or hazard the credit of their institution. Thus situated, they adopted the alternative which they believed the less michievous . . .

. They refused specie to brokers but paid them off in drafts of the North to the South. The distinction between brokers and others was too minute to be steadily observed; others have, no doubt, been refused subsequently, or have found difficulty in procuring specie for notes presented."⁶²

The above quotation is notable for two reasons; first, it was made in 1819 at the beginning of the great financial crisis which swept over the South and West and gives a favorable construction to the suspension of specie payment by the North Carolina banks; secondly, it was an official, legislative report, the spirit of which was a contrast to the radicalism that was manifest in the legislature a few years later.

Unfortunately the suspension of specie payment did not put an end to the pressure on the banks. The brokers had recourse to the courts and secured judgments forcing payment in specie. The banks had either to close their doors or to increase the amount of specie. For the latter purpose several questionable methods were resorted to. One, practised by the State Bank and the Bank of New Bern, was to refuse accommodation to customers unless payment should be in specie; as illustration, a loan of \$1,000 in notes would be made on condition that the principal and interest should be paid in specie. As the bank notes were discounted at 5 per cent. and the rate of interest on the bond was 6 per cent., it was charged that 11 per cent. interest was being exacted, which was

⁶² *Senate Journal*, 1819, pp 121-124.

usury. Another expedient, used by the State Bank and the Bank of the Cape Fear, was to buy their own notes outside the state at a figure higher than the market price as a means of "appreciating the notes and giving them greater currency." The same institutions also purchased stock of the Second Bank of the United States as a means of securing funds equivalent to specie. Moreover, the president of the State Bank in 1822 and 1827 bought cotton with the bank's funds, selling for specie at a profit in 1822 but at a loss in 1827. This was not an irregularity merely; it was a violation of the bank's charter.⁶³

By such means the banks endeavored to protect their notes without calling in their loans. The state also offered aid; the legislature in 1820 authorized the purchase of bank stock with the surplus money in the treasury, and in 1821 153 shares of the State Bank were bought, 53 of the Bank of New Bern, and 108 of the Bank of the Cape Fear.⁶⁴ In 1823 further support of the banks was given by the issue of \$100,000 of treasury notes, which were to be a legal tender for all financial obligations to the state. These were then thrown into circulation and bank notes and specie received in exchange were to be invested in bank stock.⁶⁵ Accordingly 24 shares in the State Bank, 330 in the Bank of New Bern, and 680 in the Bank of the Cape Fear were purchased in 1826. The Literary Board also came to the aid of the banks by purchasing 204 shares of the State Bank, 141 of the Bank of New Bern and 50 of the Bank of the Cape Fear in 1828.⁶⁶ But all these measures proved ineffective, for in 1825 a powerful influence began to operate which forced a resumption of specie. This was the Second Bank of the United States. In 1825 the branch at Fayetteville began to make payment in United States notes only, but received the notes of the local banks unreservedly, and in 1827 "branch drafts" were offered in exchange for the notes of the North Carolina banks.⁶⁷ The result was that the Second Bank secured large amounts of notes of the North Carolina banks, submitted

⁶³ Reports and minutes of the proceedings of the joint committee, *passim*.

⁶⁴ Laws of 1820, ch. XV; Comp. Report, 1821.

⁶⁵ Laws, 1823 ch. 7.

⁶⁶ Report of the Literary Board 1829.

⁶⁷ Comptroller's Report, 1826.

them in demand for specie, and the banks were forced to comply with the demand. The banks, outgeneraled in the game of finance, were forced to call in their loans which amounted to \$5,500,000, while the notes in circulation had shrunk to \$1,500,000. In December 1828, the stockholders of the State Bank met and a committee recommended a wind up of its business, but action on the report was postponed until the following June.

Undoubtedly some practices of the banks were clear violations of the charters; others if adopted to day, when general banking laws have been worked out, would cause the prosecution of bank officials. There was ample material for a political attack on the banks based on their relation to the state and an audience was at hand consisting of the debtors who were being forced by the banks to meet their obligations. When the legislature of 1828-29 met a joint committee made an examination of the affairs of the banks. Its report was two fold: that of the majority, after reviewing the questionable methods introduced into the banking business during the past few years, recommended that the banks be compelled to meet their obligations in specie. That of the minority magnified the indiscretion and violations of banking rules into extortions of the people, in the following manner. First, the payment of part of the subscriptions for bank stock in personal notes instead of in specie was characterized as a fraud. Referring to the additions to the capital stock of the banks of New Bern and Cape Fear the report said: "It is in evidence to the undersigned that the whole of the additional stock was manufactured by the banks themselves, and that, in many instances, favored individuals were permitted to acquire stock by subscribing their names and putting their notes into the bank, without advancing a single dollar for capital. It follows that the whole amount of the interest drawn from the people, on the loans made from this fictitious capital, was a foul and illegal extortion."⁶⁸

Likewise the method by which subscriptions to the stock of the State Bank were paid was censured. Of the capital with which the institution began business, \$1,176,000, only \$500,000

⁶⁸ Report of the minutes and proceedings of the Joint Committee, p. 7.

was in specie, the rest being bank notes. Also when the remainder of the stock was placed on the market in 1818, sales were negotiated in bank notes. "But the charter," says the committee, "authorized the bank to operate on a real and intrinsic capital, and directed that that capital should be paid into the bank by the stockholders. In the transaction referred to, the bank, by a scribbling process of its own, created capital, and paid off a portion of its debt, by the very act by which it also increased its capital."⁶⁹

The evils of buying stock at advanced rates and of speculation in cotton were also condemned by the minority. The damage inflicted on the people was described as follows: "It appears that the people of North Carolina, having already paid to the banks since they went into operation a profit of \$4,000,000 on their stock—stock, too, three-fourths of which was manufactured by the banks themselves in a fictitious and fraudulent manner—that having paid this immense sum, exceeding four times the amount of actual capital stock ever paid into the bank according to law, they still hold the notes of the people for more than \$5,000,000, about four times the amount of the whole circulating medium of the State. Thus it is in the power of the banks absolutely to extinguish the currency of the country, and when they have taken every dollar out of circulation, still to have a debt against the people to the amount of about \$4,000,000 . . .

. The communication from the stockholders of the State Bank now before the committee, expresses the opinion that it is for the interest of the stockholders to withdraw their money from the bank, and take it under their own management; and contains a resolution by which they have proclaimed their determination to assemble June the next, in order to wind up their affairs; and, consequently the affairs of the people of North Carolina. Thus, having for years contrived by illegal and fraudulent practices to draw from the people all the profits of their labors, and having by these practices placed the people in an impoverished condition, where they can no longer pay them large profits, they are now preparing by one fell swoop to extort from them the actual means of subsistence."⁷⁰

⁶⁹ *Ibid* p. 8.

⁷⁰ *Ibid* p. 10.

In conclusion the minority report expressed the conviction that the banks had violated their charters and recommended that the Attorney-General institute proceedings against them through the writ of quo warranto, or other legal process.⁷¹

The question of adopting the majority or minority report led to one of the memorable debates in the legislature of North Carolina. Mr. Potter, chairman of the joint committee and leader of the minority, submitted a bill directing the Attorney-General to bring quo warranto proceedings against the banks, the trial to be conducted by the Supreme Court with a jury, and in case of a verdict of guilty, the Court was to take over the affairs of the banks and the Governor was to pledge the faith of the state for the redemption of the notes and debts of the institutions.⁷² The opposition to the bill was led in the House of Commons by William Gaston and David L. Swain, who threw some light on the conduct of the banks different from that of the minority report. Mr. Swain showed that the expansion of banking capital was due to pressure of the legislature, while Gaston took up a number of specific accusations against the banks. In reply to the charge of accepting illegally notes for subscription to bank stock, he showed that the amended charters of the banks of New Bern and Cape Fear did not require specie to be paid for the new stock and that subscriptions made to the State Bank in paper (promissory notes) were necessary because at that time the other banks had a monopoly on the specie in the state. Thus expediency, not a desire to defraud, caused this violation of sound banking: but a modern reader of his speech must be surprised at the claim that offering notes redeemable in specie was equivalent to paying in specie. Gaston also maintained that requiring those who applied for loans to pay the principal and interest in specie was not usury, for the intention of the banks was not to get unlawful interest but to preserve specie, and the specie so obtained was soon paid out in redemption of the notes. Practically, however, any one must see that the practice imposed a burden on the debtor equivalent to usury. As to the remedy proposed, a

⁷¹ *Ibid* p. 11.

⁷² Debates on the bill directing a prosecution of the several banks, pp 9-10.

dissolution of the banks, Gaston made the following criticism, the most cogent part of his speech:

"Do you wish to produce a forfeiture of the charters? The effect is a dissolution of the corporations—a complete extinction of their existence. And when this takes place, what is the condition of our country? Upon the dissolution of the corporation—upon its civil death I state the law to be, and I state it with an entire readiness to pledge on the correctness of this statement, my professional reputation, whatever it may be—I state the law to be, that the lands of the corporation revert to those from whom they came—that the personal chattels are taken by the State, for the want of an owner—and that all debts due to or from the corporation are completely and forever extinguished. Suppose the Bank Corporations dissolved, then, and what is the condition of our country? The debtors are indeed released—they may be benefitted by the tremendous catastrophe. But what of the value of the million and half of the bank notes in circulation? They are converted into rags. What the value of your 7,027 shares of bank stock? Whence will come your available funds to carry on the operations of government? How are you from an impoverished people to raise the necessary revenue?"⁷³

In reply to Mr. Gaston Mr. Alexander took the position that the debts due the banks would, on the dissolution of the corporation, become the property of the state which would make proper disposition of them, citing the seizure of loyalist property during the revolution.⁷⁴ Gaston, in rejoinder showed that loyalist property was not the property of citizens but of aliens, while banking property was the property of citizens and by a decision of the courts the property of citizens "is placed out of the power of the collective body of the people and no act of the General Assembly could impair property rights, nor could the legislature provide a new penalty for the punishment of past deeds, for that would be a violation of the charters, retrospective law making, a revolutionary principle in North Carolina and a violation of the federal constitution."⁷⁵

⁷³ *Ibid* pp. 54-65.

⁷⁴ *Ibid* pp. 67-68.

⁷⁵ *Ibid* pp. 69-72.

The argument of Gaston was by far the ablest of all the defenders of the banks. Indeed the opposition to the program of the radicals was so strong that Mr. Potter modified his bill so as to make the State Bank alone the object of prosecution and to have the state guarantee its debts. After some discussion of the amended bill the vote was taken. The result was a tie which was broken in favor of the opposition by the ballot of Mr. Settle, the speaker of the House of Commons.⁷⁶

The charters of the banks were thus saved from judicial procedure, but the conflict between radical and conservative finance took a new form the next year. The banks of New Bern and of the Cape Fear petitioned for an extension of their charters so as to give their debtors easier terms in settling their accounts, the bill being introduced by Mr. Gaston. The radicals opposed the measure; they declared that the banks had known for years when their charters would expire, that they should have taken measures earlier to wind up their business, and that an extension of the charters would not help the people but merely accomodate the banks and in the light of their misdemeanors such a favor should not be granted. Again the most convincing argument was made by Gaston. He showed that the sentiment of the stock holders was to make over the banking property to trustees immediately and wind up the business; that the proposed extension of the charters was suggested by a legislative committee which had been appointed at the last session to examine into the affairs of the banks; and that the measure would be in the interest of the people. Mainly to Mr. Gaston's argument was due the success of the movement for extension. As finally shaped, the law provided for an extension of the charters of all the banks until 1838; prohibited new loans by the State Bank after September 1, 1830, by others after December 31, 1834, forbade any accomodation loans after September 1, 1830; limited the installment on the existing debts to not more than one half each ninety days and also prohibited the issue of bills under \$5 after December 1, 1832 or any denomination after December 31, 1834, and required the redemp-

⁷⁶ *Ibid* pp. 86-88; 120-121.

tion of one third of the existing debts by December 1834; allowed the bank stock to be received in payment of debts; and dividends of capital stock might be issued after January 1, 1833. The State Bank was also allowed to reduce the number of its directors and the tax on the stock of the other banks was to be abolished after 1834.⁷⁷

The second financial issue of 1829-30 was the establishment of a new bank. This problem was an imperative one on account of the approaching dissolution of the existing banks. In the discussion there was a long and bitter conflict between the influences of sound and radical finance. The matter was opened by a bill for a Bank of the State presented by Mr. Martin, of Rockingham county. The capital of the proposed institution was to consist of all property and stock of the state not otherwise appropriated, including lands, bank stock, funds and notes due the state, etc., its officers were to be elected annually by the legislature, its loans were to be made on real estate or discount notes with two indorsements, and the funds available for loans were to be appropriated among the counties in proportion to the amount of taxes paid, with a trustee in each county to negotiate the loans and to represent the bank, and cash with which the bank would begin operations should be procured by the issue of state bonds to the amount of \$300,000, which should be sold for specie and the state should be reimbursed by the profits of the bank.⁷⁸

In support of this bill the experience of other states was cited, notably that of Alabama and Georgia. It was also argued that the bank would receive on deposit funds realized from the state's stock in other banks and that the production of gold in North Carolina would enable the directors to secure a large amount of the precious metal which would be converted into specie. In the Senate, although the evils in the plan were ably exposed by Mr. Meares, the bill was carried by a vote of 33 to 25. In the Commons there was a vigorous and successful opposition, Swain and Gaston again making the most effective arguments. Swain advanced the objection that the notes of a bank founded on assets of

⁷⁷ Laws, 1830, chs. I, II.

⁷⁸ Debate in the bill for establishing a Bank of the State, p 3. (Raleigh, 1830.)

the state would violate the clause of the federal constitution which forbade the states to issue bills of credit, while Gaston emphasized the inherent danger of the state undertaking the banking business.⁷⁹ Most remarkable, however, was his arraignment of the men who fostered the plan for such a bank as that under discussion. He said:—

“I trust that I shall give no offense, and most certainly intend none, when I state that there are few in this body who possess the accurate information on this subject which is necessary to protect them from error and imposition. The business of banking in a State so little commercial as ours, cannot be expected to be well understood in its principles, much less in its details. Several gentlemen, indeed, avow themselves to be acquainted with the subject and they are of course obliged to on the judgment and fidelity of those who advance higher pretensions. If, unfortunately, those should prove blind or treacherous guides, how can their followers hope to escape from injury?

“But there is far more danger to be apprehended than want of knowledge. Honest ignorance is often associated with prudence, which like these wonderful instincts bestowed by a bountiful Creator on inferior beings, performs its salutary purpose with a certainty beyond the reach of enlightened reason Our perils arise chiefly from other quarters. They arise from the time, from selfishness, and above all from the love of popularity. Among the consequences which have resulted from excessive banking in this state, few are more prominent than the breaking down of those who have freely availed themselves of the accommodations it offered. Some of these individuals are deserving of our best sympathies But such are not all. Unquestionably there are many who, bankrupt in reputation as in fortune, turn to patriotism as a trade and strive to win place and make money by pandering to the prejudices of the ignorant, the hopes of the necessitous, and the wishes of the vicious. Is it strange that these should project schemes by which new money-factories are to be erected—offices with fine salaries created—and the means of tinkering broken characters and supplying squandered es-

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, *passim*.

tates, made abundant and easy? Is it singular that they should find a ready hearing with the yet larger number of those who, embarrassed but not broken, alarmed but not despairing, seize eagerly upon every suggestion that promises a change of creditor, or or a postponement of the demand, awaiting some lucky chance till a gold mine or a lottery ticket shall rescue them from threatened ruin? Or is it extraordinary that those, who are themselves free from selfish or impure motives, should catch by contagion the sentiments disseminated around them and rashly pledge themselves to plans which they do not understand but which they are assured are to produce incalculable benefits to their neighbors and friends?

"Perhaps even these are not the principal sources of the unwise views which seem to prevail. There is a fashion in political whimsies as in the fancies of dress, which is adopted without examination, runs its course and then passeth away. Banks of the State have been lately the fashion around us. All of them have not yet broken, and thus made manifest the wretched materials of which they were constructed. And why should we not have banks of the State also? This I am convinced, sir, operates most powerfully to produce the delusion which I lament, and which it is my anxious wish to dispel. And as the novelties of dress most strongly attract those who long to catch woman's smile, and please woman's eye, so the novelties of legislation are most readily adopted by the politicians who are eager in the race for popular favor. As no strength of understanding secures the young gallant from the absurdities of the mode, so neither sense nor principle protects from pernicious but fashionable political errors, him who is over solicitous to please the people."⁸⁰

The opposition to the bill was aided by a technicality: the text of the bill as presented had some gaps regarding the amount of capital of the proposed bank; it was therefore sent back to the Senate as not "perfect" according to the rules of the legislature. The Senate, however, declared the bill perfect; again the House referred the bill to the Senate when the gaps were filled in, but by the time this matter was

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, pp 75-90.

adjusted, Gaston, Swain and other leaders of the opposition in the House had secured strength enough to secure indefinite postponement by a vote of 67 to 63.

The movement for a bank on the funds of the state was again defeated in the sessions of 1830-31, 1831-1832, but in 1832 the State Bank declared a stock dividend of 50 per cent. and was nearly ready to close its doors. This made some new provision for banking more urgent than ever. Six bills for a new bank were introduced in the session of 1832-33; that of Mr. Barringer was finally adopted with some amendments. It provided for a Bank of North Carolina with a capital of \$2,000,000, one half of which was to be subscribed by the state; the officers were to be elected the first year by the stockholders, thereafter by the legislature.⁸¹ The institution thus outlined was not organized, the reason therefor being that the private stock was not subscribed, capitalists not caring to be a party to an institution whose officers would be elected by the legislature. So at the next session the charter was remodeled. A new name, Bank of the State of North Carolina, was chosen, the charter was to extend to 1860, the capital was fixed at \$1,500,000 to be paid in gold or silver or their equivalents, of which the state was to subscribe two fifths, the number of directors was fixed at ten, of whom four should be appointed by the state, and the Treasurer of the state should be a member *ex officio*. The bank was to open its doors when one half of the stock should be paid in, but no dividends should be declared until the entire stock was sold. The note issues were limited to twice the amount of capital.⁸²

At the same session the charter of the Bank of the Cape Fear was extended until January 1, 1855 with a capital of 8,000 shares, and its debt limit was fixed at \$1,600,000 above the amount on deposit. Private banks at New Bern and Edenton were chartered at the same session.

The evils and controversies which arose from the early experience in banking suggest certain questions pertaining to the relation of the banks to the state, the currency, and

⁸¹ *Raleigh Register*, June, 1830, *passim*.

⁸² *Laws*, 1833, ch. I.

public opinion. First of these is the value of the state's investment in bank stock. The table on the opposite page shows the total income from each bank, the amount of the state's actual investment, and the resulting profit.

Thus the investments of the state in bank stock yielded a large profit. Also the state's stock contributed to the growth of new economic and social ideals through the Fund for Internal Improvements and the Literary Fund. To the former was appropriated the state's dividends from the Banks of New Bern and the Cape Fear in 1821, while in 1825 the additional stock in these banks purchased with the treasury notes of 1823 was made a part of the Literary Fund. However, the internal improvement policy of the state was a notorious failure, and no expenditures from the Literary Fund were made for schools until 1839. Also the policies of the banks, already reviewed, were not conducive to prosperity among the people; and when the people suffer, any prosperity on the part of the government is very nominal.

The extent to which the currency was inflated can not be determined; but it is certain that the amount of notes in circulation was not so great as the charters of the banks would permit. Also, in 1825 and thereafter, when the influence of the Second Bank of the United States was felt, there was a gradual contraction of the notes in circulation, the issues of the State Bank declining from \$1,598,673 to \$655,156, those of the Bank of the Cape Fear from \$776,417 to \$235,460, and those of the Bank of New Bern from \$677,597 to \$325,444.

An unique feature of the inflation of the currency was the issue between the years 1825 and 1828 of treasury notes by the state. Although the constitutionality of issuing them was questioned, notably by Gaston, no step was taken in the courts to test their validity. They were gradually redeemed and the redemption was a strain on the treasury in years when the state was facing a deficit. The following table shows the process of redemption:

	No. Share	Cost	Stock Dividend*	Profit of Stock Dividend	Regular and Bonus Dividend	Taxes	Total	Total Profit of State
State Bank -----	3,050	\$136,206.50	‡ 286,788.00	\$148,181.50	\$465,611.00		\$752,399.00	\$ 613,792.50§
		‡ 2,400.00						
		138,606.50						
Bank of Cape Fear -----	2,122	83,540.00			143,764.00	107,198.00	251,962.00	103,822.00
		64,600.00						
		148,140.00						
Bank of Newbern -----	1,959	100,810.00	157,111.80	23,301.80	151,944.74	116,762.35	452,717.89	291,907.89
		33,000.00						
		133,810.00						
	7,131	\$420,556.50	\$443,899.80	\$171,483.30	\$761,319.74	\$223,960.35	\$440,078.89	\$1,009,522.39

* By stock dividends is meant the amount returned to stockholders when the bank closed up business preparatory to dissolution. ‡ In making settlement with the State Bank, the state contended that a dividend should be declared on 8 shares of stock subscribed, but unpaid for. The bank held that such dividend should be applied to debt of the state. The matter was referred to the Supreme Court, which handed down a decision in favor of the bank. The Court also held that the dividends of 1831 and 1832 were properly stock dividends and the capital of the bank was impaired when they were declared. (State vs. Bank, 21 N. C. Report, 345.) Freeman was appointed to open the matter, and the defendants were ordered to pay the State \$17,964.83.

§ In 1835 the State claimed that taxes should be paid out of the stockholders' dividends, not the general fund of the bank; thus leaving a larger sum for dividends to the State. But the Supreme Court would not support the plea. (State vs. Bank of the Cape Fear. 21 N. C. Reports, 216.)

TOTAL ISSUE

1814	\$	82,000
1816		80,000
1823		100,000
<hr/>		
		\$262,000

AMOUNT BURNED YEARLY

1819	\$943.34	1827	9,303.76
1821	7,710.00	1828	17,781.89
1822	9,784.52	1829	19,971.85 1-2
1823	6,310.51 1-4	1830	21,601.61
1824	5,696.25	1831	29,811.77
1825	12,170.89 3-4	1833	10,565.41
1826	15,392.46	1832	18,681.38 3-4
1827	15,523.98	1833	3,356.29
		1834	5,138.22

Finally the cleavage between the forces of conservatism and radicalism in adjusting the banking problem was deep and lasting. Illustrative of this is the fact that Swain and Gaston, the leaders of the conservative faction, were later leaders of the anti-Jackson movement in North Carolina and that the issue which caused the greatest defection from Jackson in the state was his financial policy of 1832. Thus sound financial policies were one of the fundamental bases of the Whig party in North Carolina.

A Journal and Travel of James Meacham. Part II, 1789-1797 *

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 3. This morning I awoke in the hands of the Lord. After family prayer I took horse with my brother W. R. for my next stage (a new place). Few people were here. I met with Brother T. which gave me some comfort to hear from his family. I spoke from I Thessalonians 5,-19, 20, 21. Had little or no liberty and after preaching rode home with Brother A. Y. where my soul was happy. I was much fatigued, but God was near. In family prayer I felt my soul break through. O! the glory of God, his spirit it flowed. Took bed happy in the Lord, the arms of love compassed me around. Remark, wicked man died who was possessed of considerable property (speaking after the world) possesses near two hundred poor black slaves, but willed them all free, and they are now enjoying their right.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 10. This morning I was powerfully drawn out in prayer after sinners. I begged the Lord to put it in their minds to come to the house of prayer. This day I strove to make some improvement of the morning in reading, riding and studying. A few people, while I was sitting by the fire in my room, looking unto God, and I felt my heart burn within. The spirit of the Lord is like the sword, when it pierces. I received it as a token that God would stand amidst his people today. In my first prayer, I know not whether I ever felt a greater agony in my soul for poor sinners or no. I said "we love him because he first loved us." O! how near the Lord stood while I was preaching. Happy class meeting, God was so near and awful to my soul that words cannot unfold it. I thought I was then a fool for Christ's sake. I could not sit, stand nor be still for a moment. Heaven was all around and Jesus within my soul. Happy in my evening's retirement time draws nigh that my poor black brother

* Part I., May to August, 1789, was published in HISTORICAL PAPERS, Series IX. Since that publication several note books of the author have been discovered, which were then not in the possession of the Historical Society. In fact, the MSS. is so extensive that it is impracticable to publish all of it in the HISTORICAL PAPERS. Therefore only those entries which relate to slavery, Rev. James O'Kelly, the General Conferences of 1792 and 1796, the author's views of matrimony, and his own marriage are here given.—Wm. K. Boyd.

is to come in. I lay down my all and begin to work for my dear Master. Many blacks, (I have thought that I could get more blacks to hear me preach of a night than whites in the day), I spoke considerably unto them in their different stations. The supreme power from Heaven came down in the first prayer, many of the dear souls disturbed but not comforted, after speaking unto them in general, I separated them and met my class. I was much blessed while speaking unto them, joined six or seven. I have had three meetings with them and have joined twenty-three. By this time I was much exhausted, but did not lie down until about twenty minutes after twelve. The arms of love were around me.

1791

MONDAY, JULY 11. This morning my exercises are very many and painful to me, but I am fixed to live and die for God, and for souls. No preaching. I spent the day in working, and visting from house to house among the brethren in Hampton. This night my dear, old Bro. James O. Kelly, came. O! how unspeakably thankful I was, he brought me glad tidings. Zion travels and brings forth here also. We had a powerful time of it in family prayer. My Bro. D. Skinner came over with them also—a pious man of God. We had sweet counsel together.

TUESDAY, JULY 12. Bro. O'Kelly preached a powerful sermon from John 9—35-36-37-38. A solid move among the souls of this people—in the evening we had prayer. The Lord came and smote sinners to the ground. By this time the report of our meeting began to reach the ears of the people who came by dozens, but would not come into the house. Bro. O'K. spoke considerably unto them, at the door first and then again at the window, this time was an alarm to this town.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 13. We, the preachers, Bro. O'K and Bro. Ellis, took our leave of the brethren for Yorktown. Bro. O'Kelly preached to a beautiful company of people from St. James 8-20. Dined with Mr. Messak, gentleman. Then walked up to old sister Smith's and administered the sacrament. From there rode to Bro. Wm. Ellis and preached to a crowded house of people. The people truly trembled, the place was very

awful. Rode from thence to Williamsburg and had rest after riding forty English miles and preaching twice. Slept in peace.

THURSDAY, JULY 14. Here Bro. John Robertson and Bro. Benjamin Brown. Bro. O'Kelly preached in the capitol to a numerous crowd of souls from John 1—11-12, and wept over them. Took his leave of them for Hampton again. After I dined I took horse for my nativity and had some difficulty in crossing James River, but through Providence I crossed about half after six o'clock. I rode till within the night to Bro. Piland's in a surrey. I am very poorly indeed. I am naught but a poor worm of the earth.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 20. Rode to my stage under many concords of mind. I spake from Revelation 3-21. I had light and liberty, and was led particularly to explode slavery. I am poorly and have felt for several days as if every sermon would be my last, but the Lord doth strengthen me uncommonly. Rode home with Bro. W. R.—a good place. Dear sister R. is a dear soul.—Bro. R. likewise. I am happy here, temptations a few but they are common. Blessed in prayer quiet in public, the Lord be forever praised.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 1. I am very poorly, though I visited some of the brethren from house to house, prayed and instructed them. In evening prayer-meeting I exhorted. The Lord brought one soul to the knowledge of the truth. We had a good time in general.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 3. Preached to a small company of serious people from Daniel 6-16—some liberty, good meeting. Rode to Hampton, prayer-meeting here tonight, a good time but I am distressed, I am perplexed, anti-pedo-baptists are after my lambs, they try to steal them from me as the wolf. They howl by day and by night. I fear I shall be under the necessity of publicly exposing them, but this is very disagreeable to me.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 10. My mind is much embarrassed. I feel my dreariness of soul. I mourn, O! what shall I do for more of God. Baptized a black woman's child. Who laughed at me while I was talking to her. I felt rather a scruple in my mind whether or not I must baptize the child, considering that it was not legally begotten, and she so greatly

wicked, but she promised me to try and do all for its spiritual good that she could; so I baptized it. Rode to Charles City. New chapel, found a good congregation, to whom I spoke from Hebrew 11-6. Rode home with sister Sally Drake.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 13. I preached today at Bro. Power's from Revelations 3-21. I had a sweet time in my own soul. Some sinners seemed to be affected, here I received two letters, one from Bro. Stephen Davidson, an elder, who spoke largely upon the conduct of a preacher who can give up the ministry for a woman, and can delight more in a lady's chamber than in his studies. It struck me with awe. The second was from D. Suthell, a preacher in the South District of Virginia, who informed me of Bro. J. N. and Bro. W. H.'s mourning which pierced me through. Rode and dined with Bro. Atkinson, and had prayer and rode home with my good brother and sister Austin where I am to preach tomorrow, God willing. It is good to be here, no children, nothing to tempt a preacher, but all to edify him. We had a sweet time this night.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 20. Not well but took horse for Richmond to see and hear old Bro. James O'K. preach. About four o'clock I safely arrived and found the dear old soul in his room well and happy (but lost my great-coat by the way) which is strange to me, when I missed it I did not feel the least change of mind. I was truly glad and thankful to meet my dear old Bro. O'Kelly. He is like a dear father to me. We had a most precious time of it. His large diocese flourishes generally. Bro. W. H. is certainly broken the law of celibacy. Well the Lord knows what is best.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 3. As I rode to meeting I conversed with a poor woman of our community respecting her cruelty with her poor slaves, but could not do anything with her. She persisted in her own way and testified she would still do the same if they would not work. I told her if she would that she might not expect to continue in communion with us. She said she could serve the Lord out as well in. I preached on a funeral occasion to a large number of people from Ecclesiastes 9-10. But little impression. Here met me my Dr. Little and Bro. Christopher Mooring on his way from his father's to his circuit again, we rode to Bro. William Parish's and dined; then rode to Bro. Broddenhaurs. I am not well.

Several came out tonight and Bro. Mooring gave an exhortation. We had a precious time in mutual converse.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 11. Rode to meeting and spoke to the people from Psalms 124-7. No liberty. The people some affected. A good class meeting. Rode to Cumberland and dined with Mr. Robert Hayes, a good friend to me. This night I preach to the poor blacks, who hath built there a good meeting-house, from Daniel 6—16. I felt much with and for them, poor creatures, how affected they were, great power among them. Their kindness excuses their abilities. How they bestowed their presents of pears and apples. I felt the Lord to be with me all this day. Happy, Happy.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 2. I rode early to visit the poor condemned malefactors, three white men to be executed Friday. They are probably distressed, but from what motive I can't tell unless it is for fear of death, more than Hell. It is truly lamentable that men will serve the devil until they end their lives at the gallows. O! this gallows repentance is dangerous. Rode from there to my stage and found a few women to whom I spoke from 1 John, 4-19. We had a good time. Rode this night to see my old dear Brother B. Weedon, and found him happy but several of the family sick.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 27. Feel poorly, but set out very early for Richmond to meet Bro. O'K. where I met with several of the dear preachers. Bro. W. M. from Amelia, Bro. O. B. from Manchester, Bro. J. H. from Hanover, we went to the state-house, and found two of the old clergy, who would not give place. One of them preached from these words, "Redeeming the time because the days are evil." After him Bro. O'Kelly preached from John 5—40. From thence we rode to Mr. Allen's about ten miles. Bro. O'Kelly preached from Psalms, 19—this night, a time of sorrow to me. I am so needy and have so little.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 10. Rode early to Hanovertown to Q. M. Bro. O'Kelly preached from Roman 5-14. I concluded with exhortation and prayer, little or no stir among the people yet. I hope good was done. After preaching we all dined at Bro. Anderson's. The sisters sent up to know if we would come down and pray for them. We did so, and bless the Lord. I thing I never saw a sweeter power in my life.

O how sweet my poor soul was filled. I rolled on the floor, and sang and praised my dear Lord Jesus. I was happy, happy, happy beyond all expression.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 11. Sweet sacrament. Many people. Bro. O'Kelly preached. The Lord owned his words, I believe this night. Bro. O'Kelly and myself rode up to my good old sister Peters', fifteen miles. This place is good for the poor preachers, happy in family prayers.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 25. CHRISTMAS DAY. My poor soul is pained to hear the children of the devil shooting. Rode very early to the conference to hear the experiences of the dear preachers, but it was nearly over before I got there. There were six deacons ordained, three travelling and three local. Mr. Asbury preached from John, 4-14. A very great sermon, indeed I believe it had the powerful effect upon the congregation. Bro. Marvel gave a warm exhortation. Likewise after him Bro. O'Kelly. The Lord let down his awful power, and soon I could not hear him speak, being drowned with the cries and shouts of the people. Then came on the communion. Fifty preachers I saw surround the Lord's Table. In this time a precious dear woman, sister Whitehead, rose up and begged the preachers to excuse her, she was weak and a poor woman, but she was awfully impressed with grief and that was almost more than she could bear up under. She said when she turned her eyes upon the young sisters and saw them catching after the modes of fashion of this world which passes away, backsliding from God and wounding his cause, she could scarcely bear up under her grief, and what was worse than all her poor dear young preachers, some of them would be following the fashions of the wicked world that ought to be examples of the flock. Numbers looking at them and justifying themselves by such and such preachers and something else added with. They would stand in the pulpit and explode the cursed practice of slavery, and then they themselves would marry a young woman who held slaves and keep them fast in bloody slavery. Members who have been professors of the religion of Jesus Christ for ten or twelve years would come to me and apparently be as happy as saints in Heaven, and follow them home and you will see their slaves in the field and kitchens cruelly oppressed, half starved, and nearly naked. O! my

Lord, is this the religion of my adorable master Jesus? How can I keep grieving over these cruel oppressions who are in error. And I fear they will be slaves to the devil in Hell forever. So the dear woman swooned away being greatly exhausted. I hope this lecture may never be forgotten.

1792

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 10. On my way to Hampton I called upon one Mr. Goodwin, who appears to be under a deep concern for his future state. Told me that he had offered to the Baptists, and that they thought him a fit subject for their admission, but upon their asking him his faith, they would not receive him as he did not believe in Reprobation and Election, he is very desirous of hearing of us preach. I rode to Hampton. I found my old pain to return, the Lord assist me to bear up and not give way to over much sorrow. But I am of that spirit and nature, I cannot help it; it appears sometimes as if it would be my ruin; but I try to trust in the Lord, may I continue so to do all my days.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 22. This morning I arose and paid homage to the Great I Am. I felt his divine presence,—after prayer in the family I rode to my stage and found a pretty congregation to which I spoke from Thessalonians 1, 7, 8, 9. I had the divine presence of the Lord, the people felt the word, a precious time in class, my sould was powerfully drawn out after the prosperity of Zion,—here I and two of the poor women, whom I suspended yesterday, who informed me, that each party is reconciled to each other again which gives me unspeakable satisfaction.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 27. I feel very poorly in both body and mind. I have to preach a funeral sermon over two of the dead today. The Lord assist me to be faithful. Preached today to a large congregation of people from St. John 11, 25, 26, the people seemed effected, this day I saw the covering of two graves; in about nine days I have stood at the graves of seven persons, and warned sinners to prepare for the last space of Eternity. Baptized one child. This night I preach from Roman 6, 22. The Lord poured out his blessed spirit. The poor blacks were much engaged. I baptized one child, my

spirit sinks very low at present, but I give myself unto prayer. The Lord is my only help, Glory, Glory. Amen.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 6. Rode with C. S. M. to Wm. Armistead's in N. Kent, where we met with a few people. M. preached about one-half hour to them. We had a sweet refreshment in time of class. In family prayer God was with us in power. O! how terribly I was impressed with the enormous weight of that gaulding yoke of oppression. The people below had been alarmed, they say by an insurrection of the poor blacks on the eastern shore, but on their trial and examination it appears it was only the surmisings of the devil in the oppression. Their conscience must indeed vastly alarmed them, and represents much shocking horror enslaving so many thousand of poor men and women, that they formed such strong and plain consequences of the continuation of this cursed cruelty that it was supposed to be then the very case, and so brought numbers to trial. But what was made appear? Nothing but a guilty conscience on the side of the oppressor. O! if they feel such horror here, what will they feel when stood before a just God. O! how soon the cursed venom began to fly against the poor Methodists and Quakers when the report of an insurrection began to spread. Some were for hanging the preachers on a tree. O! what an honorable death this would have been for a preacher of the Gospel had God seen it best.

MONDAY, AUGUST 27. I preached to a very large weeping congregation from Galatians 3, 29, and spoke much to the feeling and experiment of the people which greatly effected their precious time in class. Several subscribed to the petition of the Humane Society to the Assembly for the gradual abolition of slavery. I rode and tarried this night with a poor sick penitent man, whom I hope God will bless with a sense of his love. I spoke here to the blacks at night who seemed affected.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 29. Early we rode to Leesburg and took some refreshments from thence to old sister Owen's, Meriland state; in time family prayers the Lord visited my sould that I could scarcely stand.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 30. My feelings have been much hurt this day by some expressions which dropped from the preach-

ers, but I must bear it with patience. We dined this day at Hues, from thence rode to Baltimore town, and was appointed to lodge at Bro. Isaac Bassett's with my affectionate Bro. D. Southall, where we have a little room and bed with other necessities as my heart could wish.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 31. I have done some temporal business and visited some of the preachers. My mind is stayed on God. I wish to do His will in all things. This night Bro. P. E., my presiding elder, preached from Amos 2—7. Meeting was closed with prayer.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 1. The Bishops safely arrived and Conference was opened. Many were the debates, and but little done. My mind is weary now and what will it be by the time our Conference is at an end. This night Bro. T. T. presiding preacher from Kentucky, preached from Ephesians 5—8. Many pointed truths were delivered, a larger attentive congregation I never saw in a town before. I think that the singing of the Methodists in Baltimore exceeds anything and everything of the kind I ever hear before. It appears to be the nearest relation to Heaven of anything ever before presented to my ear.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 2. My mind hath been crowded with the business of Conference. Our business goes on very slowly, and I am weary. I hear preaching two times every day. The Methodists in this town are truly remarkable for piety and plainness.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 3. Business is yet slow. My mind more and more fatigued. I heard preaching at the Point this night from Bro. G. W. from I Tim. 1—15, Bro. L. C. and Bro. I. C. exhorted. But little good was done.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 4. Dr. Coke from Romans 8—16 to a crowded number of souls at three o'clock, and O'K. preached to near two thousand souls from "Lord increase our faith." At six, Bro. H. W. preached to a greater number. My soul hath heard much preaching, Lord help me to improve.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 5. Conference is yet having the debates now in hand. This debate is—shall the preacher have an appeal to the District Conference if he thinks himself agrieved by the station which the Bishop gives him. The debate is lengthy. It has been near twenty-four hours, and not yet de-

terminated. Our debate is still confined, and the time of preaching came on, we all repaired from this house to the Rev. Wm. Auterbine's church, who is called the Dutch Methodist. After near two hours' debate, it was put to ballot, and the large majority gave it to the Bishop. I am but poorly in body or mind, yet I hope on God.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 6. The Conference met according to adjournment. The list was called and business proceeded to. Bro. O'K. was absent but sent a letter to the Conference, it was read and many tears shed. A committee of three elders was chosen, Bro. T. G., Bro. F. B., and Bro. R. S., to visit him to try and prevail with him to come into Conference again, but could not. He was pointedly opposed to the Bishop having that power contended for. It went against him and he has taken his farewell of Conference. I think my poor heart scarcely ever felt the like before. I could not refrain from weeping deeply. I hope God will still direct aright, and give us our dear old Bro. and good fellow back again. If he comes not back I fear bad consequences will accrue.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 7. The house now begins to advance in doing business. My mind is still pained, but God is Love. I am given unto my God and His works, but O! to what little purpose do I live.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 8. Our business goes on tolerable. I am more and more pained, Lord help me. Bro. O'K., Bro. W. M., Bro. I. W., Bro. T. R., and Bro. R. H. have all left Conference and returned home. The question is now shall there be a delegated conference which is only the council baptized over again into a Conference. I hope this motion will not pass, as I am aware of the result.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 9. My soul waits to prove what is that good and acceptable will of God. This morning the delegated Conference was put to vote and there was but three votes for a delegation. I bless my God for it.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 10. My soul waits on Jesus, but not enough. I feel my body very much disordered, but give up all to God.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 11. I am still in pain, and so little comforted at this conference I know not that I shall ever be at another. I have heard four sermons this day, I am full of

preaching, but I fear that I did not digest it aright.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 12. Weary and sick, I want to get away, not because my brethren are not kind to me here, they are more to me than I could expect. I hope the Lord will amply compensate them for their trouble with and labor of love for me.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 13. I am still sick, but not weary of the Lord's service. He is my trust, in Him is my stay.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 14. I am still poorly and pained in mind, but to whom shall I go for succor or refuge, but unto the Lord. This night I heard old Bro. I. Ellis preach a very good sermon. Here I met with a treatise which I never saw before, the sin Annanias.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 15. I am fixed to seek for more of God. Lord assist me in this great work. This night Conference broke. Preaching began at candle-light. Dr. Coke preached, Bro. Sampson exhorted. The wicked hath a very fine elegant house sitting within about eight feet from our meeting-house, they had a great ball this night, but the Lord broke it up by pouring out his spirit upon the people. Under preaching eight or nine souls were converted to God and the ball was ruined. Bless my God for all the good that is done on earth.

1793

THURSDAY, MARCH 28. I rode to my old Bro. Edges' in the neighborhood of R. Creek where I met with many of the brethren who have separated from us, to whom I spoke from Jude 19—20-21. I had liberty and felt great love to them. I pity them from my own heart. Well, I am if possible more than ever fixed to live and die the same in profession the same as from the beginning.

FRIDAY, MARCH 29. I preached at Bro. Mann's to eight or nine souls from Psalms 34—17, and had the presence of the Lord; after preaching I talked considerable with John Chapelle who is one of the members of the Republican Conference and preached. He appears predetermined to persevere in his dangerous practice. I find my spirits very much hurt by talking with him. We had some close conversations. I wish Satan may not obtain his ends in these people. O! My soul come not

thou into their secrets not into their assembly, Lord help me to bear up.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 9. About eleven o'clock I set out for Mr. Almond's twenty-five miles. I missed my way twice, but safely reached my good Mr. Almond's about the setting of the sun. I found both he and his kind pardner very unwell. Here I hear the fatal news which I have for two weeks feared. All the classes for two weeks round hath met and are pre-determined not to be governed by our rules of discipline. Neither to accept of us the travelling preachers as to govern them, but hath set apart the first day of March, next, as the time for all preachers and people who are of a republican spirit to meet at McGehee's barn in Prince Edward County in order to form a code of laws to govern themselves by and then to call their man to enforce their rules and preach unto them. I am in pain, what to do I know not. They say we may come and preach to them, but I shall heed them not, neither may I expect any support from them. This will not do for us. I cannot feel willing to visit them on those terms. Lord undertake for us, we pray for the peace of Jerusalem, we pray Thee to receive us again, must Zion fall, will not the Lord, the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob help us.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 9. I have no appointment to preach today, but I hope to improve my time, Mr. M. and myself retired out into the granary, and while we were there, a poor black man came in and fixed his eyes upon me and said—"What have you got for me." I told him I had some good counsel for him if he would but accept of it. He said that is what I want. So I proceeded to teach him the way of salvation by faith. He stood very attentive, the water streamed from his poor eyes from three streams. I think his poor heart was truly sensible of what I said respecting Christ being formed in him the hope of glory and so he left us begging our prayers.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 22. The Lord is my refuge. Brother W. rode several miles with me to direct me on my way to my appointment, and I conversed largely and freely with him on many things. He expressed himself as being greatly satisfied with respect to the relations I gave him of the conduct of the General Conference. Also we talked on slavery, but he can-

not see as he ought, yet he is not as many others are, full of prejudice. I preached today at Mr. Cardwell's to a pretty serious attentive people, from John 8, 12. I had much comfort and I believe the word had effect upon many. The Lord gave us a divine shower in time of class meeting.

FRIDAY, MARCH 22. I preached in Pride's Church (Amelia) to a few people from First Thessalonians 2—13. I had but little liberty, yet the Lord was with us in time of class meeting. We had a very happy time here. I heard from the Republican Conference. They have drawn up a petition to send to William Asbury to have their grievances removed. Gross inconsistency, after having published themselves in the Gazette as being formed together in a formal protest against prelatical government and also against William Asbury and his adherents. Reject the church governments with the preachers, and now to petition that power against which they absolutely rebel is an inconsistency and something which I cannot reconcile to my reason without an imposition. I tarried this night at Mr. Good's.

THURSDAY, APRIL 25. I rode fifteen miles and preached to the people who have separated themselves from original Methodism from Luke 11-28, but felt as if I had been preaching to mine enemies. I tarried this night with Samuel White. His wife is a dear woman. She weeps for poor Zion. She is greatly distressed because of the rebellious ones, and told me that she was afraid to open her mouth one way or the other. Her husband has left us and she is compelled to go with him.

FRIDAY, APRIL 26. This morning I have talked pointedly to Bro. White. He is a blind man to truth. I opened as well as I could (to him) the nature and plan of our church from which he has revolted, but he was dull (or wilful) of apprehension, so I left him and rode and preached at Bro. Mann's from I Peter 3,—7, 8, 9, 10. I was pointed and wish God may direct the arrow. From there I rode fifteen miles to Bro. Reese's but was very poorly indeed, fasting, preaching and riding so far greatly effects my head and nerves. My poor soul feels barren and empty.

1796

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 11. Not finding passage by water to

Baltimore, set out on horseback and rode till late within the night. This week I have rode regularly on my way toward Baltimore.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 19. I reached Baltimore and found a number of preachers present. My lodging is at Bro. Fonardon. A good man and a local preacher, the Lord be my guide.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 20. Conference met and proceeded to business. We assembled with peace and harmony. My soul longeth for the living God. Dr. Coke preached this evening.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 21. Our business continues in peace and harmony.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 22. Peace overspreads our conference. May the Lord continue it.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 23. I heard several sermons this day. William Asbury preached at three o'clock. My soul was filled with gratitude.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 24. The Lord, the blessed Lord of the universe, is with us. O! may we all keep an eye to His glory.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 25. Our business goes on but slowly. My mind is much agitated, but I trust in God, my Savior.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 26. May this with all and every other day of my life be for God. We dispatch business but slowly, but I hope what we do may be successful for the Lord.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 29. The small-pox has broke among the preachers, May the Lord keep poor me from the hands of death. I wish God to have my heart.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 30. The Lord is at work. Numbers have been converted at this Conference. There is scarcely a sermon but some one is said to find the Lord.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 31. I am very poorly in body and mind. I hear here so many new objects hourly striking my observation that I find it hard to keep my mind where it ought to be. The work of the Lord goes on with some regularity and success. Many souls have been converted during the sitting of this Conference. Our next General Conference is to be held here in November 1800. Perhaps not one-third of the ministers who compose this Conference will live to sit in the next.

O! may my soul stay on its guard, and be found ready to go whenever the Lord shall call.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 3. I obtained leave to leave town for Virginia, but my beast, not having been brought into town time enough, did not go out, but I gave myself up to God, and went and heard Dr. Coke preach a good sermon.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 4. I rode out to Sister Dorsey's where I heard Bro. Watcoate preach, Dr. Coke and William Asbury exhort. There are twelve of us tarried together here this night.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 5. I rode throught the federal city, where I saw part of the capitol, a very fine, elegant building, but the President's house far exceeded every idea of a house I had ever seen for fineness. I tarried in Georgetown at Col. Bell's, where I was very kindly entertained.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 10. I am told that a local preacher has stopped my appointment for today by reason of a Baptist meeting in the neighborhood to which he wishes to go, so I do not propose attending at his house. I went to hear the Baptists myself. If I had have gone by myself I really should have returned without hearing him preach, as he waited so very late before he began to preach. One half hour past one o'clock, however, he preached about a half hour when he begun, it was the same sermon, I hear wherever I go to hear any of that fraternity preach, a cold dry experience as old as the first Baptists I ever heard preach. I do not speak with an intention to ridicule an experience of Grace, but they never go any further than their doctrine of divinity than to tell out an experience and then sing. Then all who ever experienced that straight away to Heaven with fear of falling out by the way. I returned to Bro. Pritchett's but am very poorly in body and very uneasy in my poor mind, nothing but the smiles of my sweet Jesus can cheer my poor drooping spirits.

MONDAY, JANUARY 23. I have no appointment for preaching today, but hope and pray God to preach to my poor heart and fill my sould with humiliating Grace.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 10. I preached to a few at Bro. Meredith's from Psalms 34—11, and had a good meeting class meeting. Am very poorly, but in the evening spoke to the blacks who appeared happy in God, indeed both white and

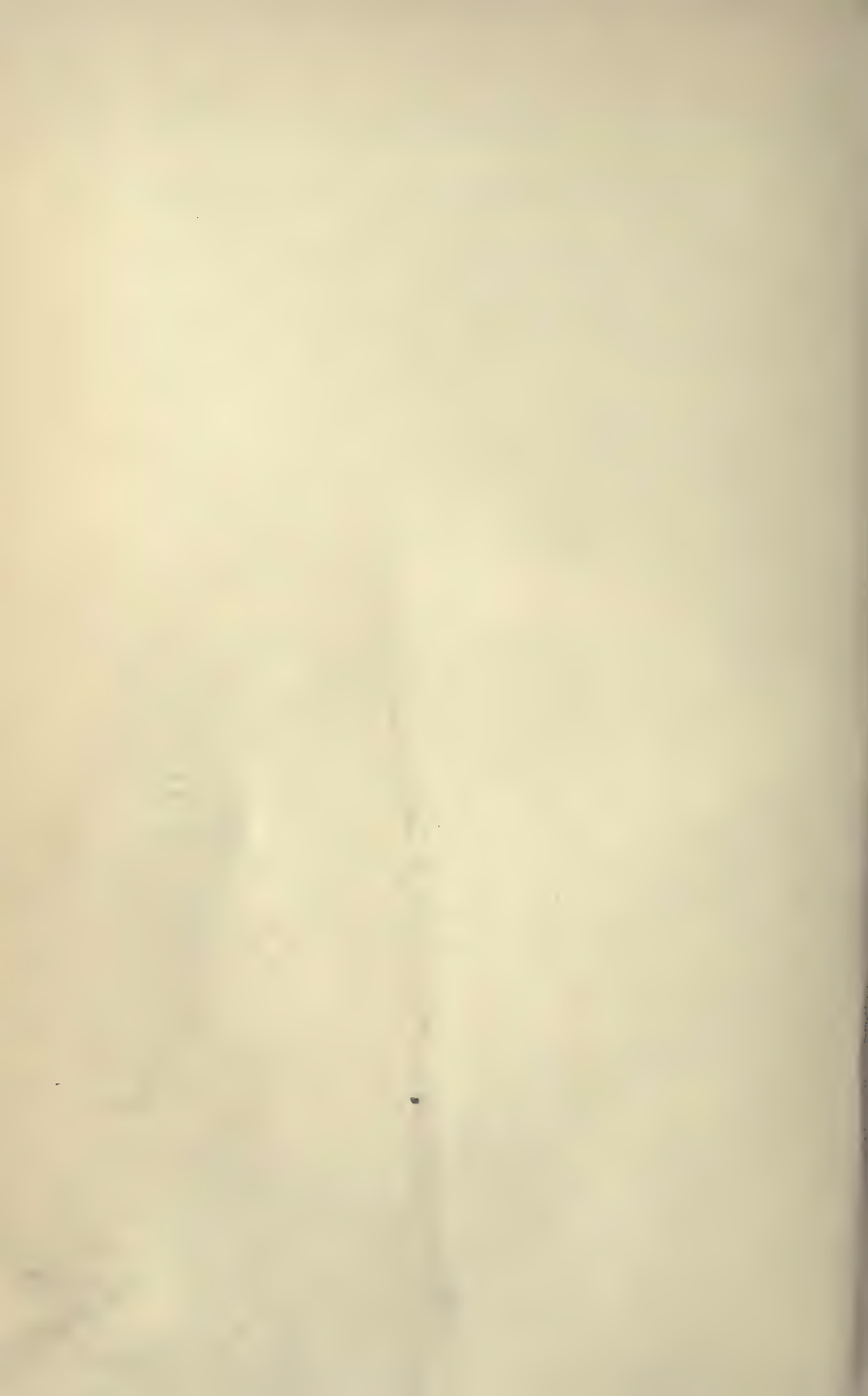
black rejoiced greatly so that the noise of joy was heard afar off.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 26. We had a sweet time at Sacrament, Bro. W. preached a close sermon from "And great shall be the peace of thy children." He beared close upon the practice of slavery. I expect many were offended. We then rode to Bro. Paups and rest in the fear of God. I am very poorly in body, but want more of the Lord.

FRIDAY, MARCH 10. I preached at the place where our Q. Meeting was. I suppose old Bro. Whatcoate gave great offense on the Lord's Day at our Q. M. He touched largely and closely upon the accursed evil and practice of slavery, but the devil will make a noise when his head is bruised. The Lord was with us this day, blessed be his name, may the flame spread through the country.

1797

MONDAY, JUNE 5. Many are my afflictions but I hope out of them all God will deliver me. This blessed night about nine o'clock I was united in wedlock to Miss Polly Seward, daughter of John Seward, of Brunswick, state of Virginia, by the Rev. John Easter. I think God has owned this union which was so sealed with the solemn ceremony. Bro. W. Spencer, whom I call Jonathan, was so kind as to give me his company and attendance. We had sweet prayer and thanksgiving together unto the blessed Lord. I thank my God we had an answer to prayer. Many shouts were sent up to Heaven. It was a solemn time with me, may the Lord bless us, and give us the sweet guidance of his Holy Spirit.



HISTORICAL PAPERS

Published by the Trinity
College Historical Society



SERIES XI

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA
1915

THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF

CHARLES

THE FIRST

OF GREAT BRITAIN

AND

IRELAND

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PREFATORY NOTE

The Committee on Publication wishes to express its appreciation of the courtesy of the Yale University Library for the loan of the *American Museum* for August, 1787, from which the "Essays of Sylvius," here reprinted, were transcribed. The other essays are by members of the Society, Mr. Carr being a graduate of Trinity College in the class of 1915 and Mr. Ruark in the class of 1914.

Beginning with the present academic year a prize of twenty-five dollars is offered by a friend who wishes his name withheld, to that member of the Historical Society, who is also an undergraduate student in Trinity College, for the best essay in the field of Southern History.

WM. K. BOYD,
For the Committee on Publication.

October 1, 1915.

HISTORICAL PAPERS

SERIES XI

Letters of Sylvius

ESSAY ON THE CONSEQUENCES OF EMITTING PAPER-MONEY:
ON THE NECESSITY AND ADVANTAGES OF ENCOURAGING
AMERICAN MANUFACTURERS: OF THE BENEFICIAL EFFECTS
OF AN ALTERATION IN THE PRESENT MODE OF TAXATION,
ETC.—IN A SERIES OF LETTERS WRITTEN IN NORTH CARO-
LINA.*

LETTER I

ON THE PRESENT SCARCITY OF MONEY—ON PAPER EMISSIONS
—LAW'S SCHEMES IN FRANCE—TO THE FREEMEN INHABI-
TANTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Friends and Fellow Citizens:

In every part of these states, the great scarcity of money is become a common subject of complaint. This does not seem to be an imaginary grievance, like that of hard times, of which men have complained in all ages of the world. The misfortune is general, and in many cases it is severely felt. The scarcity of money is so great, or the difficulty of paying debts has been so common, that riots and combinations have been formed in

* Dr. Hugh Williamson, the author of the Letters of Sylvius, was born in Pennsylvania in 1735, and removed to North Carolina in 1777, making his residence at Edenton. He was surgeon to the North Carolina troops in the Revolution, a member of the legislature in 1782 and 1785, delegate to the Continental Congress in 1782, 1783, and 1784, one of the commissioners to the Annapolis Trade Convention of 1786, member of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 and of both state conventions of North Carolina which considered the ratification of the constitution, and also representative from North Carolina in the first and second Congresses of the United States. About 1793 Dr. Williamson removed to New York City, where he lived until his death in 1819. In 1812 appeared his *History of North Carolina* (2 vols., Philadelphia), an introductory volume, *Observations on the Climate of America*, having been published in 1811 (New York).

The Letters of Sylvius appeared serially in the *American Museum*, August number, 1787. They were also issued in pamphlet form, a copy from Williamson's library being in possession of the New York Historical Society. Published anonymously shortly before the adjournment of the constitutional convention, the Letters show the evils of paper money, advocate an excise rather than land and poll taxes, and favor the promotion of domestic manufactures. They also give an interesting account of commercial and economic conditions in the United States, with considerable information respecting life in North Carolina. Although a valuable source for conditions during the age in which they were written, the Letters are very rarely referred to in histories and monographs relating to the period of the Confederation. Hence the present reprint.—WM. K. BOYD.

many places, and the operations of civil government have been suspended. This is the more remarkable, because three years have not passed since money was very plenty. A calamity of such magnitude has deservedly drawn the attention of every legislature in the union. In some of the states, paper-money has been emitted, as the best or the most convenient remedy by which the sufferings of the people can be relieved. The General Assembly of this state (North Carolina) has already had recourse to two emissions of paper. Certainly, when any article is scarce, the general remedy is, to make more: and if it shall be found, when money is scarce, that private and public debts can be honestly discharged by a new emission of paper, the expedient is admirable, for it is the most easy process by which debts were ever paid: this, however, is a subject on which many doubts have arisen. It is not questioned whether there are means by which we may be enabled to discharge our debts, and become opulent and powerful: but there are many who believe that our debts cannot be fairly discharged, nor our citizens relieved, much less can they become rich, by the manufacture of paper money. It has also been my lot to entertain some doubts whether the best regulations have hitherto been adopted, for preserving justice, for relieving the oppressed, and for securing the prosperity of the state. These doubts have given rise to the present address.

This is a question, my fellow citizens, that claims your utmost attention: for no subject of equal importance has been presented to your view, since the declaration of independence. We are going to consider whether the administration of government, in these infant states, is to be a system of patchwork, and a series of expedients—whether a youthful empire is to be supported, like the walls of a tottering ancient palace, by shores and temporary props, or by measures which may prove effectual and lasting—measures which may improve by use, and strengthen by age. We are going to consider whether we shall deserve to be a branch of the most poor, dishonest, and contemptible, or of the most flourishing, independent, and happy nation on the face of the earth.

The reader is not interested in knowing who the writer of these letters may be. A bad argument is not mended by the

supposed abilities of its author : and a good argument does not require parental support. In the meanwhile, he counts it his duty to declare, and he does it with humble gratitude, that his complaints are not occasioned by personal misfortunes ; but he finds himself a member of a great family ; he interests himself as a brother in the happiness of his fellow-citizens ; and he suffers when they are grieved.

The more I consider the progress of credit, and the increase of wealth in foreign nations, the more fully am I convinced that paper money must prove hurtful to this country ; that we cannot be relieved from our debts except by promoting domestic manufactures ; and that, during the prevailing scarcity of money, the burdens of the poor may be relieved by altering the mode of taxation. Here are three separate and distinct propositions ; they shall be considered apart, in order that each of them may fall or stand by its own weakness or strength.

In public measures, as in the conduct of private life, it will be constantly found that "honesty is the best policy." This maxim is somewhat old : but it is not become useless. A paper currency which is a legal tender, even when it may be depreciated 20 or 30 percent is not generally considered as an honest tender : and there are many reasons for believing that such a currency will not finally prove useful to the states. I say it has not generally been considered an honest tender. There are many people who say the money ought not to have depreciated. They say that necessity justified the manufacture ; and that we are bound to receive such payment as the law prescribes : but I never have heard any man say, that it would be perfect justice to pass a law, by which every creditor should be compelled to receive three-fourths or two-thirds of his debt, instead of the whole debt, and yet such a law would be perfectly similar to the tender of depreciated paper, except that it would be a proof of more frugality and plain dealing : for it would be calling things by the right name, and it would save the expense of paper-coinage.

However convenient depreciated paper may appear to those, who use it in the discharge of debts, we have already discovered that the credit and finances of these states are injured by paper-currency : and we shall certainly continue to suffer,

unless we can be relieved from it. There has ever been found much difficulty in shaking off the prejudices of education. We have been accustomed to the use of paper-money while we continued a dependent province. Such a currency was properly calculated to prevent the growth of manufactures, and to continue our dependence and poverty. Surely, under a change of circumstances, there should be a change of measures. We ought now to consult our own prosperity, and not the emolument of Great Britain, or any other kingdom. If we are willing to take a lesson from other governments, we shall find that money is not to be made out of paper, for there is not an empire, kingdom, or state under the sun, where debts may be legally discharged by paper money, except in some of the United States of America. It is admitted that a paper medium, under the form of bank-notes or government-securities, is circulated in France, England, and most other commercial countries: but nobody is compelled by law to receive the payment of any debt in such money: hence it is, that the paper of those countries bears no resemblance to ours, except in name. Every man receives a bank-note or refuses it at pleasure. When he receives it, he knows that on the next hour he may have it changed for gold or silver, as the bank is obliged to make such payments on demand. For this reason, bank-notes, being portable, are frequently preferred to coin of the weighty metals. But it never was found that bank-notes could be circulated at par, unless when it was believed that they might be exchanged for solid money: nor could they be circulated, if they were declared to be a legal tender. The reason is obvious—the whole value of paper is imaginary, and men do not believe by compulsion. Every attempt to force a man to believe that paper is equal in value to silver implies a consciousness that it is not equal. It injures what it was intended to serve. Though the paper-money which has been emitted in North Carolina in the year 1783, had depreciated 20 per cent arguments were invented in the last year for making more money. It was alleged that under the regal government a greater sum of money had been circulated without much depreciation, and consequently a second coinage might take place; it would not depreciate. This argument was plausible, but not solid: for the value of paper

is never found to depend on the quantity in circulation, but on the security that appears for its redemption. The Bank of England, which belongs to a company of private subjects, circulates notes to the amount of thirty-two millions of dollars, though it is not believed that they have above fourteen millions in specie at any time on hands; but every man can get money for his note when he demands it. In the year 1716, soon after the death of Louis XIV, the celebrated John Law, in company with some other gentlemen, obtained a patent for a banking house at Paris. They issued notes, in which they promised to pay the bearer, on sight, a certain sum, in gold and silver of the weight and fineness then established by law. As the late king had altered the weight or quality of the current coin ten times during his reign, and the same thing might be done again, Law's notes, which were not so subject to depreciation, were preferred to specie at one per cent. Such were the effects of a general confidence in good payment. Within the space of four years, notes were issued by Law and Company to the amount of two hundred and twenty-five millions of dollars, which was twice as much as all the specie in France; but the notes retained their credit, because the company were thought to be honest and able to pay. On the twenty-first of May, 1721, the Duke of Orleans, Regent of France, issued a proclamation, by which he reduced the value of bank-notes to half the nominal sum. They were depreciated fifty per cent. This was a proof of the want of integrity, and it operated accordingly; it destroyed public confidence. It did not merely diminish the value of the notes—it annihilated them; and on the twenty-second of May, one guinea in gold could not have been purchased in Paris for one thousand guineas in notes. The history of paper-money, in all ages, is uniform. Its value depends on the confidence of the public. Let government give a single proof that they ought not to be trusted—confidence vanishes, and “like the baseless fabric of a vision, leaves not a trace behind.” Let us compare this with the history of the paper in some of our states, and consider whether it ought to have retained its value. The first emission of the state of North Carolina, in 1783, was to have been redeemed by the sale of forfeited estates. That foundation was soon removed:

and those estates were converted to another use. The money depreciated and recourse was had to another coinage. This second structure was raised, if possible, on a worse foundation, for it had not even the appearance of stability. Taxes are paid for calling in the money, and it is immediately restored to circulation. Was it expected that such money should pass as gold or silver? No, certainly. The legislature themselves do not seem to have expected that it should be considered of equal value. Tobacco, a staple of North Carolina, has been purchased by the public for two prices in this new money: and creditors at the same time are compelled to receive it as specie, in the payment of debts. Is this justice? Strangers will call it by a different name.

I have attempted to shew, according to the fate of paper in other countries, that it was not to have been expected, that our money should pass as gold or silver. Everybody knows, that it is more or less depreciated in all the states which have emitted it. It is therefore not a good payment, though it be a legal one. I shall now endeavor to show that it must finally prove hurtful to the states, and that it could not have brought us substantial relief, though the whole of it had passed as specie.

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LETTER II

ON PAPER MONEY—CONSEQUENCES OF DEBASING THE COIN OF A NATION—IMPORTS OF PENNSYLVANIA—DITTO AND EXPORTS OF NORTH CAROLINA—CAUSES OF THE SCARCITY OF MONEY—RUINOUS EFFECTS OF IMPORTING SUCH IMMENSE QUANTITIES OF LUXURIES AS ARE INTRODUCED INTO AMERICA—INJUSTICE OF TRADE LAWS.

Friends and Fellow Citizens:

It is painful in all cases to animadvert on public measures, lest we should hurt the feelings of any citizen with whom such measures have originated. But truth is the friend of every man: and the author of every public measure, if he be a good man, treats it as other men do: he supports it while he believes it to be good; he forsakes it whenever he finds it to be hurtful.

For this reason I shall proceed freely in considering the effects of paper-money. I have said, that paper-money, which is a legal tender, must prove hurtful to this country; when made, it must depreciate, and the effects of depreciation are unfriendly to industry, injurious to the poor and destructive of good morals. On the supposition that the paper currency in some of the states has depreciated one-third, it will follow, that the different citizens to whom this money was first paid, in its depreciated state, must have lost 33 1-3 per cent on every payment: but as every bill of paper may have passed frequently from hand to hand, it will follow, that the several citizens of that state may have suffered the loss of ten times that sum by receiving bad money, instead of solid coin, to which they were entitled. This must have been a very considerable tax: and unfortunately it was a tax of the most pernicious kind: for it was a tax on the frugal and temperate in favour of the idle, the profligate, and luxurious. It cannot be right in government to protect and encourage vice. It is a plant that thrives sufficiently in every soil, without the help of legislative authority. In support of a measure that agrees so little with the common ideas of justice, we have been told, that money was wanted for the sake of the poor, that they might have a medium wherewith to pay their debts and taxes. Whoever has reflected on the circulation of paper-money, will be apt to say, that the honest poor man has not been the chief gainer by it. There is some difficulty in discovering how the poor man should be profitted by a coinage of money. If he had been possessed of marketable property, before the money was made, he might have sold it for the full value: for there has been no season in which produce has not sold for more than its worth. The exporters have been losers. If the poor man had no property for sale, neither could he have got any of the new money, unless it was to have been given away. There is doubtless some obscurity in this business, unless we allege, that depreciation was intended, and this we are not willing to suspect. Let us suppose that the poor man may have gained a trifle by the depreciation of money; what is such a gain when compared with his sufferings by the loss of credit? No man can expect to borrow money, nor obtain goods on credit, when government does not support the

creditors against dishonest payments by base money. When the rich are taught by government not to give credit, the sufferings of the poor must be increased: and when credit is destroyed, industry must languish: for they are constantly found to flourish in proportion to the honesty of government, and the stability of the legal money. So lately as in the 43d year of Queen Elizabeth, the coin of England was debased almost nine per cent by Parliament, and about that time the coin of France was frequently altered. The commerce of those nations suffered greatly by such instability. They have since profited by their good faith. There is no country in which the value of money has been so perfectly stable, as in Holland, for the last two hundred years; and it is admitted, that no country has prospered so much by commerce, nor is there any in which the interest on money is so moderate. Security of property has ever proved the spur to industry; hence we find that arts and commerce have flourished most in republican governments; for in absolute monarchies, the value of money is not stable, and in despotic governments the case is worse: in such governments we seldom find much industry. In republican governments, the property of the citizens has generally been safe. To this we ascribe the progress of arts and commerce, and the consequent wealth of Athens, Carthage, and Venice; of the Hans Towns and the United Netherlands. In those republics, the governments have not been used to depreciate their coin. Time will show how the experiment succeeds with us. The chief advantage that appears to have arisen from depreciated money, is, that fraudulent debtors have been enabled to discharge their contracts on easy terms. It is admitted that the debts of citizen to citizen may be somewhat lessened by this species of payment: but the foreign debt is not diminished by such means; on the contrary, while we are using those desperate remedies against one another, our foreign debts have been increasing every year.

Most of our debts have been contracted since the spring of 1783. If our imports could be compared with our exports, the balance against us would be the amount of our debts; but it is difficult to determine what has been the amount of foreign goods imported into these states since

the peace. Our public accounts cast but a faint light on this question. Generally speaking, without a boat or searcher in any of our ports,—the strictest attention not being paid to the revenue—people are invited to smuggle goods; detection is not apprehended; and time has nearly established the contempt of custom-house oaths. The amount of goods imported into Pennsylvania, since the peace, and consumed there appears to exceed two millions of dollars a year. In fixing its quota of the national debt, we find, that in the year 1783, Pennsylvania was supposed to contain 320,000 inhabitants, and North Carolina to contain 170,000, which is more by 10,000 than half the number contained in the former state. It is true, that negroes were taken into the estimation: but three negroes were reckoned as two whites. According to this estimation, we should suppose that the consumption of foreign goods in the State of North Carolina has been equal to more than one million of dollars every year. It may be objected, that winter is more severe in Pennsylvania than in North Carolina, and that three negroes do not consume the same value of clothes as two whites. This objection is more than balanced by observing, that nearly two-thirds of the citizens of Pennsylvania have originated in Germany, or the north of Ireland; and have imported such habits of industry and dexterity in the mechanic arts, that they make little use of foreign manufacturers. Divide one million of dollars by 170,000, and it does not give quite six dollars for each person. Part of the inhabitants, suppose one-fourth of them, being slaves, and three slaves being counted as two whites, there will not be four dollars for each slave. We admit, that the annual consumption of many slaves, in foreign goods, is below four dollars, even when rum is included: and some white inhabitants do not consume to the amount of six dollars: but there are many who consume ten times that quantity. This computation was made on the supposition that no goods have been smuggled into Pennsylvania: but some of the citizens of that state have also calculated, that the account of perjury, like the tenor of their respective wills, is not to be examined till after death. They have conducted themselves accordingly. This inference is founded on a late association of merchants in Philadelphia to

prevent smuggling. We may fairly add 200,000 dollars for this account.

We shall now consider what have been the annual exports of North Carolina, in order to determine the amount of debts contracted since the peace. The produce exported from Currituck, Edenton, Bath, Newbern and Wilmington, in the last year seems to be valued not too high, when stated at \$506,700.* The tobacco, rolled into Virginia, and produce conveyed to South Carolina may be stated at 400,000 dollars, and there will remain a balance of £117,320 not accounted for. According to this computation, North Carolina has contracted a debt of 293,000 dollars every year to foreigners, or to people who live out of the state, to be paid to foreigners. No part of this debt has been discharged by the operations of paper-money, the whole advantage of depreciation being a mere juggle, by which one citizen is injured for the convenience of another. Their extravagance therefore, is the sole cause of this alarming scarcity of money. They consume more than they can pay for; and, until they become frugal and more industrious, the grievance must increase, notwithstanding their little attempts to elude the burden, by throwing it upon one another. If no debts were due in the state, except those which are due to merchants, or the importers and retailers of goods, they would long since have discovered the true cause of the scarcity of money; the merchants' books would have told the amount of their debts: but it is an unfortunate circumstance, that a small share of those may be directly due to the importers of goods, though the whole of them are occasioned by such importations. In order to account for this, we are to consider, that merchants have a better opportunity than other people to receive payment of debts: for produce of all sorts will suit them instead of money.

Thus it may happen, that A buys a horse from B, for which he is to pay eighty dollars, as soon as he shall have sold his crop. B purchases cattle from C, for eighty dollars, which he is to pay, when he receives payment for his horse: and C em-

* In this computation, tobacco has been valued at 26s. the hundred. Pitch and turpentine at 10s. Tar 6s. Pipe staves 81. hhd. staves and heading 41. Corn 15s. the barrel. The whole to be paid in specie at the port where they are shipped. Merchants know best whether they are worth more, considering the various burdens with which our commerce at this time is loaded.

ploys D to repair his house, for which he is to pay him out of the price of his cattle. In the meanwhile, A. tempted by the allurements of a neighboring store, buys foreign goods, silks, gauzes, rum, and such other *necessaries*, for the use of his family, and he delivers the whole of his crop in payment, for which he is allowed a *generous* price. Thence it must follow, that B, C, D, and every other letter in the alphabet, are disappointed, each of them is in debt, and they all complain of the scarcity of money, without perceiving that all these debts continue to be unpaid, from the folly of A in buying foreign goods, and yet the goods are paid for. Thus it is, that our citizens are universally involved: many of the debts are due to merchants; but a much greater amount is due to people who are not merchants: and we seem not to have discovered, that we are nearly ruined by foreign luxuries. Let any man cast his eye on this account: let him think of a state whose citizens are given up to indolence and vanity—who, in the space of three years, have plunged themselves in debt at least three hundred thousand pounds: let him observe how the property of our citizens is daily mortgaged to strangers and foreigners, and the inheritance of our children bartered away for fineries and fopperies: let him observe the desperate situation to which we are reduced, merely to obtain a transient release. The dignity of government is wounded—base money is declared to be a legal tender—the diligent man is plundered for the benefit of the indolent and extravagant—industry languishes, for property is not safe—the orphan is defrauded*—and the most atrocious frauds are practiced under the sanction of the law. Surely, it is high time that other measures were adopted.

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* Some months ago, a young adventurer, in North Carolina, married a widow who had three children. She chanced to have three thousand hard dollars in the house, of which two-thirds belonged to the children. The guardians claimed their share of the specie for the children: and the *honest* step-father is now buying up paper at twelve or thirteen shillings for the dollar; and such money will be a *legal* payment for the use of the orphans. Is it strange that paper depreciates, when such men are profited by the depreciation!

LETTER III

ON FRUGALITY AND INDUSTRY—IN OLD NATIONS, IT IS WISE AND POLITIC TO ENCOURAGE LUXURY IN DRESS—THIS CONDUCT FOLLY AND MADNESS IN AMERICA—EXPENSES OF THE POOR IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE—FALLACY OF THE IDEA THAT IT IS BETTER TO CONSUME FOREIGN GOODS THAN AMERICAN, AS THE FORMER ARE CHEAPER.

To the Freeman Inhabitants of the United States—Friends and Fellow Citizens:

In all cases, it is more easy to complain, than to point out the means of relief. It is also more easy to give wholesome advice, than to adopt proper remedies. It is a downward, easy path that leads to ruin: but it is a rough and uphill road, which leads to prosperity. Every amendment is at first unpalatable. For this reason, I shall recommend with indifference, what is likely to be followed with reluctance.

We complain in general, that money is scarce. We are mistaken about facts: for the thing alleged is not altogether true. Pride, or the force of habit, prevents us from discovering the truth. There is no country in which money may be acquired with more ease than in America: and every man has it, who has any right to expect it, except in cases where government interferes. But most of us ought not to have any money: we have not deserved it: for we have expended more money since the peace, than we have gained: whence it is, that we neither have money, nor any kind of marketable property, by which we can pay our debts: no man or body of men can have either, whose expenses exceed their income. There is a certain and plain process by which our complaints may be relieved:—the bad effects of indolence and luxury must be cured by diligence and economy: and the whole of our debts may be discharged in a few years by industry and frugality. When are we likely to obtain money by such means? No man can attend to the prevailing conduct of the Americans, without expressing his fear that the period is very distant. Instead of finding general proofs of industry, economy, temperance, and other republican virtues, he sees a nation that is more luxurious, more indolent, and more extravagant, than any other peo-

ple on the face of the earth. In drawing this figure, I may be charged with high colouring: but the reader is requested to examine the original, and if he finds us the most luxurious and improvident of all nations, he will certainly admit that some restraints might help to increase the quantity of money among us, or might prevent the occasion for it.

Every empire under the sun is supposed to be independent of any other: that is to say, the subjects of every empire are supposed to enjoy a natural as well as a political independence. It is presumed that they clothe and feed themselves. This, in former times, was obviously the case in all countries: but the introduction of commerce has produced many seeming variations from this rule. Industrious nations, which have more provisions or clothing, of any particular quality, than are necessary for their own consumption, send them abroad to be exchanged for money, or for some other kind of clothing or provisions which they like better, or which they cannot prepare with the same ease: but still their exports and their imports are nearly equal, and the quantity of imported goods consumed by every nation, bears a very small proportion to which they consume of their own manufature. This is true even of the Spaniards, though national pride or indolence seems to furnish them as an exception to this general rule. They depend on other nations for many important manufactures. The consequence is obvious. Though they possess the rich mines of Mexico and Peru, they are, by neglecting useful manufactures, become a poor nation; and are every year decreasing in numbers and strength.

We observe that most other nations maintain a kind of barter or exchange of manufactures with one another: but still the great body of the inhabitants, rich and poor, are clothed in the manufactures of their own country. Is this the case in the United States? With us the master and his slave, the farmer, the mechanic, and merchant, are all clothed, from head to foot, in foreign manufactures: this is not because we have not got hemp, flax, and cotton sufficient: there is no country where those articles are produced with less trouble; nor is there any difficulty in procuring wool. But our imports are not confined to clothing. No small share of our

furniture is of British manufacture. Saws, hammers, hoes, and axes, are also imported, as if the wolf had made war against our iron as well as against our sheep. In every small town we are cherished with Irish butter and beef, and with British ale, porter, and cheese, as if the country did not produce hops, barley, or black cattle. Lest absurdity should not go on stilts, and folly ride the great horse, we make large importations of hazle and oak sprouts, under the name of walking canes. Surely there is no scarcity of wood among us: but our sticks are not foreign. In excuse for all those follies, we are told, that a man has the right to all the comforts of life which he can pay for: and perhaps it may be questioned, whether he has a right to give examples, and introduce follies, that may prove ruinous to his fellow citizens. Under the head of luxuries, we may fairly include every imported article, because this country certainly produces all the necessities of life. It is hardly requisite to visit a large town in order to determine whether the luxury of dress is become an offense against decency, as well as a sure road to bankruptcy. In this remark, no particular reference is made to the dress of either sex: for they are equally attentive to the privilege of being in fashion. It is true, that some doubts have arisen concerning the meaning of the word fashion. In most countries, fashion in dress is understood to mean the form and quality of clothing, which is used by the most respectable inhabitants, or by the great majority of the nation. From late observations, we are taught to suspect that the word has a different meaning in the United States. Among us, a person is understood to be in perfect fashion who is rigged off with something that has not been seen or heard of before in the state. On this principle it is, that we have seen new forms of head-dress, like bullets in a pop-gun, kick out one another so fast that we could hardly learn their names as they passed in review. Perhaps we shall be told, that an American is not in fashion, who dresses like other Americans: he must dress as people do in London. If they change their clothes once in a month, so must we. If they wear buttons of the size of a saucer, in the form of a hexagon, or a square, so must we. What a pity it is, that fashions should wear out in London, before they can arrive at New York or

Philadelphia. If there was a glass in the moon, we might catch the fashions as they rise. How does it fare with nations who have no change in the fashion of their clothes? Have the women in those countries fewer charms, or have the men less discretion, than we have, who are subject to weekly revolutions? Surely, the whim of this day has no more intrinsic beauty than the whim of yesterday.

In old nations, where manufactures flourish, and where wealth is unequally distributed, some of the inhabitants being exceedingly rich, and the great body of them miserably poor, it is wise in the government to encourage luxury and caprice in dress. By those means, the wealth of the rich circulates through the hands of the manufacturing poor. But our situation being entirely the reverse of theirs, what is sound policy in those countries, must be folly and madness among us. When we encourage luxury, it is to enrich another nation, and to make our own citizens poor. Can there be a greater treason committed against the states? The Chinese and Japanese, great, politic, and wise, nations are distinguished by a national dress. The Dutch, though they are surrounded by nations who are as changeable as the moon, have submitted to little variation in dress for two hundred years. Their commerce does not, like that of France and England, depend on their manufactures: and nothing less than rigid economy could make them respectable. Nothing but necessity can justify us in the use of any foreign manufacture. Doubtless, the word necessity is very ambiguous. Most people contend that what they buy is necessary, provided they can barely discover the use of it. We have the daughter of a labouring mechanic pay her afternoon's visit, dressed out in more lace, ribands, gauze, and silk, than her father could have earned in twelve months in any part of Europe. Were those things necessary? We have seen a young buck, the son of a planter, who scarcely sold one hog-head of tobacco in the year, on his way to quarter-races fitted out for the sake of propriety, with white silk stockings under his boots, a pair of *Durable* black silk breeches, and more silver on his saddle and bridle, than the value of his father's estate, if his debts were paid. These were a few of his *necessaries*. It is very observable, that in other countries, people

who live by their industry, and *are obliged to pay their debts*, do not find such things necessary. It is alleged that in England, the food, raiment, and other necessities of a labouring man, cost him annually about 7.10s. sterling: deduct a moderate allowance for food, fuel, and house-rent, how much will remain for clothes? The Marshal de Vauban, considering what taxes may be paid by a labouring man in France, estimates his annual expense in clothing at somewhat less than forty shillings of our money: This includes the clothing for himself, his wife and two children. It may be noted, that half the subjects, both in France and in England, come within the foregoing predicament: they are either mechanics or day-labourers. Compare their expense with ours, in the article of dress; and it must be admitted that an epidemic madness has laid hold of us.

It is alleged, that the citizens of the United States have contracted debts, within the last three years, with the subjects of Great Britain, to the amount of near six millions of dollars; consequently, our estates are mortgaged for that sum. Painful sensations must arise to every man who loves his country, from the prospect of such beginnings. Thus it was, that Corsica was mortgaged to the more industrious citizens of Genoa, for silks and velvets: and it was afterwards sold to a foreign power.

We shall be told, in excuse for imported luxuries, that we buy goods cheaper than we can make them; and that a man earns more in his tobacco or corn-field, than he could earn at a loom, or by other manufactures. These positions are fallacious and ill-founded. Both experiment and calculation prove them to be false. During the late war goods were dear, and we did not run into debt: for we bought few—manufactured some—and were frugal. Since the peace, goods have been cheap, and we have nearly become bankrupts. It appears that our earnings in the field have not been equal to the price of the goods that we have consumed. Every domestic manufacture is cheaper than a foreign one, for this plain reason: by the first nothing is lost to the country, by the other the whole value is lost; it is carried away never to return. It is perfectly indifferent to this state, or to the United States, what may be the price of

domestic manufactures, beause that price remains in the country. Every man is supposed to be employed in some profession—he is a mechanic, etc., or he is employed in raising provisions for those who are. In Great Britain, the farmers are to the manufacturers as four to three. In this state (North Carolina), where provisions are more easily raised, the number may be equal, because the labor of one man in the field is more than sufficient for the nourishment of two. Let the manufacturer demand what he pleases for the produce of his labor, the farmer can easily settle the account by selling his provisions accordingly. The annual consumption of goods in this state has been estimated at a million, or rather a million two hundred thousand dollars in specie, or produce to that value, have been sent out of the state, and we are so much the poorer. Suppose the whole of those goods had been manufactured within the state, or a sufficient quantity for our consumption, and that they had cost the consumers, or been valued at two millions of dollars; would the citizens of this state have lost eight hundred thousand dollars by this difference in price? The very reverse would have happened. They would have gained, or they would have saved, one million two hundred thousand dollars: for not a single dollar would have been sent out of the country.

No man is to say that a thing may be good for individuals, which is not good for the public; or that our citizens may thrive by cheap bargains, while the nation is ruined by them. He is neither a politician, nor a patriot, who would use such a cloak. Let us turn our attention to manufactures: and the staple of our country will soon rise to its proper value: for we have already glutted every foreign market. By this expedient, instead of using fictitious paper, we shall soon obtain hard money sufficient; instead of toiling in the field, and becoming poor, that we may enrich the manufactures of other countries, we shall prosper by our own labor, and enrich our own citizens.

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LETTER IV

FURTHER REMARKS ON TENDER LAWS—NECESSITY OF ENCOURAGING AMERICAN MANUFACTURES—ADVANTAGES OF A NATIONAL DRESS—ABSURDITY OF SERVILELY COPYING THE FASHION OF EUROPE—NEW ENGLAND WELL CALCULATED FOR MANUFACTURES—INTERESTING STATEMENT OF THE SUM CONTRIBUTED BY AMERICA TO THE SUPPORT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN, BY CONSUMING HER MANUFACTURES.

To the Freemen Inhabitants of the United States—Friends and Fellow Citizens:

It has ever been found, that speculative reasonings are weak and inconclusive, when opposed to the prejudices or passions of a nation. There is something so bewitching in luxury and idleness, that nothing short of hard necessity can banish them; perhaps this great reformer is not far distant. When a man sees his fellow-citizens posting at full speed to destruction—when he sees them attempt to mortgage their whole estate for a whistle and bells, and the legislatures of some of the states holding a candle to the prevailing folly, by cherishing the idle at the expense of the industrious—he comforts himself that the race is nearly run. It was not sufficient that the whole produce of our country during the last three years has been exchanged for luxuries—all the hard money that could be collected was also exported; but there was still a remnant of hard money in many of the states—the people retained it for the necessary purposes of exchange, and merchants could not get it out of their hands. In order to banish this remnant of hard money, our legislatures are following one another in making a paper tender. By this happy expedient, people will be enabled to ruin themselves; every farthing of specie, which seems to be obnoxious, will be exported, and we shall be as poor and penniless as Tartars.

When our merchants are involved in a general bankruptcy, and when the officious friendship of foreign merchants is sufficiently punished, who tempted us to run in debt, there will be an end to the importation of foreign goods, and necessity will effect what prudence could not.

I have for some time looked for those marks of political virtue, those proofs of self-denial, which produced the revolution. I have expected to see associations formed by gentlemen in the several states, for promoting American manufactures. For as soon as we can make our own clothes, and our own arms, we shall be perfectly independent. Surely the man who is clothed in American manufactures, which he wears for the sake of enriching his native country, and relieving his fellow-citizens, may be allowed to have some claim to patriotism, which is the most honorable garb that can be worn.

While we are considering of the various means by which our fellow-citizens may be relieved from a scarcity of money, the subject of dress claims our particular attention. Our interest and our honor are united in recommending a national dress. National prejudices are useful: they attach people to those of their own country, and induce them to assist one another. In most cases, a national language answers the purpose of distinction: but we have the misfortune of speaking the same language with a nation, who, of all people in Europe, have given and continue to give fewest proofs of love. We do not count it an honor to imitate the forms of government that prevail in Europe—why should we think it honourable to imitate the fashion of their coats? "*O imitatores, servile pecus!*" Why should we imitate the dress of a man from London, more than of a man from Ispahan, Pekin, or Constantinople? Surely we do not mean this imitation as a mark of homage to a Briton—nor do we pay it as a tribute, though it renders us tributary. We do not mean to acknowledge that Britons are superior to ourselves in everything, whence we should imitate and strive to copy them. How, then, are we to account for this sycophantism? Though it was profitable, we are placed thereby in a point of view so humiliating, and so offensive to the common feelings of men, that we ought to break the fetters, and give another proof of our being free. But since the imitation of English fashions cannot cost the United States less than five millions of dollars per annum—every argument for economy, as well as pride seems to recommend a national dress. What would be the best form of a national dress from head to foot,

a dress to be adopted and persevered in. This question may possibly be answered by some person who shall attempt the change. If a few respectable citizens in every state should undertake the change, beyond doubt it would soon become universal. It is true that national dress, like their several forms of government, has been established in most countries by a long process of time and accidents: but the Americans have had the resolution to shake off a set of prejudices, and at once to establish a new system of government. Such a nation might easily shake off the trammels of English fashion in the hat or coat, especially when it is considered that great saving and other solid advantages would accrue from such a measure. If a national dress be adopted, we shall have nothing to apprehend from the effects of caprice. We are not to fear lest every adventurer, who arrives among us with a new figaro on his back or head, should eclipse our dress, and claim the greater attention of the ladies. It will constantly be found that the national dress in every country, is more decent and pleasing to people at large, than any new adventitious or foreign dress. Every stranger who comes among us, will think it best to assume the dress of the country. If he affects to become a citizen, he will find it necessary. It is the privilege of a conquering nation to impose its dress upon the conquered. This becomes a mark of subjection. There has been a notable exception to this rule. When the Tartars conquered China, the Chinese had the good fortune to preserve their dress, and the Tartars submitted to a change: hence the Tartars in that very empire are considered as secondaries and inferiors. Whether we shall submit to the perpetual rule and customs of England, and acknowledge ourselves subordinate, is a question that is not likely to be determined speedily. The present appearances are against us. I have mentioned the English, because it is certain that we do not copy French dress, though that also would be folly.

The measures to which I have referred, would certainly relieve us from a scarcity of money: but they are rather to be effected by the spirit of the nation, than by legislative interposition. They are rather to be effected by voluntary patriotic associations, than by express and particular statutes. It is im-

possible to foretell where any salutary measure is to have its beginning ; but as the amendment in question will doubtless be produced by the combination of sundry causes, I should naturally expect that some of the eastern states would give us the example. Not because the citizens of those states are at this time distinguished by the frugality of their dress ; for we believe that no people in the United States have fought more greedily to ruin themselves, by the luxury of dress, than some of the inhabitants of the eastern states. Nor is it because the tradesmen or mechanics in those states have any particular claim to patriotism, if it be true, as has been reported, that as soon as the legislature of Massachusetts had imposed a heavy tax on certain imported goods, to encourage the manufacture of similar articles at home, the mechanics raised the price of those very articles by the full amount of the tax. For instance, two dollars being the tax that was laid on beaver hats—the hatters immediately added two dollars to the eight dollars they had formerly demanded for a beaver, as if they wished by extravagance to provoke a repeal of the law, or to promote smuggling. If such reports are well founded, and if such instances of extortion are common among the mechanics in the eastern states, we are not to look for proofs of signal patriotism among them. The eastern states are particularly circumstanced with respect to foreign commerce. They produce nothing fit for exportation. The fishery cannot be considered as theirs ; for it is common : and the trifling amount of lumber and live stock, the produce of the country, that is exported cannot be sufficient to clothe one-tenth of the inhabitants. In the meanwhile, it is very observable, that no people can be more conveniently situated for the purpose of extending manufactures than the citizens of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. The climate is extremely healthy, nor is it too warm for a white man to labor through the whole summer. Domestic slavery, which has ever been found unfriendly to manufactures, does not prevail among them. A great proportion of the inhabitants are contiguous to one another in small towns, which are the proper nurseries of manufactures, and most of those towns are situated on or near a water-carriage. The citizens are naturally industrious

and tractable. Whatever raw materials they want, can easily be procured from the southern states. As the number of citizens increases in the manufacturing towns, provisions may become scarce: but the corn and rice of the southern states must afford them a convenient and constant supply. Vessels that are not employed by winter in the fishery, may be usefully engaged in carrying provisions in exchange for manufactures: for in such a soil and climate as the southern states, there must ever be a redundance of provisions. Surely, then, it may be expected, that the citizens of the eastern states will be among the first manufacturers. There we see a people who cannot long persevere in the course they have been running—a people who are persuaded by every argument of prudence and sound policy to adopt other measures—are we not to expect some useful, some great and patriotic examples from that quarter!

If other arguments are wanted to induce us to promote domestic manufactures, and a national dress, we had best consider the question concerning imported goods, as it effects our own revenue, compared with the revenue of a foreign kingdom. When the subject is viewed in this light, we must admit that our present measures are neither supported by patriotism, nor by any other civil or political virtue.

The foreign goods annually consumed in this state, have been estimated at more than one million of dollars; perhaps we may fairly state the amount of British goods at that sum; consequently, the subjects of Great Britain are enriched by our follies to the amount of four hundred thousand pounds per annum. How much do we contribute towards the taxes of Great Britain by such a consumption of her manufactures?

This is a question that has not been fully considered: but I think the amount may be fairly stated at seven hundred thousand dollars by the year. To some Americans this computation may appear extravagant: but gentlemen who have seen the burdens that are borne in foreign countries will not think it too large. It is generally alleged that a man pays fifteen shillings for the use of government, out of every twenty shillings that he spends in England. Some have stated the public tax at seventeen shillings in the pound. Let us take an instance in the article of beer.

The land pays a tax. The barley which grows on it, when malted, pays an excise of six-pence by the bushel. Hops pays one penny by the pound. The beer, when brewed, pays an excise, greater, in some cases, than the original value. And all the persons who labour in the premises, contribute to the national revenue, by their sundry consumptions to the amount of three-fourths of the whole price of their labor: this also must be charged on the beer. Surely, then, the consumer of beer pays more than seventeen shillings to government for every twenty shillings which he expends in that liquor. But I have taken fourteen shillings in the pound, as a moderate estimate of the sum that a man in America pays towards the support of government in Great Britain, who consumes British manufactures. It follows of course, that we have, for the last three years, been paying into the British treasury a tax upwards of two hundred thousand pounds per year. Strange liberality! While our own taxes are neglected, our government degraded, and our private debts unpaid, we are freely giving up the last farthing for the support of a foreign government. The whole of our foreign debt would have been discharged by a smaller sum than we have already paid into the British treasury: but our money is gone, and every part of the foreign loan remains unpaid. While we are neither honest nor grateful to those who befriended us in the hour of distress, we are extremely beneficent to those who stand in a different predicament. A nation that takes so much pains to injure itself, cannot possibly prosper. If the general use of British goods, in these states, could be improved so as to bring a fifth part of the sum into our treasury, that it brings into the treasury of Great Britain, our civil government would be well supported, our foreign loans discharged, our national honour preserved, and our citizens fully relieved from the burden of positive taxes. These are objects devoutly to be wished.

SYLVIVS.

LETTER V

ON THE NECESSITY OF ALTERING THE PRESENT MODE OF TAXATION—HARDSHIPS OF THE LAND AND CAPITATION TAX—AN EXCISE ON LUXURIES PARTICULARLY CALCULATED FOR AMERICA.

To the Freemen Inhabitants of the United States—Friends and Fellow Citizens:

In all governments, the relief of the poor should be one of the chief objects of legislative attention. Every citizen demands justice and protection from government. These should not—they cannot be refused. But the poor man has other claims. His wants and his sufferings must be in proportion to his degree of poverty. Humanity requires that his sufferings be prevented or relieved, so far as may consist with the steady and impartial administration of justice. It is inconsistent with honesty or sound policy, that the rich should be defrauded or plundered, for the sake of the poor: but the fiscal and economical laws of every state should be so framed, as to encourage and assist the poor in their usual employments. The necessary burdens of civil government should be so fashioned, as to press on their shoulders in the most convenient and easy manner that is possible. The general payment of taxes is absolutely necessary to the support of any government: but when money is remarkably scarce, it must be difficult for the poor man to pay his taxes: and in many cases, he may find it impossible to make the annual payments, without the public sale of some part of his property. Every distress of this kind ought to be prevented, if possible. Perhaps the most easy and effectual method of preventing the poor man from being distressed in the payment of taxes, is by altering the general form of taxation, or by substituting an excise in the place of a tax on property, which is common in North Carolina.

That tax, or additional price, which in most countries is laid upon certain goods, when they are sold for consumption, is called excise. Thus, a retailer of spirituous liquors may be required to pay for the support of government, one shilling for every gallon of wine that he sells: and the shop-keeper may be obliged to pay half a crown for every yard of silk or cloth he

sells. This tax is very different from the customs, or duties that are usually paid on the importation of foreign goods. It is a subsequent tax, and frequently much heavier. In many cases, it is laid on articles of domestic production. In England, several millions are annually raised by an excise: in France, the revenue from an excise is larger: and in Holland almost the whole of the national expenses are paid by different excises. Almost everything in that country, which a man eats or drinks, is subject to an excise: and in some cases, the excise is nearly equal to the prime cost.

It has frequently been said, that when the citizens of any state are obliged to raise a certain sum of money by the means of taxation, there can be little difference by what name the tax is called, or how it is laid. But this opinion is ill founded. The capitation-tax, and land-tax, such as are usual among us, are inevitable and positive taxes: they are not to be averted. The industrious man cannot elude them: the unfortunate cannot escape them. Every citizen must take out his purse, and pay the amount. But the excise is a negative or indirect tax. When it is laid on foreign goods, no man is obliged to pay any part of it: and when it is laid on domestic luxuries, no prudent man will pay much of it. It will frequently happen that the most virtuous and industrious citizens are greatly distressed by domestic sickness: and it will happen, that whole countries are distressed by intemperate seasons and short crops. In all such cases, the excise operates as a relief to the citizen: for he buys no luxuries on that year, and consequently he pays no taxes, provided luxuries only are excised.

Let us suppose a very frequent case: a poor man is possessed of one hundred acres of land, hardly worth one hundred dollars. His land-tax will be twenty-five, and his poll or personal tax fifteen shillings. Does it not frequently happen, that the public officer, at the season for collecting taxes, finds such a man without forty shillings in his pocket? Perhaps he is seldom possessed of so much money at a time. It would certainly be strange if the poorest man in the state, who is not a cripple, could not earn, in the year, three times the sum that has been mentioned, besides what is necessary for the support of his family: but economy and a provident foresight are not

the characteritics of the poor. In fact, the poor in these states are generally poor because they want those qualities: why, then, are we to suppose a man to have the thing, which we ought rather to suspect he has not? Or why shall we make it necessary for a man to treasure up money for several months, who never cared for tomorrow? The land-tax or the personal tax may appear at first sight to be small burdens: but experience has taught us that they are not easily borne. On the other hand, the most indolent or the most careless citizen cannot possibly be incommoded by an excise. If he should have no money in the course of the year, nor anything to sell, he will not be able to buy anything, and consequently will not pay any tax. Whenever he shall be able to buy any foreign commodities, he will pay his tax in buying the goods; for the excise is added on the price of them: it is paid by the merchant. Suppose the excise on rum to be one shilling the gallon, whoever buys one gallon of rum, must pay a tax of one shilling: for in this case, the rum will cost him six shillings instead of five. The same rule may be applied to every article of foreign make. Prudence would dictate, that articles which are least necessary, and articles which may soonest come to perfection in the state, should bear the heaviest tax. The natural and constant operation of this tax is two-fold. It is a voluntary tax, and it is a spur to industry. No man pays the tax, who is not able and willing to buy foreign luxuries: therefore it is voluntary. The man who is diligent, and manufactures for himself, has no occasion for those luxuries: therefore it is a spur to industry. In a word, all taxes on property are burdens on the good citizens: they discourage industry. All excises, or taxes on consumption, are taxes on luxury and dissipation; they punish idleness and promote industry. Can we hesitate in making our choice?

The opinions of men have been variously affected in different countries, on the question concerning an excise, or a land-tax, according to their passions or their prejudices. In England, the excise has been unpopular, because the multitude, who are poor, suspect that they are chiefly affected by such taxes. They continue to prefer a land-tax, because none of themselves have any land. Doubtless, a land-tax is very proper

in that country, because the owners are wealthy, but in America the case is different; the poorest of our citizens commonly possess a little land. In France, a land-tax is very obnoxious, because it is thought to infringe upon the privileges of a number of nobility. Their excise is chiefly on the necessities of life; and is, for that reason, very burdensome. The revenue of the Roman Empire, in its prosperous days, arose chiefly from excise and customs. That jealous and wise nation did not readily submit to a personal or to a land-tax. There was a very hurtful trade carried on between Rome and the East Indies, by the way of Alexandria and the Red Sea. By this trade, a large balance of silver was exported from the empire; frequently to the amount of three millions of dollars a year. The returns were chiefly in silks, jewels, and spices—perfect luxuries; for which reason their East India trade was charged with a heavy excise.* Augustus ventured to impose a tax of five per cent on legacies and inheritances, which was very productive, with the advantage of being a negative tax. The land-tax, and poll-tax, had been long in use through the provinces: but they do not appear to have been generally imposed on the Roman people before the reign of Galienus, who succeeded Dioclesian. From that period, direct or positive taxes became universal. What was the condition of the Roman people under the administration of customs, excises, and other negative taxes, compared with the times in which the land-tax, the poll-tax, and other positive taxes, were universal? It was an age of gold, compared to that of iron. Humanity is shocked at the tales of woe that are told. Parents are said, during the latter ages of the empire, to have sold their children and themselves into slavery, in order to shun the burden of taxes.

All wise governments have thought it their duty, on special occasions, to offer bounties for the encouragement of domestic manufactures: but an excise on foreign goods must operate as

* If we admit that the excise on East India goods was equal, as we are told, to an eighth part of their price—and if we also admit, as Pliny alleges, that East India goods were sold in Rome at one hundred for one on the prime cost, and that 3,733,332 dollars and upwards, were annually transmitted to India for the payment of those goods, the excise must have exceeded forty-six millions of dollars annually: but though silk may have been sold, as is affirmed for its weight in gold, the general advance seems to have been stated too high: be this as it may, it was very proper that a trade so destructive of money, should be compelled to contribute greatly to the public revenues.

a bounty. Suppose that our annual imports into these states are worth 4,000,000 pounds, an excise equal to a tenth part, would bring 1,100,000 dollars into the treasuries. This would be a very respectable addition to the revenues of these states, and would operate in proportion as a bounty for the encouragement of domestic manufactures. It is true, that as our manufactures increase, our revenue by excise must decrease: but our abilities to pay taxes by some other means, must increase much faster than the excise decreases. Thus, an excise of two shillings may be paid in the purchase of a pair of imported shoes, which are supposed to be worth ten shillings: the tax goes into the treasury: but ten shillings, the price of the shoes, are sent out of the country. The next year such a pair of shoes is made in the country: in that case, the two shillings are sunk in the revenue, but ten shillings are saved to the state, and some of the citizens are so much the richer.

When I say that an excise is more favorable to the poor, than a poll-tax, or a land-tax, or any other tax on property, and that it tends to promote industry and wealth, I must constantly be supposed to mean an excise on luxuries, or imported goods: and I would also be understood to mean an excise that is impartially laid, and fairly collected. Our expectations on this head, are not sanguine; nor is the prospect very pleasing: for some of the laws that we have hitherto made for collecting duties, are shamefully defaced by the want of public spirit: they are full of ambiguities through which the knavish and the cunning may creep. In North Carolina, it was enacted, that a merchant importing goods by land to the value of five pounds, should pay duty for the same: but a planter might import goods to the value of twenty pounds, though he imported them for sale or merchandise, without paying any duty. The author of such a clause must have forgotten that he was bound to serve the public rather than himself, and that the revenues of the state are not to be sacrificed to the convenience of a few individuals.

The general advantage of a sumptuary law, or an excise upon imported goods, is so obvious, that I question whether any objections can be made to it, except the probability of frauds being committed in secreting the goods. Surely the ex-

pense of collecting any tax, cannot be an object, when the happiness and prosperity of a state are contrasted with discontent, poverty, and disgrace. If the expense of collecting the revenue should amount to ten per cent, no part of that money would be lost to the state: and the diligence of public officers might prove the means of enriching the country.

In all places, and at all times, it has been too common for merchants to endeavor to defraud the revenue by smuggling goods. The frequency of this offense seems at length to have altered men's ideas concerning the turpitude of perjury, or the baseness of stealing: and there are men who would steal from the nation, or defraud the revenue, yet would not on any account cheat a private citizen. Be this as it may, there are means by which smuggling may be prevented*; and when the people at large have discovered, that they must submit to poverty and to oppressive taxes, or must support the faithful execution of the revenue laws, they will presently admit, that it is both honorable and useful to set a mark upon the man who violates the laws of the state.

I have said, that an excise is more favourable to the poor than a land or poll-tax. I will venture an additional sentiment: there never was a government in which an excise could be of so much use as in the united states of America. In all other countries, taxes are considered as grievances: in the united states, an excise on foreign goods would not be a grievance: like medicine to a sick man, it would give us strength: it would close that wasteful drain by which our honour and our wealth are consumed. What though money was not wanted—though we did not owe a florin to any foreign nation—though we had no domestic debt—and though the expenses of civil government could be supported for many years without a tax—still it may be questioned, whether an excise would not be desirable. It would certainly be the best expedient for promoting domestic manufactures: and the condition in which we

* Every merchant or vender of goods may be required once in a month to settle his accounts, and pay up the public money or excises he has collected: though he sells on credit, he is to account for the excise. It may be required of every citizen, that he shall receive from the seller a bill of parcels for every article of foreign goods he may buy in the state or out of it. Once in every six months every freeman or head of a family should render an account to the revenue-officer for the county, of all the foreign goods he has purchased, by producing the bills, upon oath. And he should then pay the excise on all goods he may have bought out of the state. The several bills for goods purchased from particular merchants, when compared together, may prove a pretty sure mode of detecting frauds.

now live—our general dependence on a foreign country for arms and clothing—is dishonourable—it is extremely dangerous.

SYLVIVS.

LETTER VI

FURTHER REMARKS ON AN EXCISE—HARDSHIPS OF THE PREVIOUS SYSTEM OF TAXATION ON THE INHABITANTS OF THE WESTERN COUNTIES OF THE SEVERAL STATES—ALARMING CALCULATIONS OF THE RUINOUS CONSEQUENCIES OF EMPLOYING BRITISH VESSELS AS THE CARRIERS OF THE PRODUCE OF THIS COUNTRY.

To the Freemen Inhabitants of the United States—Friends and Fellow Citizens:

In all ages of the world, and in all governments in which the people have been oppressed, their chief complaints have arisen from the weight of their taxes, or other impositions of a similar tendency. Some tyrants there have been, whose cruelty has extended to life as well as property: but the common distinction between tyrants has been, that one of them has imposed more grievous taxes, or laid them on with less regard to the convenience or to the abilities of the subject. Hence it is, that governments are preferred, where the power of taxing is in the hands of the people: because it is presumed that they will impose such taxes as are most profitable, and most easily paid.

It may happen, nevertheless, that in a republican government the general system of taxing arising from prejudice or inattention, may not be of that kind which is most conducive to the ease or prosperity of the people. This I take to be the case in many of these states; and as the subject is extremely interesting, the reader will doubtless excuse me, though I detain him somewhat longer in considering the particular equity, as well as the general operation of an excise or impost, by which the whole of the national debt may be discharged. Part of our taxes must be paid in specie, and some of them may be paid in paper. The interest and principal of our foreign debt—the salaries of our ministers in foreign and home depart-

ments—and the pay of such troops as are necessarily employed in the service of the united states, must be discharged in hard money. We shall state the expenses of the federal government to be 400,000 dollars by the year; for we presume that great economy will be used, till we are able to pay our debts; and that we shall try to be just before we are generous. The states have not hitherto been called upon for anything more than interest on the foreign debt: but the principal of the French loan, as well as that from Holland, is to be paid off by instalments, and the first of those payments is to be made in the year 1787, from which time some part of the principal is to be paid off every year. Within twelve years the debt is to be reduced to a quarter of its present size: but, in the meanwhile, the payments of the principal and interest will amount to near one million of dollars by the year. This must be paid in specie, or in such payments as will command specie to that value: but there is a considerable debt which may possibly be discharged by paper. The annual tax that may be paid in this manner, is very uncertain: for though we should discover that some of the states have, by assuming a considerable part of the continental debt, and by other means, nearly paid their quota of the domestic debt, contracted by the united states, still it will follow, that the particular debts contracted by the states, must be paid. Certificates have been issued for the amount of those debts by one class of auditors or another: how is the certificate-debt of this state to be reduced? How is it to be discharged? These are difficult questions: they are beyond the powers of ordinary calculation: conjecture itself can hardly reach them. It has been alleged, that our certificate-debt bears some resemblance to that many-headed monster, which defied danger: whenever one of its heads was cut off, two other heads arose to support the loss. Debts of this kind cannot be reduced to the ordinary rules of finance.

We have seen that a tax is to be collected annually for the use of the federal treasury in specie, unless we are willing to forfeit our honour, and give up all pretensions to national character. Is it probable that we shall be able to raise half of this sum by all the various taxes on property? I think not. It is certain that the whole of our taxes for the present year,

after the civil list of the state is paid off, will not produce half the sum in specie required for the use of the federal treasury. Let the poll tax, or land-tax, be increased to three times the sum that is now demanded, and there would still be a deficiency: but the consequence would be great distress to the poorer class of citizens, and multitudes would be constrained to fly into the western territory; thousands would complain of the scarcity of money; more paper must be emitted; that paper would again depreciate, and the taxes must again be doubled. Thus we should for ever be climbing the hill, and for ever sinking to the bottom. But we have other objections to taxes on property—they are extremely unequal: they cannot be justified, except by necessity, and such necessity does not appear. Is it equal or just, that a citizen who lives near a thick settlement, or one who lives in the wilderness, should pay the same tax for his land, his slave, or any other property which he possesses, as a citizen pays who lives near the sea coast? The last mentioned takes his lumber, and everything that his farm produces, to a ready market; the other can get nothing for his lumber; corn itself is of no use to him when money is wanted, and there are few things his farm produces that will pay much more than the expense of carrying them to market. Those people complain at present—and their complaints are well founded—though our taxes are so small as hardly to deserve the name: what would they say, if the taxes were such as the honour and safety of the nation require?

Let us consider, on the other hand, the effects of a substantial tax on luxuries. As it would be an easy matter to raise the whole sum that is wanted both for the federal treasury and for our own civil list, by an excise on foreign goods, I conceive that all our taxes might be given up, except a small land-tax. Under such an administration of the public revenue, the whole of our paper money might be called in within the space of three or four years; for in that time the industrious citizen may have discharged his private debts; and as he will not be called on for the payment of taxes, there can be no honest reason for making more paper. The immediate and necessary consequence of such taxes will be the increase of domestic manufactures, and the general circulation of hard

money. Let us raise 1,000,000 dollars in the next year by imports and excise; the consequence will be, that in the following year we shall import less goods by at least the amount of 500,000 dollars, and thus we shall become £200,000 the richer—that is to say, we shall have paid off so much of our debt; or, being out of debt, we shall have laid up so much hard money; for whenever our exports exceed our imports, the balance returns in specie. If any man has doubts concerning the effects of large taxes on foreign manufactures, he should turn his eyes to the eastern states, and he will discover, that during the late war, sundry manufactures had there been carried to considerable perfection. We had not been six months in the enjoyment of peace, before those manufactures were all ruined. The mechanic is generally the first who perceives the effects of a pernicious commerce, for the support of his family depends on his daily labour. Hence it is, that the merchant may be profited by a particular branch of commerce, and may promote it diligently, while his country is sinking into a deadly consumption. It is the duty of the statesman, either to check or to promote the several streams of commerce by taxes or bounties, so as to render them profitable to the nation. Thus it happens in Massachusetts—A tax of twenty-five per cent, was lately imposed on nails, and the poor of Taunton were immediately restored to life and vigour. If our informer is correct, there are at least two hundred and fifty labourers employed in the manufacture of nails in that little town. The effects of sumptuary laws must be extremely favorable to the industrious citizen, who lives one or two hundred miles from any navigable water. In those parts the land in general is fertile, and provisions are cheap, for they cannot be sent to a foreign market—there it is that the manufactures of linen, woollen, and iron may flourish. The citizen near the coast may possibly indulge in the use of foreign luxuries, while he can get them in exchange for a piece of timber, or a bushel of corn: by such men our taxes must be paid. But the citizen, in the interior country, will attend to his manufactures, which may readily be transported to any part of the state: and within a few years, we may expect to see the most plentiful-circulation of specie in those remote settlements, which are now labouring

under the unequal burden of taxes. By such a system of finance, perfect justice will be rendered to every citizen; they will stand on equal ground; and no man will have reason to complain: for every man will fix the amount of his own taxes. They will be limited by his abilities, his caprice, or his prudence.

In every regulaton of finance, we should have an eye to a vast unsettled country: fertile soil and happy climate invite the foot of the adventurous citizen. The inhabitants of that country, whenever they are formed into separate states, are bound by the present federal rule to pay their quota of the national debt, according to the value of their lands and improvements; or it may possibly be expected, in order to shun the impracticable estimation of property, that their quota shall be as the number of citizens. Is it to be expected, that men, who live at such distance from market, will, for many years, pay taxes to the amount? Surely it is not. Though they should promise, they will not be able to pay. For this reason, we should take care, that the operations of finance shall not banish any man into that country. Let the citizen have it in his power to live on the sea coast, equally secure as in the western countries, without risque of troublesome visits from the collectors of taxes. In course of time, manufactures must flourish in those settlements: and the citizen on the sea coast, who exports his produce, may find it his interest to buy goods that are made in the western countries. At such a time, we may expect that our brethren there shall, without difficulty, contribute their share to the support of government. In the meanwhile, little can be expected from them, except that they may consume a small portion of the foreign goods which pay tax when they are imported into some of the original states.

As our manufactures increase, our imports must decrease in proportion; and before the foreign debt is discharged, or before thirteen years have revolved, our annual importations may fall short of 200,000 dollars. In this case, certainly the revenue on consumption must be greatly diminished; but we are to recollect that many articles which grow in these states, must be in constant demand in other countries, and that our sale is very productive; whence our exports may be near half of what

they are at present, after our imports are reduced to a fourth or a fifth part of that sum. Such a change of circumstances must produce a balance of specie in our favour to the amount of 1,000,000 pounds every year; and though it did not produce half that sum, there would certainly be a large supply of specie in circulation: and the balance of our quota might easily be raised by sumptuary laws of another sort.

Such are the present advantages and future effects that may be expected to spring from large and general taxes on foreign goods. Let us contrast this with our present condition and system of finance. We have stated, in a former letter that by the consumption of British manufactures, to the amount of one million of dollars, we contribute at least 700,000 towards the revenues of that nation, while our own are perishing: but there are other misfortunes and other marks of servitude, to which we are subjected by our present arrangement, and the general use of British goods. In the several states, to the southward of the Delaware, it is agreed, that three-fourths of the produce are exported, and a similar share of the returns are made in British bottoms. It will be found that for exporting lumber, and bringing back the returns, at least one half of the property is paid to the carrier. Tobacco, our chief staple, is exported on better terms. Those who have shipped tobacco for London, have the satisfaction to find, that after all charges are paid, that is to say, freight, commissions, brokerage, and the variety of other expenses, real or imaginary, there are frequently remaining two-thirds of the value for which it was sold. In some cases, three-fourths of the value have been saved. The freight of the returns must be added, and we shall state the whole, though it is considerable below the mark, at 33 1-3 per cent. Some part of those goods are carried in American bottoms, by which something is saved to the country, under all the present burdens of that trade: for this reason, we shall state the average loss at thirty per cent. From this computation it appears, that when produce is shipped for London, in one of the southern states, to the value of one million dollars, the British merchant draws from that sum at least three hundred thousand dollars, under the name of freight and other contingencies: this money is for ever lost

to the country: and the remaining seven hundred thousand which are returned to us in dry goods, must have contributed to the revenues of Great Britain at least four hundred and ninety thousand dollars. We take them burdened with that expense. Surely, our present commerce is of the most extraordinary kind. Poverty is not the most humiliating circumstances by which it is attended: for under the name of freemen, we are little better than slaves—degraded by national bankruptcy—burdened by private debts—and constantly laboring in the soil for the benefit of another empire. When good and evil are before us, we prefer the latter. We have it in our power to promote manufactures—to bring thousands of industrious tradesmen from foreign countries—to discharge our debts—and to become respectable, rich, and powerful: instead of that, we are fluttering about in foreign dress, for which we cannot pay—we are aping the vices of other nations, while we neglect their virtues—without patriotism, and without pride, we are feeding other people, while our own nation is sinking under weakness and poverty. Thus we have seen an idle and thoughtless debauchee neglect the improvement of his farm, and spend his time and his estate in a tavern, supporting the family of another man, while his own family were perishing by cold and hunger.

SYLVIVS.

LETTER VII

STATEMENT OF THE LABOUR REQUISITE IN NORTH CAROLINA TO SUPPORT FAMILIES—COMPARATIVE VIEW OF SOME COUNTRIES IN EUROPE—HOWEVER DISTRESSING THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF BRITAIN IS, IT IS LIKELY TO BE ATTENDED WITH BENEFICIAL CONSEQUENCIES TO AMERICA.

To the Freemen Inhabitants of the United States—Friends and Fellow Citizens:

In these letters, I have endeavoured to explain the true cause of the present scarcity of money—the surest and best method of obtaining a sufficient supply of substantial coin—and the safest method of administering the public revenue, so as to prevent the poor from being oppressed, while money is scarce.

We are told by medical people, that in discovering the true cause of any disease, a considerable progress is made towards its cure. It might appear strange, that a fact so obnoxious as the true cause of the general scarcity of money should have escaped the notice of any person. But it must be remembered, that when troubles are occasioned by our own vices, we are generally dextrous at invasions, and ingenious at fictions: for if we confessed our fault, it would be expected that we should amend. Our farmers contend that the merchants are the cause of all our troubles: they export the specie, and make it scarce. The merchant will have it, that our commercial system is bad: his profits are too small, for which reason he cannot pay his debts, but all of them, who are in debt, are agreed, that it is hard living in this country. Strange positions. The farmer buys fineries: his family are idle: all the crop that he can sell, does not pay for half the goods he has bought: but he wants more fineries, and more rum. He can get no more credit: and he pulls out all the specie that lay in his chest. Is the merchant to be blamed, for shipping this specie, when the extravagance or indolence of the planter could furnish him with nothing else to ship?

As for the merchants, or people who are so called, their complaints are just as well founded as those of the planter. Thousands of adventurers from the British dominions have added to the thousands of our own citizens who are too lazy to plough, or labour at any other calling, and for this good reason are become merchants, or more properly traders. This tribe increases much faster than any other class of citizens; and this class we have to maintain, besides the misfortune of paying for their goods; but when any of those gentlemen find it inconvenient to pay their debts, they gravely complain of the scarcity of money, because our commercial system is bad. Certainly part of our system is bad; for by proper regulations, nine-tenths of those merchants that are here, might be exchanged for ten times the number of mechanics, who would render much more service to the public and themselves. The general charge of its being hard to live in America, has a worse foundation, if possible, than the other complaints. There is not, at this time, a civilized country on the face of the earth,

in which a poor man may live with so much ease as in the united states of America. The modes of living are various in the different states: I shall take an example from a southern state, namely, North Carolina.

The necessities of life are food and clothing. Three-fourths of the labor of the human specie are, doubtless, employed in procuring food. In the most luxurious countries, where the greatest number of unnecessary things are used, more than half of the labouring inhabitants are employed in agriculture. It is observed, that in England, the very nursery of manufactures, the farmers are to the mechanics as four to three: the difference is greater in France and Germany: but many people are to be fed in those countries, who are neither farmers nor mechanics. Let us suppose that half the subjects employed in farming would raise provisions sufficient for the whole nation, and for their cattle; for that the labour of one family in the field is sufficient to maintain two. The produce of our labour is greater, and the labour we employ is less. Every man who has visited foreign countries, knows with what diligence farmers and mechanics are obliged to labour though the year. In the winter, their work begins before day: and in summer, it continues through the day. They have little respite, or time for spending money. If one of them is accosted, he seldom stops to answer the question—his work must go on. This is not the case in North Carolina: nor have we any example of what other people call industry. If my calculations are right, and some of them are annexed,* the citizens of this

* When the land is good, a labourer, by the help of an indifferent horse, hardly worth twenty dollars, may raise seven hundred and fifty bushels of corn in the season. He may tend two thousand five hundred hills, which will produce six barrels to the thousand. In ordinary land, he may raise two hundred and fifty bushels. We may take four hundred bushels for an average, instead of five hundred. Two labourers, when there are two in the family, may raise near twice the quantity: and one good horse is sufficient for both. This corn is planted in May; and the care of it is finished in July, except that it is pulled in November. One quart of corn by the day is sufficient to make bread for a grown person. There are countries in which the same quantity of wheat or rye is the whole daily allowance of a soldier: and if we lived as three-fourths of the inhabitants of other countries are obliged to live, this would be the end of our calculation: but one pound of pork or beef is the daily attendant on our bread, else we complain of hard fare. Our farmers plant pease among the corn; and each labourer may count on the addition of fifty bushels of pease to his crop, with very little trouble. The planter, his wife, and three children, may be supposed to eat fifty bushels of corn in the year: fifty bushels more may be reserved for the occasional use of his horse and his hogs. This is sufficient, when we consider, that hogs not only support but frequently fatten themselves in the woods. The assistance of pease and potatoes is employed when necessary. The remaining three-fourths of the planter's crop of corn may be sold, and employed as prudence or folly may dictate.

If any man shall cast his eye on this note, who is not acquainted with the state of farming in the lower districts of North Carolina, he might wonder that no

state may live with half the labour that would be requisite to support them in France, England, or Germany: for the labour of one family in this state is sufficient to raise food for the support of four families. Is the man candid or honest—is he not ungrateful to heaven, who complains of such a country, or says, that his troubles are occasioned by the necessary difficulty of living—by the difficulty of paying taxes—or of providing food and raiment—or by any other cause than by his own vices—his idleness, and dissipation.

Our present commercial system, if we have anything that deserves that name, is certainly a bad one: but reason may teach us to be moderate in our complaints. If the English ministry had not cut off all intercourse with their West Indies, and distressed our direct intercourse with Britain and Ireland, we should have continued a good while longer to take her manufactures, and to pay for them. By these means, her mechanics would have thriven: and we would have been insensibly settling down into inveterate and ruinous habits. Diseases which are slowly contracted, are said to be hard to remove. The measures of Great Britain have in a short space prevented us from being able to pay our debts: and they have at the same time prevented us from feeding her own subjects. They have happily checked our folly, at a time when all are capable of

allowance was made for the trouble of raising hay, oats, and such other provisions as are usually made for horses, sheep, and black cattle. Such a reader may be informed, that the blade or fodder of Indian corn is all the provision for this purpose that is commonly made use of by the farmers; for the reeds which grow every where, and are green through the winter, serve as food for cattle. Perhaps it may be noted, that the computation is made for a farmer who has land of his own, and that no allowance has been made for the payment of taxes, nor for rents which are to be paid by the miserable tenants. To this it may be replied, that the present land tax is five shillings for the hundred acres: and poll-tax is fifteen shillings; such debts are soon discharged by an industrious man in a country like this, where the Spanish dollar being eight shillings, a pair of shoes is sold at 16s. to 20s. The day's labour of the carpenter or mason, brings him from eight to twelve shillings clear of his provisions, and corn is sold at three or four shillings the bushel. As for the rents, by which the tenants are frequently grieved, no account is to be made of them in a state like this, where nineteen farmers out of twenty cultivate their own land. Though there are few citizens who suffer under the hands of a landlord, there are many who suffer by the indolence of living on poor and piney land. Like the sloth, they are too lazy to gather food, though they see where it is plenty. Such people hardly claim our pity. Every one of them knows that on the other side of their mountains, on the western waters in this state, he may buy lands in great or in small quantities, at twenty-five dollars for the hundred acres—lands of such a quality, as will produce 50 or 60 bushels of corn to the acre. Complaints are not grievous that can be so easily removed.

According to this calculation, the farmer has been employed three months in raising his corn, and he has raised in that space four times as much as was required for the use of his family. He raised in the same season, at the usual intervals, flax, cotton, potatoes, pease, and sundry other necessary or useful articles. How is he to be exercised on the rest of the year? Some weeks must be employed in saving his fodder, corn, potatoes, &c., and some weeks in repairing his fences; but a great portion of his time lies vacant, and is usually employed in quarter-races, cock fights, sauntering in stores and taverns, drinking rum, and spending the residue of his crop. The calculation has been made for the planter

amendment, for we have not altogether forgotten the little we knew of the mechanic arts, nor the few habits of industry that we had formerly acquired. In a few years, we may be reduced to a new system, by which we shall be more wealthy and less dependent.

Perhaps I deceive myself—but I think that I love my country, and that no man living is more desirous to serve it—yet I am not grieved—on the contrary I view it as a fortunate event—that our commercial hopes have been disappointed, and a check given to the baneful spirit of luxury and the general use of British goods that was prevailing—Perhaps the time is not very distant, when we shall be a frugal and virtuous nation. We are not to thank Great Britain for the favor she has done us, for she did not intend those commercial restrictions for our good. Let her continue to exclude us from her West Indies, and, contrary to good faith, to withhold the western posts. The less we gain by commerce, the fewer of her manufactures we shall buy, and the sooner we shall make our own clothing. A nation less wise might have discovered long since, that liberal conduct is most profitable: but she refuses to be reformed.

The commercial history of the united states is short. At

labouring the field, who maintains three children, incapable of work; but in general half the children of every family are capable of work; hence the surplussage of provisions by the labour of two hands will be greater. There they have a planter labouring the field, hardly six months in the year, who in that space raises four times the food that is required for the support of his family and cattle. In other countries, the farmer, by constant labour through the year, can hardly raise twice the quantity that is required for the same purpose. Is it not pretty clear that provisions, the chief necessary of life, are raised in this state with less than half the labour that is required in France, England, or Germany? In the articles of clothing, the difference of labour that may be required is not so great: but the difference is still in our favour. Our winters being temperate, the inhabitants require less clothing, and the raw materials are procured with more ease, or with less expense, than in the other countries that have been mentioned. Flax grows to great perfection; and the land on which it is sown, is cheap, and easily cultivated. Cotton is raised with very little trouble: and though the wolf continues to prowl in some neighborhoods, yet as sheep thrive well in this climate, and require very little feeding, we cannot say that wool ought to be dear. Skins, which are also used in clothing, ought to be cheap in a country where black cattle maintain themselves through the winter; and where a man may kill a deer when he pleases for his breakfast. Surely the scarcity of clothing in this settlement cannot arise from the difficulty of obtaining raw materials. There is difficulty remaining—the raw materials must be made up, and the people are too lazy to work. Nothing has been said concerning house-rent or fuel. For in a country where a common labourer may in a fortnight build such a house, out of timber, as is frequently used, and in a country where timber, the constant fuel, is frequently cut down, that it may be destroyed, very little can be charged to the account of house-rent or fuel, considerable articles in many other places. If it should be asked, how is the industrious farmer in this country to spend the balance of his time? Every citizen knows, that he may be profitably employed in making tar, pitch, shingles, staves, boards, or some other species of lumber, which come to a ready market. By such means, and by the sale of his pork, or his corn, or other grain, every industrious and frugal planter may, in a few years, double his stock. This cannot be said of farmers in other countries.

the end of the war, our merchants, forsaking the trade of other nations by whom we have been well treated, rushed into the arms of Great Britain with a spirit that was not honourable, and with a haste that was not profitable.—They did not wait for terms.—They have suffered as they deserved.—Our shipping has been oppressed.—We have seen a vessel from these states to London, laden with naval stores, bring back, as the whole produce of her cargo, five pounds worth of chalk. The balance of her cargo was absorbed in charges. In consequence of such treatment our merchants are become bankrupts a little the sooner.—The want of payment at home, and the want of profits abroad have effectually disabled them.

The history of our planters is rather more simple. Discarding their wheels and looms, they used nothing but what was British. They bought more foreign goods in one year, than they could pay for in two. Their produce is gone, and their specie is chiefly gone, but they are still in debt. Let us be more frugal, and more industrious—let us buy no more, till we pay our debts. Such are the dictates of honesty and patriotism. Is not this plan of paying our debts preferable to the expedient of making paper money—an expedient that substitutes a shadow for a substance? It converts government, which was instituted for the protection of property, into an engine, for its destruction. After all, it is the poor expedient of a day, which promises relief that it cannot give. The whole process is such contemptible quackery, that while we are swallowing the potion, the disease increases. It is vain to prophecy—but if the time shall ever come, when the united states are to give up part of their liberty, as men frequently have done for the greater security of property, the rage of defrauding creditors, by making paper money a legal tender, is likely to produce the dishonourable change. If it is true, that men have not virtue enough to bear a government that is perfectly free, the proof is like to come from this quarter. If there were a state in this union, in which it was treason to attempt the making of paper, such a state would become the asylum of honesty, arts and industry; and if any of the new states in the western country shall happily provide this guard, as part of her constitution, that state will certainly flourish with singular speed:

it will give a new proof that men are most happy when their property is safe, and that all men approve of virtue, whatever may be their practice.

The reader is fully possessed of the plan that was proposed in the first of these letters, for giving relief under the present scarcity of money. The relief given by paper money is neither durable nor honest. Nothing but frugality and industry can bring us substantial relief; but the operations of industry, and the progress of manufactures, are slow. Specie, which is banished, cannot immediately return; and the poor man, in the meanwhile, may be distressed for money to pay his taxes. In order to obviate this misfortune, it is proposed that the expence of government be paid by an excise on all foreign manufactures, or by sumptuary taxes, which are equally intended to promote domestic manufactures, and to give immediate relief to every industrious family. By a steady perseverance in this plan, the poor would be relieved from the burden of their taxes—our citizens would be enabled to discharge their debts—we should increase daily in wealth—our country would be the resort of ingenious artists. Public and private credit would revive—and we should become truly independent.

SYLVIUS.

The Manhood Suffrage Movement in North Carolina

BY JOHN W. CARR, JR.

The suffrage qualification which was brushed aside by the constitutional amendment ratified by the people in 1857 had endured, in principle at least, since the earliest colonial times. The idea of a suffrage qualification was brought in under the Lords Proprietors in the Fundamental Constitutions. The proprietary government was established on the idea that land is the most important form of wealth and that land holders should have especial political power. When North Carolina became a royal colony these ideas continued in vogue. We cannot determine the exact nature of the suffrage requirement under the royal control, but it is known that the king's government began with the principle of a free-hold qualification; and this appears to have been kept during the larger part, if not all, of this period.¹ The lower house in colonial times claimed the right to regulate the suffrage requirement; but the records would indicate that the assembly, while it passed certain acts defining the qualifications of voters, did so for the most part according to the instructions of the crown, which insisted upon a freehold qualification.² So it happened that the land-holding classes controlled political affairs at the time of the constitutional convention of 1776, and so framed this constitution as to keep the political power in the hands of the few.

In the third Provincial Congress, which met in April, 1776, a majority of the constitutional committee was in favor of manhood suffrage, but a motion to incorporate this right in the constitution was defeated by the freeholders who controlled the Congress. In the campaign which followed the question of equal suffrage was an important issue, but the land-holders triumphed.³ Thus the constitution of 1776, although it stated in its preamble that political power is in the hands of the people, allowed only such men as held consider-

¹ Colonial Records, III-93, 467; V-11, 137-42; VII-512-16.

² Raper—North Carolina, A Study in English Colonial Government, p. 88.

³ Boyd—Antecedents of the Convention of 1835 (*The South Atlantic Quarterly*, Vol. IX, p. 86). Also, Wagstaff—State Rights and Political Parties in North Carolina, *passim*; Colonial Records, X, pp. 164-220.

able property to hold office. The property requirement for the governor was land to the value of £1000. A senator had to own three hundred acres of land, and a representative one hundred acres in order to hold his seat. The property holders, not content with this, provided further that only fifty-acre free-holders could vote for a member of the State Senate.⁴ Tax paying, however, was the only requirement in order to vote for a member of the House of Commons.⁵

It required about seventy years to remove this fifty-acre requirement for senatorial suffrage from the constitution of North Carolina. The reasons for this slowness are: First, the natural conservatism of the people of North Carolina; Second, the economic conditions in the west, where most of the inhabitants were small Scotch-Irish farmers owning, as a rule, the required fifty acres of cheap mountain land. Thus these people were not deprived of the vote, and a condition bordering on democracy prevailed. The injustice of the suffrage qualification was not acutely felt until the country became fairly populous and land rather hard to obtain. Third, the intricate methods of revising the constitution provided in the amendments of 1835 checked the cause of suffrage reform.

Previous to the convention of 1835 there was no agitation concerning free suffrage, for the second reason stated above. So this convention left the matter of free-hold qualification unchanged, but it did enact the two methods of amending the constitution that long delayed the passage of the free suffrage amendment. Two methods of changing the fundamental law were provided in the revised constitution of 1835: first, the legislature could amend by endorsing the proposed amendment for two successive sessions. The measure must first pass both houses by a three-fifths majority of the total representation; then it must be published at least six months previous to the next General Assembly. The amendment must be endorsed by the representatives selected in this election with a two-thirds vote in both houses. A bill thus passed by two legislatures in succession must be finally ratified by the voters at the polls before it became a part of the constitution.⁶ The second

⁴ The Constitution of 1776. Articles 1, 5, 6, and 7.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Constitution of 1835, Article 4.

method of amendment was by a constitutional convention. Such a convention could be called by a vote of two-thirds of the General Assembly, which also had the right to provide the method of apportionment of members.⁷ Some claimed that the legislature had the power to limit the activity of such a convention to the consideration of a few specified subjects; others did not admit this, claiming that a sovereign convention of the people could not be limited by legislative enactment. The constitution itself was silent concerning the power of limitation, and this was a much mooted question.⁸

The question of property qualification for suffrage was not brought up in the convention of 1835, but it arose soon afterwards.⁹ In 1842 a mass meeting held in Kinston protested against the free-hold requirement. As a consequence of this protest, Green W. Caldwell brought the matter before the legislature where it met with a cold reception.¹⁰ The matter was not agitated again until 1848, when David S. Reid injected free suffrage into the governor's campaign of that year.

Previous to the year 1848, the Whigs had controlled the political affairs of the state for about twelve years. The Democratic party was weak, and it was difficult to get a strong leader to run for governor, for defeat seemed certain. Manly, the Whig governor, had served one term and was running for re-election. He was a brilliant speaker, and had served successfully two years as governor. The chances against the Democratic candidate were overwhelming. David S. Reid was nominated as a forlorn hope by a unanimous vote of the Democratic convention, and was urged to accept in letters written by W. W. Holden and Robert P. Dick, both prominent leaders of the party.¹¹ A committee was also appointed to notify him of his nomination and to request his acceptance. He replied, declining the nomination. W. W. Holden, then editor of the *North Carolina Standard*, was on the point of publishing Reid's refusal to accept the nomination, but John

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Legislative Documents of North Carolina—1850-51, House of Commons, December 18, 1850.

⁹ Bassett—Suffrage in North Carolina (American Historical Association, 1895-6, p. 81.)

¹⁰ *Raleigh Register*, June 22, 1842.

¹¹ MSS. Correspondence of Governor Reid; letters dated April 10 and April 19, 1848.

Julius Wheedon, an ardent Democratic partisan, persuaded Holden to wait a week before publishing Reid's letter of rejection.¹² The editor consulted his friends, and it was decided to send a message to Colonel Reid, and to urge him in earnest terms to accept the nomination. He was asked to come to Raleigh at once, prepared to enter on the campaign against Governor Manly. He was finally persuaded to accept the nomination. The platform on which Reid was nominated contained no allusion to manhood suffrage, but on accepting the nomination he said to some of his friends, "Gentlemen, this nomination was not sought by me, and it has been my purpose for a long time if I should be a candidate for a state office before the people, to broach one issue, which I deem very important. What I mean is that the state constitution shall be so amended that all voters for a member of the House of Commons shall be allowed to vote for Senators."¹³

Some of those present at this statement favored the idea but others opposed it. Colonel Reid decided for himself, and at Beaufort in the first joint discussion of the campaign he took ground in favor of manhood suffrage. Mr. Manly asked to be allowed one day to think over this issue, and at Newbern he stated that he was opposed to any changes in the qualifications for voters.¹⁴ Thus the introduction of this issue into the political arena of the state was the personal act of Colonel Reid, he not being supported by the platform of his party. The decision of the Whig candidate to oppose manhood suffrage had much to do with the later failure of his party in North Carolina.¹⁵

Throughout the campaign of 1848 Mr. Manly, the Whig nominee, maintained his position of opposition to the free suffrage issue. He claimed that the qualifications should be kept as a protection to property, and that the abolition of the fifty-acre free-hold requirement would destroy the symmetry of the constitution by giving both houses of the legislature the same constituency. He designated free suffrage as political claptrap, and a hobby advocated by an office-hungry party. He

¹² MSS. Correspondence of D. S. Reid: Holden to Reid, December 22nd, 1880.

¹³ Memoirs of W. W. Holden (John Lawson Monographs, Vol. II), p. 5.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

attempted to show that it was only a half-remedy. He pointed to the property qualification for holding office and to the basis of representation, and asked the Democrats why they did not propose to change them also. He maintained that as long as representation was apportioned in the Senate according to taxation and in the House according to federal population, there could be no equality of the ballot. The county having the most property was given under the existing basis a larger representation than the larger, more populous, but poorer counties; hence the few voters of a rich county had more power over the government than the many voters in a poor county. Manly claimed that any talk of equal suffrage was mere humbug as long as the basis remained unchanged. But the Whig candidate did not directly favor changes in the basis or property qualifications. He held that there was no demand for reform and that, if there was, it should be brought about by a non-partisan movement; such a method of amendment he claimed would remove the constitution from the dirt and grime of party politics.¹⁶

In this campaign Mr. Manly was elected by a majority of 864 votes, but the power of the manhood suffrage issue is shown by the fact that the Whig majority in the previous campaign had been 7,759.¹⁷

The campaign of 1848 was significant because it determined the position of the two political parties on the issue of equal suffrage, and started a contest that ended in the complete triumph of the Democrats over the Whigs. Henceforth the Democrats stood clearly for the one issue of manhood suffrage by legislative enactment; the Whigs were at first opposed to it, but upon realizing the great popularity of the issue with the voters, tried to hinder and complicate it with various side issues. The Whigs could not well admit the importance of an issue which they had at first opposed, calling it agrarianism, bunco, and a hobby; nor could they continue to oppose it on account of its popularity with the voters. Such a critical position necessitated a dilly-dallying policy, which caused the ruin of the party. Henceforth the Democratic

¹⁶ *Raleigh Register*, February 26, 1848; May 27, 1848; June 1, 1848; July 12, 1848.

¹⁷ *Memoirs of W. W. Holden*, pp. 1-6.

party carried the state by large majorities, but was for some time unsuccessful in its attempts to pass the free suffrage amendment.

During the legislative session of 1848-9 a bill providing for equal suffrage was brought into the House of Commons by Mr. Sheek of Surry County.¹⁸ It finally passed the House of Commons by a vote of 75 to 26, this being something over the constitutional majority of three-fifths. A bill introduced by Mr. Rayner, a Whig, to call a convention for the amendment of the constitution was rejected.¹⁹ Such a proposition at this early stage of the fight for free-suffrage was significant because certain opponents of free suffrage afterwards favored the convention method of amendment rather than the legislative scheme. On January 23, 1849, the Sheek bill was rejected in the Senate, not having received the necessary three-fifths majority in that body.²⁰ The party alignment on this vote is interesting because it shows that both parties were divided on this issue in the Senate, which was pre-eminently the stronghold of the land-holding interest, Senators being elected only by fifty-acre free-holders. Nineteen Democrats and six Whigs voted for the free suffrage bill; while thirteen Whigs and six Democrats voted against it.²¹

In the campaign of 1850 the slogan of the Democrats was "Equal suffrage, or the right of every white man in the state who pays his taxes to vote for members of both branches of the legislature." Reid was not at all anxious to make another trial for the governorship and asked that his name be not proposed before the Democratic convention; but party leaders, realizing the popularity of the author of free suffrage, obtained for him the unanimous choice of the convention. He was thus persuaded to make another campaign.²² The Whigs nominated Manly for re-election. The position of the two parties on the free suffrage issue was practically the same as in the previous campaign. The Democrats favored amendment by legislative action; the Whigs either opposed, calling the movement a humbug, a hobby for office seekers, or agrarianism, or

¹⁸ *North Carolina Standard*, January 3, 1849.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, January 17, 1849.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, January 31, 1849.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Reid MSS., Letter May 25, 1850.

avored such dilatory measures as a convention or an election to determine the will of the people as to a convention or no convention. In this election Colonel Reid was chosen Governor by a vote of 45,080 to his opponent's 42,347.²³

In his message to the legislature in November, 1850, Governor Manly said on the subject of amendment of the constitution: "It cannot be denied that a large, respectable, and intelligent portion of this state are strongly inclined to alter the constitution." He said that whereas the movement first started for only one change in the constitution so as to allow white freemen with or without freehold to vote for senators, it had expanded, and some reformers were demanding a change in the basis of representation in the Assembly, in the mode of electing state officers, and a revolution in the judiciary system. He urged that the legislature should first be convinced that the people desired a change and suggested that an election be held to find their will on the subject. He pointed out the two methods of constitutional amendment, and urged that whatever methods were used manhood suffrage alone be dealt with in order that it might not be hindered by other less desirable changes.²⁴ The attitude taken by Governor Manly shows how much the popularity of free suffrage had changed his position. He merely wanted to be convinced that the people desired the change. He favors indirectly the convention method of amendment but is not uncompromising on this point. The Whigs followed their leader with respect to free suffrage, but rising discontent in the west with the basis of representation led the Whig party to come out strongly for a convention.

This discontent in the west over the inequality of representation in the Senate was fast gaining headway. The constitution of 1835 had apportioned representation in the House of Commons according to federal population, obtained by counting all the white people and three-fifths of the negroes.²⁵ Representation in the Senate had been divided between the different sections according to the amount of taxes paid. The total amount of money collected by the state for taxes was divided by fifty, and the quotient thus obtained was made the

²³ *North Carolina Standard*, December 7, 1850.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, November 23, 1850; *Raleigh Register*, November 23, 1850.

²⁵ Revised Constitution of 1835. Article I, section 1.

determinant of a senatorial district. Several counties paying in the aggregate the required one-fiftieth of the state taxes were grouped into one district and allowed to elect one senator.²⁶ In some cases it happened that one small but wealthy county had the right to elect a senator, while three or four large and populous counties would be grouped into one district and have the right to only one senator.²⁷ There was little objection in the west to the apportionment in the Commons according to federal number, even though this method did favor the east where there was a greater number of slaves than in the west. The taxation basis in the Senate, however, was disadvantageous to the west because this section was poor and paid little in taxes. The inequality is shown by the fact that in 1851 one district in the west contained thirty thousand white inhabitants and was allowed only one senator, while an eastern district with 4,400 white inhabitants had the same representation in the Senate.²⁸ The question of constitutional reform being discussed, the west considered it a good time to try to get rid of the unjust taxation basis in the Senate and to substitute apportionment of members according to white population. The white basis, as this scheme was called, would give to the west a majority in the Senate and enable this section to carry out the progressive policy of internal improvement which it favored. The politicians of this section realized that free suffrage was a popular issue and that there was a possibility of calling a convention to consider it. In the convention thus called they hoped to amend the constitution so as to obtain the white basis in the Senate. Most of this movement for a convention to change the basis came from the Whigs of the west, and the western men of both parties in the legislature of 1850-51 were opposed to manhood suffrage by legislative action, and in favor of a convention to revise the constitution. The western politicians called their movement for the white basis of representation "Equal suffrage," while naming the movement for extension of the franchise "Free suffrage."²⁹

²⁶ Constitution of 1835, Article I, section 1.

²⁷ Speech by David Caldwell (the Constitution of North Carolina, pamphlet of 1851).

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

The east favored manhood suffrage, altho there was some opposition from the Whigs of that section. All of the east, however, was firm in its opposition to any changes in the basis of representation because the existing basis—taxation in the Senate and federal population in the House—was favorable in every respect to the east. This section of the state paid more taxes because of its great wealth in slaves and lands; hence it had a majority in the Senate despite the fact that it was inferior to the west in respect to white population. In the House of Commons the east was favored by the existing basis because of its great number of slaves. Three-fifths of these were counted in apportioning representation in the lower house. So the east had the political power in its hand, and was anxious to keep it because it was argued that if the west were allowed the majority in the legislature the property of the east would be taxed to carry out the internal improvement policy so much desired in the west. Hence, the east believed that the existing basis gave only a fair representation to property. It was strongly opposed to any convention that would change the existing compromises of the constitution and place the political power in the hands of the west. So sectionalism complicated the issue of free suffrage and long prevented its passage. The pro-conventionist felt that if manhood suffrage was granted by the legislature there would be no more hope of obtaining a convention to change the basis. In the legislature of 1850-51, the Whigs of the west and some Democrats from that section voted against the free suffrage bill and in favor of a constitutional convention.³⁰ Several of the western Democrats voted in favor of amendments to the free suffrage bill providing for a convention, but on the final reading registered their votes for free suffrage when they saw that there was no chances to get a convention.

The Democratic party as a whole quickly opposed the proposal of the westerners to make a change in the basis. In his inaugural address of 1851 Governor Reid declared that a large majority of the people favored free suffrage and that it should be given to them by legislative enactment. He opposed any change in the method of apportioning representa-

³⁰ Constitution of North Carolina (pamphlet), pp. 56, 59, 61, 63, 64.

tion. At this time the Democratic party of the South considered itself the peculiar protector of the institution of slavery and of southern rights. It was, therefore, fitting that Democrats should stand against any attempt to abolish the representation allowed by the federal basis to slaves in the House of Commons. Governor Reid held that slaves should be represented as persons as well as property and that any agitation of the slave question within the State was inexpedient at a time when the North was active in its attacks on southern institutions. Thus the Democratic party, because of its national policy of radical protection of slavery, was able to assume a firm attitude of opposition to a change of the basis or a convention that might change it. The party favored manhood suffrage by legislative enactment alone.

The Whig party, for several reasons, was not able to take as definite a stand on these questions as was the Democratic. In the first place, the national Whig party was conservative in its attitude toward slavery and southern rights. The willingness of southern Whigs to compromise with the North on the question of slavery extension laid them open to a charge of unsoundness by the Democrats. Hence it was necessary that the Whig party in North Carolina, if it was to keep the confidence of the slave-holders, should declare positively its opposition to any change of the basis that would lessen the control of slave owners over the state government. But the composition of the Whig party in the state prevented it from assuming such a positive attitude. Unlike the Whig party in the lower south, the Whig strength in North Carolina was mainly in the western counties.³¹ Here there lived the small farmer who owned few if any slaves and little land. This very important element of the Whig party naturally favored a white basis of representation. The Whig party of the state, then, was in a dilemma. If it favored the white basis it would lose the support of the eastern slave-holding wing; if it did not favor a change in the basis there was danger of a revolt of the western small land-holders. In such a quandary the Whigs compromised by favoring a convention to amend the constitution, neither favor-

³¹ See Cole, *Whig Party in the South*; also Wagstaff, *State Rights and Political Parties in North Carolina*.

ing nor opposing directly a change in basis. Like all compromises this one was unsatisfactory to both sides and lost support for the Whigs. However, the party devised a strong argument in favor of amendment by convention. It held that free suffrage by legislative enactment had been brought forth as a hobby by a party of office seekers; that the Democrats were not as anxious to establish free suffrage as they were to gain political power; as soon as free suffrage was granted by the legislature the Democrats would, for party purposes, use some such needed reform as the abolition of the office holding qualification or the election of Justices of the Peace by the people as a hobby on which to ride again into office. "Why not raise the constitution above partisan politics?" asked the Whigs. "Why not call a non-partisan convention that would grant all needed reforms, preserve the symmetry of the constitution, and prevent office-hungry politicians from riding into office on constitutional hobbies?"³²

The entrance of the sectional issue into the question of free suffrage helped the Democratic party and injured the Whigs. The former party was able to hold its eastern strength through opposition to change of the basis and to conciliate its western members by offering them free suffrage by legislative enactment. The Whigs, being forced to assume an ambiguous, defensive attitude, lost the support of both sections to some extent. The advantageous position chosen by the Democrats, and the disadvantageous one forced upon the Whigs by the sectional issue, determined the future history of political parties in the state; henceforth the Democrats waxed stronger, and the Whigs became weaker.

It was soon evident that the majority of the members of the legislature of 1850-51 was in favor of abolishing the freehold requirement for voting for a senator, but there was disagreement as to the method of accomplishing this desired end. There was some movement to place the issue above party lines, but the Democrats had a good thing and knew how to push it; besides, where party lines were broken sectionalism came into play. In the House of Commons, the committee on amendments to the constitution consisted of McClean, Ruffin,

³² *Raleigh Register*, January 2, 1850; February 1, 1851; March 15, 1851.

Stevenson, Foster of Davidson, and Blow. It represented both parties; all members except Foster were in favor of amendment by legislative action.³³ All bills introduced in the House on the subject of constitutional reform were referred to this committee. The first bill introduced was by R. G. A. Love, of Haywood. It provided for the holding of an election for the selection of delegates to an unlimited convention. Fleming, of Yancey, brought in a resolution instructing the committee to inquire as to the advisability of holding a preliminary election to see if the people favored a change in the constitution and report by bill or otherwise. This resolution was adopted after considerable debate, in which most of the speakers urged that the matter of constitutional change be placed above party lines.³⁴ Early in December Fleming of Yancey introduced a bill to submit to the people the question of convention or no convention. A lengthy discussion ensued as to whether or not this bill should be referred to the committee. Some members were suspicious of the fairness of the committee on constitutional amendment, because it was known that the majority of it was in favor of amendment by the legislature. The bill was finally referred to the committee. The Love bill, which had been tabled, was also referred to the committee after considerable debate.³⁵

In all, three different propositions were submitted to the committee: one was to amend the constitution by action of the legislature; another, to hold an election to ascertain whether or not the people desired a convention; the third was to call a convention if approved by a two-thirds vote of the legislature. A report was made favoring manhood suffrage by legislative enactment, and a bill providing for this was introduced by the committee in its majority report. Mr. Foster made a minority report setting forth various reasons for calling a convention. Among these were: first, the people of North Carolina had never had opportunity to frame their own constitution; second, all political power is in the hands of the people; third, a thorough revisal in respects other than suffrage was desirable.³⁶

Soon after having submitted this report, Mr. Foster made

³³ *North Carolina Standard*, November 27, 1850.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, November 23, 1850.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, December 7, 1850.

³⁶ *Constitution of North Carolina* (pamphlet), 1851, pp. 47, 48.

a speech before the House in favor of holding an election to find whether or not the people desired a convention. He argued that the people had never been permitted to live under a constitution of their own making and would never be satisfied until they were allowed to do so. He also claimed, strange to say, that amendment by convention was cheaper than by legislative means.³⁷ He said that he had concluded that the people desired a change and that he favored a convention to bring it about. He proposed a bill submitting the question of convention or no convention to the people and by such an election wished to remove the doubts of some as to the desire of the people for constitutional reform. He was answered by Mr. Avery of Burke, a Democrat, who spoke in favor of amendment by legislative enactment. Mr. Walton, Mr. Avery's Whig colleague, favored a convention which would bring about a change in the basis of representation. He thus unintentionally revealed the desire of a large number of the Whigs to use the free suffrage movement as a means of obtaining a convention in which they hoped to change the basis. On December 23 Mr. Caldwell, of Guilford, made an eloquent speech setting forth the position of the western Whigs. He pointed out the existing unfairness in representation between the sections, showed the injustice of apportionment based on taxation, and favored an unlimited convention. He argued that free suffrage would be a humbug if the basis of representation was not changed and urged that the convention be called to make this and other changes in the constitution. He ended by denouncing the manhood suffrage movement as a hobby used by adroit politicians as a method of obtaining office.³⁸

Discussion in the House of Commons continued on into 1851. Mr. Saunders of Wake further complicated the discussion by favoring a change in the basis for the Senate, but he proposed the federal population basis of representation, i. e., apportionment of Senators according to population arrived at by counting all white people and three-fifths of all the negroes. This, of course, would have been somewhat favorable to the east where slaves were more plentiful than in the west.³⁹

³⁷ *North Carolina Standard*, December 13, 1850, and *Raleigh Register*, December 15, 1850.

³⁸ Speech of David Caldwell (pamphlet).

³⁹ *North Carolina Standard*, January 11, 1851.

The regular committee bill embodying the Democratic idea of amendment by legislative enactment came up for vote in the House on December 31, and many attempts were made to incorporate amendments embodying the ideas pointed out above. The vote on these amendments was always for rejection and very nearly according to party lines, three Democrats and five Whigs voting different from the main body of their party. The bill was finally passed on the second reading by a vote of 89 to 24, many Whigs voting with the Democrats for the bill.⁴⁰ The measure came up for its third reading early in the new year, and its opponents tried again to put through amendments but again failed. The bill was rejected on this reading by a vote of 69 to 41, this being four less than the required constitutional majority of three-fifths. A reconsideration was moved, and there was much discussion as to whether it would require a three-fifths or a majority vote to reconsider. Sixty voted for reconsideration, and the chair held that this was sufficient.⁴¹ On January 14, 1851, the bill, being reconsidered, passed its third reading by a vote of 75 to 36, the constitutional year being 72.⁴² At this time an amendment proposed by Erwin to give a white basis of representation in the Senate was defeated by an overwhelming vote. It is evident that many Whigs desired free suffrage and voted for it when they saw that there was no hope of obtaining a convention.

The bill which had passed the House was sent up to the Senate where there had already been some preliminary discussion. Here Woodfin, of Buncombe county, was leader of the westerners who were in favor of an open convention and the white basis. The amendments setting forth various ideas—such as other constitutional changes, unlimited convention, change of basis, and election for ascertaining the will of the people—were proposed and rejected by close majorities. The advocates of manhood suffrage were determined to incorporate in the perfected measure the one issue: a free suffrage amendment by legislative enactment. The bill was rejected on its

⁴⁰ Constitution of North Carolina (pamphlet), pp. 64-67.

⁴¹ *North Carolina Standard*, January 15, 1851.

⁴² *Ibid.*, January 18, 1851.

first reading by the vote of 29 *pro* and 20 *con*, the majority not being the required three-fifths. On January 22 a motion to reconsider was carried, and an amendment to the bill abolishing the property qualification of a Senator was rejected by a large majority. The bill was then passed by a vote of 32 to 16 on its second reading.⁴³ The passage of the bill was made possible because several members of the Senate from the east, realizing that western Whigs were voting against manhood suffrage so as to save the issue as a reason for calling a convention, decided to accept the lesser of what they considered two evils and changed their votes in favor of the free suffrage amendment.⁴² In this the eastern senators were also influenced by a sharp political move on the part of the Democrats of the House. A bill calling a convention was taken up by the Democrats in the House and rushed through two readings. They figured correctly that this would frighten the members of the Senate into passing the free suffrage amendment. The Senate was controlled by land-holders and slave-holders; hence its members opposed a convention for fear that it would change the basis.⁴³ On the 23rd of January the free suffrage amendment bill came up on its third reading in the Senate. Mr. Joyner spoke in opposition several hours, he being one of the few men who dared to oppose any and every form of free suffrage. He made a typical land-owner's speech. An amendment providing that the bill should not be construed so as to allow free negroes to vote passed unanimously. The bill then passed its third reading by a vote of 33 to 16. The House quickly agreed to amendments, and the bill was ordered to be engrossed.⁴⁴

The manhood suffrage bill passed by the constitutional majority of three-fifths of both houses in the legislature of 1850-51 read in part as follows: "Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina . . . three-fifths of the whole number of members of each house concurring, that the third section of the first article of the . . . constitution . . . be amended by striking out the words,

⁴³ *North Carolina Standard*, January 25, 1851.

⁴² *Raleigh Register*, January 23, 1851.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *North Carolina Standard*, January 25, 1851.

'and possessed of a free-hold within the same district of fifty acres of land for six months next before and at the day of the election,' so that said clause shall read as follows: 'Section 2, all free white men of the age of twenty-one years . . . who have been inhabitants of any one district within the state for twelve months preceding the day of any election and shall have paid a public tax, shall be entitled to vote for a member of the Senate.'"⁴⁵

The opposition which had to be overcome in order to pass this bill for the first time was composed mainly of western Whigs. As has been pointed out, members from this section desired a convention mainly for the purpose of changing the basis. They felt that it was an injustice that the east, with a minority of the white inhabitants of the state, should have 35 senators; while the west, with a majority of white population, had only 15. This was due to the apportioning of representation in the Senate according to taxes paid. Before the amendment could be incorporated in the constitution it would have to be passed by a two-thirds vote of the next legislature. In the interval between these two legislatures those favoring the convention method of amendment began a campaign to undo the progress already accomplished and to arouse public sentiment for a convention.

The immediate cause of the discontent in the west with the basis is found in the opposition of the legislature of 1850-1851 to internal improvements. The west was an undeveloped section, and its inhabitants favored the building of railroads and other measures that would increase the commercial importance of the section. The east had to pay most of the taxes and did not especially desire the improvement of the west. The east did not care to spend its tax money in building up the other section of the state. Previous to 1850 the North Carolina Railroad, connecting the east and the west, had been chartered. In the legislature of 1850-1851 resolutions had been offered to repeal the charter of this railroad and to repudiate the subscription which the state had made to its capital stock. Also a bill was introduced providing that no appropriation over \$100,000 could be made without the concurrent

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

majorities of the legislature in two consecutive sessions.⁴⁶ Neither one of these proposals were adopted, but they angered the western representatives. They realized that they must have more power in the government in order to force through their policy of internal improvements. In order to get this power they favored a change of the basis, and looked to a convention to bring about such a change.

Just after the legislature of 1850-51 adjourned, "a meeting composed principally of western members of the legislature, without distinction of party" was held in Raleigh. *An Address To The People Of North Carolina On The Subject Of Constitutional Reform* was drawn up at this meeting. This document pointed out that all the free people of the state had never had a voice in organizing its government; that the constitution of 1776 had been drawn up by a body composed of the large land-holders, and containing far more eastern than western representatives; that the convention of 1835 was limited by legislative action, and that the constitutional amendments drawn up by this convention were undemocratic in respect to the taxation basis in the Senate and in continuing the limitation of the senatorial electorate to those having a freehold of fifty acres. This address objected strenuously to the unfairness in representation of the different sections and asked that it be abolished. It pointed out that there were other constitutional changes desired, such as the election of judges by the people and claimed "that the only proper republican mode of amending or altering the constitution is by the people themselves in convention assembled." It traced the history of the amendment recently passed and charged that it was secured by means of log-rolling and claimed that the western politicians had opposed it because the issue was squarely one of free suffrage alone, or a convention with hopes of other desired changes. The address closed by pointing out the advantages of the convention method over the legislative method of amendment.⁴⁷

This address, which was the shibboleth of the opposition, was signed by about forty politicians, most of whom were

⁴⁶ *Raleigh Register*, April 30, 1851.

⁴⁷ *Constitution of North Carolina* (pamphlet), 1851.

Whigs from the west. This meeting held in Raleigh was the beginning of a movement among the westerners to break away from the old parties, both Whig and Democratic, and to put out fusion candidates in the west who would work for a constitutional convention. The meeting of politicians at Raleigh was followed by assemblies of the people in the western counties. On February 18, 1851, a large and enthusiastic meeting was held in Watauga County. Resolutions were adopted declaring that whereas the people had previously expressed a desire that the constitution be amended so as to give a white population basis of representation, and nothing had been done, that there ought to be an unrestricted convention, the delegates to which should be elected on a white basis; that said convention ought to change the constitution so as to grant popular election of judges, the white basis, free suffrage, and abolition of the property qualifications for holding office.⁴⁸ In a meeting in Buncombe a definite plan for a new political organization was formulated. The new party styled itself *The Republican Party of North Carolina*, and adopted the *will of the people* as its motto. The Buncombe meeting pledged itself to nominate a candidate for governor without regard to former party affiliation, and to oppose the taxation basis in the Senate. A similar meeting in Henderson pledged itself to vote for no man who did not favor an unrestricted convention.⁴⁹ Meetings were held in Burke, Caldwell, McDowell, Rutherford, and Cleveland counties to gain support for the new movement.⁵⁰ The Whigs of the east, in reply to the new party movement, declared to their leaders that they would not adopt a pledge to vote for candidates who favored a white basis, nor would they support any man who favored an unrestricted convention.⁵¹ Those who wished to compromise argued that there was no hope of obtaining an unrestricted convention, because to call such a body a two-thirds vote of the legislature was required and that the legislature was controlled by the east; also that a new party would not test the strength of the white basis issue, because other considerations

⁴⁸ *Raleigh Register*, February 22, 1851.

⁴⁹ *North Carolina Standard*, April 19, 1851; *Raleigh Register*, April 30, 1851.

⁵⁰ *Raleigh Register*, May 7, 1851; *North Carolina Standard*, May 7, 1851.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, May 3, 1851.

would determine many votes.⁵² The Democrats of the west, as a rule, stuck to their party and left the new movement to the Whigs; for instance, the Democrats of Buncombe held a meeting and declared for Reid, Democracy and free suffrage and did not mention the question of a convention.⁵³ Thus it came about that in the campaign of 1852 Democrats were united on the single issue of manhood suffrage by legislative enactment, while the Whigs were divided, those of the West favoring manhood suffrage and other constitutional amendments by means of an unlimited convention, and the conservatives of the east either opposing any constitutional changes or desiring merely manhood suffrage either by legislative enactment or limited convention.

The Whigs held their state convention on April 26, 1852. There were conflicting opinions as to constitutional reform, but leaders on both sides showed a willingness to compromise. Mr. John Kerr was nominated as candidate for governor. The adopting of a platform was difficult, but the Whigs tried to take a position on constitutional reform which would harmonize their contending factions. Section seven, on this subject, read: "Resolved, that in the opinion of this convention whenever amendments are to be made to our state constitution, they should be effected by a convention of the people elected on the basis of the House of Commons, and we are in favor of submitting it to the people to say whether such a convention shall be called or not for the purpose of making necessary amendments."⁵⁴ It is easy to note the elements in this platform which were the result of a compromise. The Whigs could not favor an unlimited convention for fear of estranging the eastern conservatives; nor could the party repudiate the convention method for fear of angering the west. So the platform did not clearly advocate a convention, but merely favored submitting the question to the people; in return for this concession from the west, it was decided to favor this section by apportioning the representation in any convention called according to federal population. Since three-fifths of all

⁵² *Ibid.*, April 30, 1851.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, April 17, 1851.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, April 28, 1852; *North Carolina Standard*, May 5, 1852.

the slaves were counted in federal population, this was a concession to the slave-holding east.⁵⁵

The Democratic platform of 1852 contained two articles on the subject of manhood suffrage. Article seven declared that the constitution of the state having provided for amendment by legislative action and three-fifths of both houses of the last General Assembly having voted for free suffrage, the Democratic party was in favoring of reaffirming it by the required two-thirds majority in the next assembly. The eighth article of the platform declared against a change of the basis of representation in either the House or the Senate. The Democrats nominated Governor Reid to succeed himself as chief executive.⁵⁶

It was a very uneven fight which was waged in the canvass of 1852. The Democrats were firm in their two most important issues, namely: manhood suffrage by legislative enactment and opposition to a change of basis. The Whigs were divided on the question of the basis, and part of them supported the convention scheme merely for the sake of party unity and of opposition to the Democrats. Thus it was that Reid, the Democratic candidate for governor, could come out squarely for manhood suffrage all over the state. Kerr, the Whig nominee, tried to relegate the manhood suffrage question to the background, stating that it was a harmless sort of an issue and claiming that the constitution was good enough in its existing condition. He emphasized his convention issue according to the part of the country he was speaking in. The Democrats claimed that during the campaign in the east he touched lightly on the convention issue, but in the west he favored a free, open, unrestricted convention which would change the basis of representation in the Senate. Although Kerr denied that he changed his attitude on the basis and claimed that he and Reid occupied the same position on this question, it is probable that he modified his statement according to the sections in which he was speaking.⁵⁷ Kerr took the position that if the majority of the people desired that a convention be called that it was the

⁵⁵ *Weekly North Carolina Standard*, May 19, 1852; *Raleigh Register*, May 19, 1852.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Raleigh Register*, June 5-8, 1852; *North Carolina Standard*, June 5-8, 1852.

duty of the governor to issue the call for the convention, despite the constitutional provision that a two-thirds vote of the legislature was necessary. He was severely criticised by the Democrats for this stand.⁵⁸

The election of 1852 shows that there was a clear split in the Whig party over the convention issue. In the western counties fusion candidates were chosen in several instances, and these were pledged to vote for open convention. Reid obtained his largest gain in the western counties, however, and this shows that the Democrats as a rule stayed by the party. Reid was elected by the safe majority of 5,500, and the Democrats obtained a large majority of the representatives in the General Assembly.⁵⁹ It seemed that it was practically certain that the manhood suffrage amendment would receive the two-thirds majority necessary to make it a part of the constitution. Governor Reid, in his annual message to the legislature, stated that the equal suffrage bill had been passed by three-fifths of the last legislature and urged that the necessary two-thirds majority be given in the assembly of 1852-3. He stated his objections to a convention, and opposed all changes in the basis and all agitation concerning such changes.⁶⁰

Despite the favorable outlook for the free suffrage amendment, opposition quickly developed in the assembly of 1852. It seems that, by accident, the opponents of the manhood suffrage amendment had a majority of the committee on constitutional reform in the House of Commons. This committee reported against the equal suffrage amendment, but a minority report of the same committee submitted a set of preambles and resolutions, tracing the history of the bill from its conception and providing for the submitting of the proposition to the electorate after it had received the constitutional two-thirds majority.⁶¹ On Tuesday November 23, 1852, this minority report passed the House of Commons on the third reading without debate, two-thirds of the whole membership voting for it. Opposition in the Senate came entirely from the Whigs, while every Democrat who voted and a few Whigs supported

⁵⁸ *Weekly North Carolina Standard*, June 2, August 4, 1852.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, August 18, 1852.

⁶⁰ *Weekly North Carolina Standard*, August 20, 1852.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, November 20, 1852.

the measure. The bill was defeated the first time it came up because many Whigs refused to vote either for or against it.⁶² A reconsideration was moved, and a vote was taken on December 13. The bill was defeated by a vote of 33 for, to 15, against it. Since the total representation in the Senate was fifty, a two-thirds vote would have required 33 1-3 votes in favor of the amendment. W. N. Edwards, of Warren, Speaker of the Senate and a Democrat, had the privilege of voting, but refused to cast his ballot either for or against the measure—on the ground that, even though a Democrat, he had always opposed equal suffrage and had been elected to his position as a compromise candidate because of his known opposition to the amendment. Thus it was that manhood suffrage was delayed for another two years for the lack of one-third of a vote. The odium of the defeat of this measure rested upon the Whigs because all Democrats voted for the bill, except Edwards who voted neither way; while only six Whigs voted for the amendment and fifteen against it.⁶³

After the failure of the equal suffrage measure in the Senate, Messrs. Hill and Berry, originators of the bill in the Commons, attempted to have the amendment reconsidered, in hopes of getting at least a three-fifths majority. This was necessary because the constitution provided that an amendment had to pass by three-fifths and two-thirds vote in two successive assemblies. The Commons had, however, lost confidence in the legislative method of amendment and refused to pass the bill by three-fifths majority, although they had recently passed it by a two-thirds vote. The count stood 64 *pro* and 34 *con*, whereas 72 would have been necessary to pass.⁶⁴ Thus the work of two years' legislative discussion and action was lost, and the manhood suffrage amendment had to start again at the place it had been in 1850.

The manhood suffrage issue came up again in the campaign of 1854. By this time the western Whigs had almost given up hope of getting a convention to change the basis in the Senate. Also the east and west had agreed on the matter of internal improvements, and the grievance which had led the west to favor

⁶² *Ibid.*, December 8, 1852.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, December 11, 1852.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, December 15, 1852.

a change in the basis had been removed.⁶⁵ Even after this obstacle to amendment by legislative action had been partly removed, the Whigs could not bring themselves openly to favor manhood suffrage by legislative enactment. The issue had been originated by the Democrats, and this alone was enough to condemn it in the eyes of the Whigs; so we find the platform of this party in 1854 declaring that the people desired certain changes in the constitution and favoring that these changes be made in a convention having the power to change any part of the constitution except the basis of representation. No mention was made of free suffrage, as such, in the platform. Alfred Dockery was the Whig nominee for governor.⁶⁶

The position taken by the Whig party in advocating a convention which could not change the basis aroused in the western wing of the party some opposition. In this section the desire for the white basis was not entirely dead. There was a movement to repudiate the article of the Whig platform which dealt with limiting the convention, and this movement culminated in a meeting held at Asheville in April, 1854. Delegates from some of the western counties met, and resolved that the state legislature could not restrict a sovereign convention, and that any convention called must have the power to change any feature of the constitution.⁶⁷ This dissatisfaction in the west crippled the Whig party at the very beginning of the campaign.

The Democrats, in 1854, nominated Thomas Bragg for governor and adopted a platform favoring free suffrage by legislative enactment and opposing any change in the basis.⁶⁸ In the canvass the two candidates took almost the same position on the free suffrage issue. Both opposed a change in the basis of representation, and both favored manhood suffrage. They differed in the manner of bringing about the necessary constitutional change. Dockery favored the convention method, and Bragg advocated the legislative enactment scheme. Bragg argued that a convention must be sovereign, and therefore, it could change the basis. He emphasized the danger of

⁶⁵ *Raleigh Register*, April 30, 1856.

⁶⁶ *North Carolina Standard*, March 1, 1854; *Raleigh Register*, February 25,

⁶⁷ *North Carolina Standard*, April 19, 1854.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, April 22, 1854; *Raleigh Register*, June 3, 1854.

calling any convention, claiming that the west would surely change the basis. He also called attention to the fact that there was no constitutional requirement that would make a convention submit its work to the people; whereas the legislature was forced to submit an amendment to the electorate before it could become a part of the constitution. Dockery maintained that his method was more democratic and economical, would give a much needed general revision to the constitution, raise that document above party politics, and prevent politicians from riding into office on questions of constitutional reform.⁶⁹ In this canvass the Democratic candidate was successful by a safe majority, and the Democrats returned a majority of the members of the Assembly.

When the legislature of 1854 convened, Reid was still governor, and he continued to work for manhood suffrage. In his message of that year he again strongly recommended the amendment. He pointed out that fifty thousand men were being deprived of the privilege of voting for members of the Senate, and that a large number of those deprived of this franchise possessed land of greater value than the required fifty acres at an average price. In the Senate of 1854 the old proposition of holding an election to ascertain whether or not the people wanted a convention was introduced by ex-Governor Graham, and there was some discussion of the matter.⁷⁰ Messrs. Graham, Gilmer, and Haughton supported the election proposal, while Hoke and Thomas spoke in favor of the legislative method. The debate was important because it was a serious question in the minds of some of the senators as to whether it would be better to keep up the fight for amendment by legislative enactment, which had failed for six years straight, or to yield to the persistent Whig demand for a convention.⁷¹

Early in 1855 Bragg went into office, and in his inaugural address he urged that the suffrage amendment be passed by the three-fifths majority. Boyd had already introduced in the Senate a bill very similar to the one which had been proposed in 1850-1. The proposition was discussed freely, and some of

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, July 15, 1854; *Raleigh Register*, June 3, 1854.

⁷⁰ *Raleigh Register*, November 15, 1854.

⁷¹ *North Carolina Standard*, December 18, 1854.

the opponents of the legislative enactment claimed that the measure as proposed would allow unnaturalized foreigners to vote. This fear of the immigrant element in politics was a result of the Know Nothing movement, which was at this time coming into prominence in national politics. The doctrine of the new party was summarized in the words "America for Americans," and it desired a restriction of immigration. Mr. Haughton proposed an amendment which would remedy this objection, and it was adopted by a close vote. The Democrats seemed to have adopted this amendment to the bill, not because they deemed it necessary, but rather to quiet the criticism of the opposition. Other amendments were voted down, and the bill passed its final reading by a vote of 35 to 15, this being five more than the required three-fifths majority.⁷²

This free suffrage bill which had passed the Senate was taken up in the House toward the end of January. On its first reading the amendment passed by a vote of 89 to 18. The position of the Whigs is very well shown by this vote. There were 29 Whigs in the House, and 18 of these made up the entire opposition. Most of these Whigs voted against manhood suffrage merely because they did not like the manner in which it was being given to them, or at least this was their pretended reason. Some members of the House did not think that the Senate had completely settled the question of unnaturalized foreigners voting; and Mr. Mebane offered an amendment to the constitutional amendment stating: "Nothing herein shall be construed to allow unnaturalized foreigners to vote." The majority thought that there was no danger of foreigners voting under the law as it stood, and the Mebane amendment was rejected.⁷³ The bill passed its other readings in the House by a large majority and was ordered to be enrolled on February 1. The policy of the Democrats of the House of Commons was to allow the Whigs to do all the speaking and to propose all the amendments, while the Democrats kept quiet and voted down amendments systematically. The Whigs embodied their idea in the form of amendment to the original

⁷² *Weekly North Carolina Standard*, January 31, 1855.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, January 31, 1855.

bill. This proposition was to call a convention of the people. The original Whig proposal was amended so as to prevent any convention called from changing the basis, and so as to make a two-thirds vote of each house necessary for its enactment. This proposition of the Whigs was defeated by a party vote.⁷⁴

The act as passed by the legislature of 1855 stated that many voters were disfranchised by the free-hold qualification and amended the third section of the first article of the constitution so as to read: "Every white man of the age of twenty-one years, being a native or naturalized citizen of the United States and who has been an inhabitant of the state for twelve months immediately preceding the day of any election and shall have paid public taxes, shall be entitled to vote for a member of the Senate for the district in which he resides." A second section of the bill required the Governor to publish the measure in ten papers of the state six months before the next election. Before the bill could become a part of the constitution it had to be passed by two-thirds of the next legislature, and finally ratified by the people in a special election.⁷⁵ As required by the constitution, the proposed free suffrage amendment was published six months before the election of 1856, and this question was again an issue in the campaign of that year.

Since 1850 the Whig party in national affairs, as well as in North Carolina, had been becoming steadily weaker. The position of the party on the compromise of 1850 had practically killed the party as a national political organization. It still had strength, however, when the Kansas-Nebraska bill was introduced in congress in 1854. The remnant of the party split over this measure, the southern members favoring it with the Democrats and the northern wing bitterly opposing it. After such a union of southern Whigs and Democrats on the slavery issue, it was natural to expect that the two parties in North Carolina would merge into one. But party bitternesses and differences of opinion on other matters were too intense. North Carolina Whigs sought temporary shelter in the ranks of the new Know Nothing party. The Whigs of North Carolina carried into

⁷⁴ *North Carolina Standard*, February 7, 1855.

⁷⁵ *Weekly North Carolina Standard*, February 5, 1855.

their new party most of their ideas on state politics, and among these was opposition to free suffrage by legislative enactment. The new party lasted through the campaign of 1856, but the Know Nothing principles of opposition to immigrants and Catholics had no application to North Carolina where there was no great number of foreigners. Hence the enthusiasm for the new party soon waned, and finding that it was not as strong as the old Whig organization, the Whigs after 1857 returned to their old party name.⁷⁵

The Democratic candidate for governor in 1856 was Bragg, who was running for re-election. The Know Nothings nominated Gilmer, who as a Whig had been prominent in his opposition to manhood suffrage by legislative enactment. He had voted against the bill of the Democrats in the Assemblies of 1848, 1850, 1852, and 1854 and had fought strongly for a convention.⁷⁶ He was one of the forty politicians who had signed the western address, and who had tried in vain to split the Whig and Democratic parties.⁷⁷ The convention which nominated Gilmer declared in its platform: "Whereas there exist various and conflicting opinions among Whigs and Democrats both as to the propriety of amending the constitution, as well as to the manner and extent to which amendment should be made: Resolved,—that in order that the paramount principles of Americanism may not be trammelled in the ensuing contest by vexed state questions made up by former political organizations, the American party, eschewing sectional issues in the state as well as in the Union, declare their purpose of abiding by and maintaining the representative basis of the present constitution."⁷⁸ In the canvass Gilmer took the traditional Whig attitude as to free suffrage. He favored the abolition of the qualification by means of a convention and opposed a change in the basis. He claimed that he was a better free suffrage man than Bragg, because his plan would have procured the amendment long ago.⁷⁹ He, true to the western address, favored amendments other than free suffrage, such

⁷⁵ Wagstaff, *State Rights and Political Parties in North Carolina*, pp. 90-6; also Cole, *Whig Party in the South*.

⁷⁶ *Weekly North Carolina Standard*, April 3, 1852.

⁷⁷ See above, pp. 15, 16, 17.

⁷⁸ *Weekly Raleigh Register*, April 16, 1856.

⁷⁹ *Weekly North Carolina Standard*, May 7, 1856; and *Raleigh Register*, June 14, 1857.

as an increased tax on slaves and the election of judges by the people. The Democrats urged that, because Gilmer had in the western address favored the white basis, he was still in favor of it. The accusation hurt the American candidate among the conservative slave holders of the east, and he made a poor race in consequence. Bragg favored only one change in the constitution and opposed the convention proposition. The Democratic candidate was re-elected by the unauusally large majority of 12,594 votes, and a Democratic majority of forty on joint ballot in the Assembly assured the passage of the free suffrage amendment by the two-thirds majority required by the constitution.⁸⁰

The free suffrage bill was introduced in the Senate by Boyd in November of 1856.⁸¹ The bill proposed stated the fact that the amendment had been passed by three-fifths of the last assembly. It provided that the governor should open the polls within eighty days after the bill had passed by a two-thirds vote, and that thus the will of the people as to its acceptance or rejection should be ascertained. The bill further provided that if the amendment was adopted and ratified, it should be enrolled as part of the constitution by the Secretary of State.⁸² The Governor's message, coming out a few days after the introduction of this bill, urged that it be passed. By the end of November the Boyd bill had passed its three readings in the Senate by considerably more than the constitutional majority. In the the House the votes in its favor were practically unanimous, the count being 109 to 4 at one time and 93 to 5 at another. There was one attempt at amendment in the House, Thomas proposing to limit the taxation of land per acre to twelve-fiftieths of that on polls, as a guarantee that the landholders, who were being deprived by the amendment of what they considered their rights, would be protected against excessive taxation.⁸³ The proposal of Thomas was declared out of order by the Speaker, and his ruling was sustained by the House. Mr. D. F. Caldwell of Guilford entered his solemn

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, August 20, 1856.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, November 22, 1856.

⁸² *Ibid.*, November 29, 1856.

⁸³ *Raleigh Register*, January 14, 1857.

protest against passing the bill, doing this in the face of overwhelming opposition.⁸⁴ He had opposed manhood suffrage since its inception in 1848.

The bill as finally passed was essentially the same as the measure of 1850, except that it contained a history of the passage of the bill at various times. It provided that the amendment abolishing the free-hold requirement should be submitted to the people for ratification on the first Thursday in August of 1857, sixty days notice being given by the Governor.⁸⁵ The governor's proclamation as to the election was duly published on September 12, 1857, and later an announcement was issued stating that the amendment had been ratified by the people at the polls, the vote being 50,075 for ratification and 19,382 against. The amendment was then declared to be a part of the constitution of North Carolina.⁸⁶

With the vote as overwhelmingly for ratification as it was, it is difficult to draw any conclusions as to the sectional division of the votes. A list of the eastern and central counties with their votes shows that there were cast in all 21,100 ballots and of these 14,114 were for and 6,986 against ratification. This ratio of two to one is somewhat behind the vote for the whole State, which was nearly three to one. In the extreme west we find Cherokee County on the one hand with a vote of 814 for ratification and only four against, while Craven in the extreme east was about evenly divided, 216 for and 263 against.⁸⁷ From this comparison we may conclude that much of the opposition to free suffrage came from the eastern slave and land-holding aristocracy. The history of the bill during its passage through the legislature would contradict this conclusion, but we must remember that the west was really very democratic and only opposed manhood suffrage in order to use that issue to obtain a constitutional convention in which it hoped to enact amendments that would wipe out such undemocratic, or rather anti-western, features of the constitution as the taxation basis of apportionment in the Senate.

⁸⁴ *Weekly North Carolina Standard*, December 3, 1856.

⁸⁵ *Weekly North Carolina Standard*, December 7, 1856.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, September 2, 1857.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, August 12, 1857.

From this we are led to the conclusion that the manhood suffrage movement was not entirely as democratic as its supporters pretended it to be. The measure was supported by the progressive Democrats in the west as well as the reactionary Democrats of the east, and the continual demands of the west for fairer representation and more democratic government were ignored. The favoring of free suffrage by the conservative element of the Democratic party is to be understood as an attempt to appease rather than to satisfy the westerners. The Whigs of the west resisted and demanded a convention because they preferred to be satisfied rather than appeased.

With the nature of the manhood suffrage movement well in mind, we may now notice the effects of this movement upon the later history of North Carolina. The free suffrage movement was mainly the cause of the fall of the Whig party and the rise of the Democratic party into power. Such an issue as manhood suffrage was necessarily popular; and therefore gained votes for the party supporting it. Moreover this issue brought dissension between the inharmonious elements of the Whig party. Free suffrage was too radical for the conservatives and too conservative for the radicals; so the Whigs were weakened by internal strife, and the Democrats gained a lease of power which lasted until 1862. The result of this Democratic supremacy was important for the history of North Carolina. The agitation for manhood suffrage had liberalized the party, and it helped to make liberal ideas triumphant. As has been shown, the movement for free suffrage was not the most democratic one possible; but it was, nevertheless, a very advanced stand to be taken by an organization which had been as conservative as the Democratic party of 1836-1848. Manhood suffrage gave its advocates a progressive issue, which drew to the party the young men and which made it popular in the west. The result was a liberalization of the Democratic policies which made itself felt in the attitude of this party towards internal improvements and educational development. Previous to 1848 the Democratic party was strongly opposed to all internal improvements. Its members often refused to vote for money for railroads, plank roads, schools, or other state institutions. In 1848 only a small minority of the party was in

favor of internal improvements, and nearly all of this was in the west. In this year there was a threatened division within the party over the issue.⁸⁸ After this organization had become liberalized through the influence of the free suffrage movement, we find its members voting large sums for internal improvements and education.

The history of the manhood suffrage movement in North Carolina is typical, in respect to the time required to accomplish the change, of many movements in the state. It took our politicians nine years of constant agitation to decide to abolish such a palpable evil as the free-hold requirement for suffrage in senatorial elections. Instances of similar slowness of action are plentiful in the history of the state.

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Some Phases of Reconstruction in Wilmington and the County of New Hanover *

BY BRYANT WHITLOCK RUARK

INTRODUCTION

The Cape Fear section of North Carolina has long been regarded as one full of historical interest. The citizens of Wilmington and the surrounding country responded nobly to the Revolutionary cause in 1775, and when North Carolina decided to cast her fortune with the other Southern States in 1861, New Hanover County again rallied to arms in defense of her home and people.

The people of the Cape Fear section were champions of the South's cause from the very beginning of the secession movement. The *Wilmington Journal* was among the first newspapers of the State to favor radical action. It took such a stand when sentiment as a whole was overwhelmingly in favor of the Union.¹ Geo. Davis attended the Peace Conference in Washington City but returned an advocate of secession.² Mr. Hamilton, in his work on Reconstruction in North Carolina, is authority for the statement that the secession movement of the state as a whole started in Wilmington. The first "States Rights" meeting was held there and from this developed the sentiment that led to similar meetings throughout the state.³

In ante-bellum days, Wilmington was a very important port, being easily the largest naval stores market in the United States. A large trade in naval stores, timber and cotton flourished with the West Indies; and from them were received in return such articles as sugar, molasses, and coffee. The town also enjoyed a brisk trade with the North and with Europe. Steamship lines to Fayetteville brought it in touch with the upper Cape Fear, and coastwise vessels known as "Corn Crackers" were a means of intercourse with the north-

* In this essay, after the Introduction, the following topics are discussed:—Education, The Court System, The City of Wilmington, Social and Economic Conditions, and Political Affairs.

¹ Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, p. 14.

² *Ibid.*, p. 34, note.

³ Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*; also Wagstaff, *State Rights and Political Parties in North Carolina*, p. 127.

eastern part of the state. There were ample facilities for commerce with Charleston and other cities. The town enjoyed good banking facilities and advantages, and altogether conditions worked in those days so as to give Wilmington a prominent position as a commercial center.⁴

Life in the Cape Fear section was distinctive. An aristocratic element was introduced by the coming of the Moore family at the close of the Tuscorora War.⁵ Here were to be found large plantations with the stately homes of the owners and well-arranged slave buildings. The slaves outnumbered the whites. Social distinctions were marked and were scrupulously observed. One of the effects of the Civil War was to wipe away the social ideals and observances that formerly prevailed. The necessity for all to struggle for a livelihood caused many social differences to disappear.⁶ However the aristocracy of the Cape Fear was not only one of land and of wealth. There was also an aristocracy of brains, and from such families as the Moores, Waddells, Davises, and many others came men of rare ability who played a prominent part in the events of later years. The occasion of war and the struggle itself not only caused a breaking up of the large plantations and the disruption of aristocratic life, but also developed the talents of gifted men.

Prior to the decision of North Carolina to join the Confederacy, the people of New Hanover and adjoining territory set to work to perfect military organizations. The principal military companies in the town were the Wilmington Light Infantry, formed in 1853, and the German Volunteers, organized about the same time. The latter was composed entirely of Germans and was the only organization of its kind in the state.⁷ The former consisted of 39 men and officers, and the latter numbered all told 34. Other companies were the Wilmington Rifle Guards, numbering 27 men; Cape Fear Artillery, composed of 20; and the Cape Fear Rifles consisting of about the same number.⁸ These were known as the Reserves of New

⁴ Waddell, *Some Memories of My Life*, pp. 40, 41.

⁵ Connor, *Cornelius Harnett*, p. 11; also Ashe, *History of North Carolina*, I, ch. 15.

⁶ Waddell, *Some Memories of My Life*, pp. 42, 43.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁸ Clark's *Regimental History*, Vol. V, *passim*.

Hanover. The Wilmington Horse Artillery troop was chartered by the legislature in 1861.⁹ All were strengthened as the war fever increased.

Early in January, 1861, a committee of Wilmington citizens visited Governor Ellis and asked him to seize Forts Johnston and Caswell, two Federal Arsenals, at the mouth of the Cape Fear River, in the name of the state. The latter was important because it commanded the entrance. But he refused. Therefore, on the morning of January 10, 1861, several citizens of Wilmington, organized as a Committee of Safety under the name of "The Cape Fear Minute Men," and under the command of John J. Heddrick, captured Fort Johnston. That same afternoon in company with S. D. Thruston, captain of the "Smithville Guards," and a number of the citizens of Smithville, now Southport, they took possession of Fort Caswell. Governor Ellis telegraphed to Washington to know if the Federal government intended to garrison the forts. He received the reply that this would be done when it became necessary. Thruston was obliged to give up the forts as it was thought they had been captured by the state militia, but this was a mistake. However, they were recaptured by the Wilmington Light Infantry, the German Volunteers, and the Wilmington Rifle Guards under the command of Colonel John L. Cantwell, on April 16, 1861.¹⁰

In addition to the Reserves, New Hanover County sent men to various regiments. Company H of the Fortieth Regiment was organized at Wilmington in 1861, and consisted principally of Irishmen. Company A of the Forty-first Regiment, known as the Rebel Rangers, consisting of 163 men, came from New Hanover County. It has not been possible to determine the number of men sent to the front, but many able-bodied men left and never returned, leaving those dependent on them reduced to trying circumstances.¹¹ And the fact that many bread winners failed to return accounts in part for the dire economic struggle of the period of reconstruction.

⁹ Laws, 1860-61, ch. 101.

¹⁰ Rebellion Records, Series I, Vol. 51, Part 1, p. 2.

¹¹ New Hanover men composed Companies A and C of the First N. C. Regiment, Co.'s D, F, and N, of the Third, Co. C of the Seventh, Co. F of the Eighth, and the whole of the Fifty-first Regiment.

In order to effect adequate coast defenses, there was chosen for the town of Wilmington a Committee of Safety in the latter part of February, 1861. Members of this were John C. McRae, who was later agent abroad for the State, W. A. Wright and J. D. Bellamy. A meeting was held April 16, 1862, to raise money for the defense of the river, and although no figures are obtainable, a substantial sum was provided. Early in 1862 General W. H. C. Whiting was assigned to the command of the district of the Cape Fear, and he together with Colonel S. L. Fremont, whom the Committee of Safety had appointed Superintendent of Coast Defenses, undertook to make adequate provision for protection. In a letter to General Ben S. Cooper,¹² Whiting states that Wilmington was very much exposed and asked for additional material to erect batteries at Masonboro, near Wilmington, and New Inlet, near Fort Fisher, at the Cape Fear and Bald Head Landing, at the southern end of Bald Head Island, and at Forts Caswell and Johnston, at the mouth of the Cape Fear. He also asked for a reserve of 1,000 men. There were only three batteries erected: one each at Oak Island, situated near Fort Caswell, Zeke's Island, just south of Fort Fisher, and Confederate Point.¹³ Whiting was constantly faced with the problem of protecting the coast with inadequate means, and stringent measures were resorted to in order to carry on the work. For instance, he called on Governor Vance for iron from the Wilmington, Charlotte, and Rutherfordton Railroad Company to complete the casements at Caswell.¹⁴ He made frequent calls on Governor Vance for negroes to work on the defenses and was granted about five hundred.¹⁵ These, however, had to be returned to their owners in time for the harvests, and their withdrawal necessitated a call upon the residents of the county for manual labor. To this situation was added a disagreeable condition brought about by a conflict between the civil and military authorities. Minors who had been pressed into service made application to the courts for writ of habeas corpus in order that they might be relieved from service. Quite a deal of

¹² Rebellion Records, Series I, Vol. 51, part 2, p. 83.

¹³ These were in addition to the regular fortifications of Forts Johnston, Caswell, and Fisher.

¹⁴ Vance MSS. Letter-book, Vol. 1, p. 84.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

correspondence passed between Vance and Whiting on this point. Later on another source of difficulty arose. The State owned some salt works at Masonboro Sound. Whiting made the charge that the state salt workers were giving information relative to the defenses. In July, 1864, he asserted that two-thirds of them were members of a traitorous organization known as "H. O. A.", which was also very strong in Randolph County.¹⁶ In 1863, the withdrawal of the negroes demanded that additional forces be granted. Whiting, who was put in charge of the District of the Cape Fear, created in 1863, called on Seddon, the Confederate Secretary of War, for troops.¹⁷ He also asked Vance for four or five regiments.¹⁸ Five thousand troops were sent. In September, 1864, Whiting applied to General Lee for forces, and received a reply that he must depend on the state forces. Practically all of the state's troops were withdrawn by this time, and affairs had come to a crisis. In October of 1864, there were only twelve to fifteen hundred men to man the defenses.¹⁹ The above instances illustrate the lack of harmony between the officers in charge and the state officials. The former made charges that they were being neglected, and it was proposed that the southeastern counties join South Carolina in order that they might have proper coast defense.²⁰ In addition to this, great disorder prevailed because of lack of proper police regulations, and a stagnation of business resulted from the unsettled conditions. Moreover, in the fall of 1862, the town of Wilmington suffered much from an epidemic of yellow fever. Thus war, pestilence, and famine combined to bring misery to the people.

Upon the proclamation of Lincoln issued April 19, 1861, declaring a blockade of Southern ports, measures were at once taken to close the port of Wilmington, the natural advantages of which for blockade running were clearly evident. The first blockader was placed on the Cape Fear River in July, 1861, and first and last thirty or more were used to guard the river. Wilmington became the chief cotton port for the Confederacy.

¹⁶ Vance MSS. Letter-book, Vol. 2, p. 196, contains only a reference to the "H. O. A." The writer has been unable to obtain further information.

¹⁷ Vance MSS. Letter-book, Vol. 1, p. 350.

¹⁸ Vance MSS. Letter-book, Vol. 1, p. 377.

¹⁹ Vance MSS. Letter-book, Vol. 2, p. 273.

²⁰ Hamilton, Reconstruction in North Carolina, p. 44. *Wilmington Journal*, September 25, 1862.

The "Corn Crackers" had gone, as had also the line of steamers between New York and Wilmington and Charleston and Wilmington. But cotton compresses were kept busy, and a fleet of blockade runners carried the staple from Wilmington to Nassau, five hundred and seventy miles distant, and to Bermuda, six hundred and seventy-four miles from Wilmington. In return they brought ammunition and provisions such as salt, sugar, and molasses. Relative to blockade running, Mr. James Sprunt, purser of the Confederate blockade runner *Lillian*, says:

"In the early stage of the war, blockade running was carried on in part by sailing vessels; for the blockade was not yet rigorous, and speed on the part of the venturesome had not become essential to success. The proclamation of the blockade had suspended the legitimate commerce, and the owners of the cheap sailing craft which faced the extra hazard of war, had, for a time, little to lose and much to gain in the venture. The inward cargoes were less valuable than those brought by later steam vessels, and they consisted of such necessary commodities as salt, sugar, molasses and other cheaper supplies. These cargoes were not then openly declared from neutral countries for a blockaded port, their ostensible destination being the markets of the North; and when by chance an enterprising shipper suspiciously near the Carolina coast, was overhauled by a cruiser, he was always ready with a plausible story of adverse winds and false reckonings. For a time such cases were allowed to withdraw with a warning. In later months all suspicious craft detected in the act of approaching a blockaded port were seized in the name of the United States, and sent in charge of the prize crew to a convenient Northern port for adjudication, which invariably resulted in their condemnation and sale."²¹

In the autumn of 1862 there occurred in Wilmington a severe epidemic of yellow fever. This disease was brought from Nassau by the blockade steamer "*Kate*" and was the result of a laxity in quarantine regulations.²² Mr. Sprunt says: "The good old town was sadly marred by the plagues of war

²¹ James Sprunt, *Tales of the Cape Fear Blockade*, pp. 41, 42; also, *Wilmington Journal*, September 12, 1862.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 11-15; Waddell, *Some Memories of My Life*.

and of pestilence and famine; four hundred and forty-seven of a population, reduced by flight to five thousand, had been carried off by the epidemic of yellow fever brought from Nassau by the steamer *Kate*; and hundreds more of the younger generation, who gave up their lives in the Confederate cause had been brought to their final resting place in Oakdale Cemetery. Suspension of the civil law, neglect of sanitary precaution, the removal of nearly all of the famine stricken women and children to safer places in the interior, and the coming of speculators to the auction sales of the blockade runners' merchandise, as well as of lawless and depraved characters attracted by the camps and shipping, had quite changed the aspect of the whole community."

According to the *Wilmington Journal*, there were reported from September 19 to November 15, fifteen hundred and five cases of yellow fever and six hundred and eighty deaths in Wilmington and vicinity.²³ Strenuous measures were taken to combat the ravages of the plague. The city employed a corps of physicians. Nurses were sent from Asheville, Charleston, and other points. Fayetteville, Charleston, Montgomery, Ala., and Asheville sent contributions in money and goods. The fever raged from September 19 to November 15, and some days as many as sixty-four deaths were reported. Different organizations of the city raised funds, and, in one instance, a body of Jewish citizens subscribed eleven hundred dollars in five minutes. With the coming of cold weather the disease began to abate.²⁴

Such were some of the conditions in Wilmington and adjacent country from 1861-1865, during the time of strife. War, famine, and pestilence dealt their deadly blows. All the while the question of adequate coast defenses was harrowing the minds of those in command. The beginning of the end came when, toward the end of the war, the Federals turned their guns on Fort Fisher. On the morning of January 13, 1865, the bombardment began and for three days continued. To illustrate the strait to which the Confederates were reduced, an instance told by an uncle of the writer in the Confederate

²³ *Wilmington Journal*, November 20, 1862; also, Waddell, *Some Memories of My Life*, p. 55.

²⁴ *Wilmington Journal*, November 28, 1862.

Army is here given. On the morning of the day before the Fort fell, each Confederate soldier was given for his day's allowance a pint of dry peas. These were soaked in water and eaten raw because there was not time for cooking. January 15 the Fort was captured, and the Federals took possession of the town on February 22, 1865.²⁵ Wilmington and the surrounding country then entered upon the reconstruction era, during which it was yet to undergo many a dark and dreary experience.

EDUCATION

Naturally the confusion during the war and the period immediately following caused many of the schools to be closed. It was not long, however, before schools began to be re-established. In February of 1866, Hamilton McMillan, a graduate of the University of North Carolina, opened a classical and scientific school for the instruction of the whites.²⁶ In March of the same year, a school for negroes was set up, and St. Paul's Episcopal Church, belonging to white people, was used as a school room for negro education.²⁷

It was not until 1867 that any appreciable advance took place in educational matters. In February, 1867, Mr. J. N. Hinton organized the Wilmington High School, a private institution with an enrollment of sixty pupils.²⁸ Negroes were not admitted. Closely following, the legislature passed an act to incorporate the Wilmington Institute, which institution began work on March 15, 1867.²⁹

Northern and Federal organizations also became active in education. In March, 1867, the Soldiers Memorial Society of Boston opened a school for the negroes. Two teachers, young ladies from the North, were sent to take charge.³⁰ Almost simultaneously, the American Unitarian Association and the Young Ladies Union Benevolent Society established industrial schools for the negroes. Both of these were northern organizations whose purpose was to educate the negroes of the

²⁵ For a contemporary account of the entry of the Union soldiers into the town, see Burkhead, L. S., *History of the Difficulties of the Pastorate of the Front Street Methodist Church, Wilmington, for the year 1865* (Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society, Series VIII, pp. 37, 38).

²⁶ *Wilmington Journal*, February 12, 1866.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, March 15, 1866.

²⁸ *Morning Star*, February 17, 1867.

²⁹ *Wilmington Journal*, March 1, 1867.

³⁰ *Morning Star*, March 5, 1867.

South.³¹ Their activities were prompted partly by the desire to better the condition of the negroes, and partly because of the impression that the whites wished to keep them in an ignorant condition. In general, these teachers from the North were kindly and politely received by the Southern people, yet it is true that some of them were not tactful, and friction resulted.

The initiative by outsiders had a very important effect; it served to stir public spirited citizens to action. Within three days of the establishment of the above schools, a committee of citizens met and raised \$99.50 for a public school for white children.³² This amount was insufficient for immediate action, and it was held in trust until further funds could be raised. In the following month, the Ladies Benevolent Society, an organization whose object was primarily to relieve suffering, took a lively interest in the matter. It is interesting to know that Mrs. Catherine Kennedy, familiarly called "Mother" Kennedy, president of the society at this time, later founded the Catherine Kennedy Home for old ladies, and this Home still exists in Wilmington and is supported by public subscriptions. The Ladies Benevolent Society appointed a committee of twelve to devise plans for forming a school.³³ This committee acted in conjunction with the mayor of the town, with whom the subscription of \$99.50 had been deposited. This amount was now supplemented by a further subscription of \$563.00, and a building was erected at the corner of Sixth and Orange Streets. A city school was put into operation, and thus was carried out the provisions of "An Act authorizing incorporated cities and towns to establish a system of schools," which had been passed by the Legislature the preceding month (March, 1867).³⁴

In August, 1867, the Unitarian Association of Boston set up a free school for white children.³⁵ The former schools opened by the northern societies had been for the negroes. A schoolhouse was built in the Dry Pond section of Wilmington, and Misses Amy Bradley and Girish came South to take charge. In this connection an instance occurred in which the

³¹ *Ibid.*, March 5, 1867.

³² *Ibid.*, March 8, 1867.

³³ *Ibid.*, March 12, 1867.

³⁴ *Morning Star*, March 14, 1867; also, Public Laws of North Carolina, 1866-67, ch. 14.

³⁵ *Morning Star*, August 15, 1867.

charge that teachers from the North were actuated by personal interests received a contradiction. The attendance upon this school reached 135; and as two teachers were not sufficient, Miss Bradley hired a third teacher out of her own salary. Miss Bradley through the aid of Mrs. Heminway, of Boston, built the Heminway school for teachers which later became the City High School. In the latter part of 1867 there were established two church schools, one by St. John's Parish and the other by Rev. Mr. Myers of the Jewish Synagogue. The latter was called the Wilmington Collegiate Institute, and in addition to the regular courses modern languages were taught.³⁶

Soon the negroes, stirred by the work of others in their behalf, became active in education. A body of negroes applied for a charter, and, on December 21, 1867, G. W. Price, Thos. Rivera, Frederick Brown, Allen Evans, Joseph Mitchell, Hezekiah Reede, John C. Norwood, Alfred Howe and William H. B. Brady were created a body corporate under the name of the "Wilmington Colored Institute" for the purpose of "establishing schools for the education of colored children residing in the City of Wilmington without discrimination as to denomination."³⁷ This was the first instance in which colored men were created a body corporate under the law of North Carolina. It has not been possible to learn the extent of the work actually done by this body, but it did establish one or two schools. In July, 1868, Alfred Howe and six others were created "A body politic and corporate" under the name and style of the "Society of St. Barnabas." This corporation was also composed of negroes and had for its object the education of the negro youth.³⁸ There is no record to be obtained of any material progress having been made by this body. In the same month, the Freedmen's Aid Association of Boston built a schoolhouse for negroes, and it is probable that one of these two corporations used the building.³⁹ The establishment of the Cape Fear Academy and Colston's High School for

³⁶ *Morning Star*, October 24, 1867.

³⁷ *Wilmington Journal*, January 1, 1868; *Morning Star*, January 1, 1868. The writer has not been able to find the text of the act here mentioned. The only authority is the newspapers.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, July 17, 1868.

³⁹ *Morning Star*, July 9, 1868.

white children in July, 1868, were the last important steps in promoting the growth of schools.⁴⁰

Reference thus far has been made to the schools of the City of Wilmington. An effort to find out in detail about those in the county at large prior to ratification of the constitution of 1868 was unsuccessful, but an editorial in the *Morning Star*, July 16, 1868, indicates that there were in the county twenty-seven schools. An act passed in 1867 created D. S. Durham, H. E. Carr, S. S. Satchwell, T. P. Armstrong, J. S. Hines, Jas. Durham and Calvin Hines a body politic, styled "Trustees of Rocky Point Academy." It was declared unlawful to sell spirituous liquors within three miles of the school house.⁴¹

The Convention of 1868 placed education under the control of a central Board. S. S. Ashley, a carpetbagger from Massachusetts who had lived in Wilmington, was chosen State Superintendent of Public Instruction. The Board reported to the Legislature, and, in April, 1869, an act was passed authorizing the Board to organize a system of public schools. In November, 1869, the superintendency of county schools was put in charge of the county commissioners. The county commissioners of New Hanover County took steps to establish schools immediately. Precincts were erected and committees appointed in each to report.⁴² This was the first definite action on record in reference to public schools in the county since the office of State Superintendent was made vacant in 1865. However, a careful search among the newspaper files during the period under consideration failed to give information as to further action.

Other educational factors were the Wilmington Lyceum and the Library Association. The former was established immediately after the war; the latter had existed before the war but was reorganized and materially strengthened. Public debates, lectures, and dramatic plays were held. Their officers were prominent men who gave their time and effort without stint, and their activities did much to further the cause of education in this section. Another educational influence was the

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, July 12, 1868.

⁴¹ Private Laws of North Carolina, 1866-67, ch. 61.

⁴² *Morning Star*, October 27, 1868.

Freedmen's Bureau which established schools in the South for negroes; I have not been able to find information regarding schools established by it in New Hanover County.

THE COURT SYSTEM

The administration of justice during reconstruction was quite a problem. The court system was very much complicated, and the jurisdictions exercised by various courts often indefinite and conflicting. Also, their work was often hampered by military interference. Military authority did not supersede civil jurisdiction suddenly, but rather by a gradual process.

New Hanover, together with Brunswick and Sampson Counties, constituted a part of the Fourth Judicial District of North Carolina in the Federal District Court System. The District Court's jurisdiction did not cover matters peculiarly of County interests, and hence is not of much importance in this connection. Its jurisdiction extended over crimes committed on the high seas, embezzlement or secretion of property belonging to the United States, forgery to deceive a government official, violations of internal revenue laws, smuggling, wrecking, violations of commerce, and similar crimes and misdemeanors. The court went into operation upon the revival of federal authority just after the war. Its officers during the period of our study were Hon. G. W. Brooks, Judge; Darius H. Starbuck, District Attorney; and J. H. Neff, Marshal, until 1868 when he became the mayor of Wilmington.⁴³ In November of 1867, Judge Brooks declared freedom from the military authorities, asserted the court's competence to pass upon its own jurors, and instructed the marshal to draw up the jury lists without distinction as to race or color.⁴⁴ It is interesting to note, however, that for a period of more than two years not a single negro juror sat in this court.

The administrative business of the County prior to the adoption of the Constitution of 1868 was carried on through the County Court, the same Court which performed that function prior to the war. The court dealt with such matters as

⁴³ *Wilmington Journal*, May 5, 1868.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, November 7, 1867.

are today supervised by the board of County Commissioners.⁴⁵ Thus it looked after the building of roads, and the erection and repair of bridges. In general it had control over county finances, both revenues and expenditures. For instance on March 11, 1868, the Court appropriated \$12,000 to establish a workhouse, and it also had the power of granting liquor licenses. It also exercised judicial functions in cases of petty crimes,—offenses against the public order and others of like nature being within its jurisdiction. The court also appointed county inspectors for naval stores, cotton, and other products. The chairman of this court administered the oath of office to the County officers, magistrates, clerk of the County Court, and Superior Court Clerks. It had charge of criminal matters, and in the latter part of 1866, when disorder was rife, a committee was appointed to confer with the Freedmen's Bureau as to better discipline of the negroes. In 1866, a sentence of whipping was imposed on five negroes who had committed petty larceny. When this sentence was being carried out by Sheriff Bunting, two Federal soldiers entered the court room to arrest him, but the chairman would not recognize their verbal authority. The contention that the sentence was a continuation of the slave code was claimed by the officers as a basis of their action. The matter was finally adjusted by Colonel Beadle, the officer then in charge of the Freedmen Bureau.⁴⁶ The County Court at first had jurisdiction over the county police and over the appointment of constables, but these powers were later withdrawn and placed in the hands of the military.

The levy of taxes was also a matter under its care, and, to illustrate the principles of taxation, a few examples from the tax lists, operative in April, 1866, are here given. Tax on real estate was ten cents on the hundred dollar valuation; the tax on the poll was one dollar. In some instances the tax was laid in reference to earning power;—thus ferries were taxed one per cent on their gross receipts and express companies were taxed two and one-half per cent on their gross receipts. Licenses were issued to shows, theaters, liquor dealers, and others. Amount of goods purchased sometimes served as a basis of assessment. Merchants were required to pay a tax of one-

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, March 11, 1868.

⁴⁶ *Wilmington Journal*, March, 1866.

quarter per cent on purchases, and dealers in vehicles had to pay two per cent on their sales. These instances illustrate the tax system which prevailed before, and for sometime after, the war. State as well as county taxes were included. In general county taxes were levied upon the same plan as state taxes. The amount of taxes for the year 1867-8 aggregated \$50,075.42, of which \$15,927.96 was due the state. The year following county taxes were 33 1-3 per cent higher, it being declared that taxes for the ensuing year "Shall be the same as those for state purposes by the General Revenue Act now in force with one hundred cents per centum on the same additional thereto." But even with the increased revenue, making a total of \$39,236.54, county finances were so administered that the county credit was seriously impaired, and bonds of New Hanover county sold at eighty-seven cents on the dollar. In July, 1869, the County Commissioners resolved that, "whereas the financial condition of the county did not justify the prompt payment of claims, no claims be paid except the coupons which might become due on the county bonds."⁴⁷ The County Courts of North Carolina were abolished by General Orders, Number 120, and their unfinished business was ordered to be settled by the Superior Courts in April 21, 1868. In 1868 an act was passed by the General Assembly to facilitate the transfer of business from the county to the Superior Courts.⁴⁸

The Provost Court was important. This Court, unlike the others, emanated from military authority. It was established in March, 1867. In Canby's Special Orders, Number 29, provision was made for provost courts for New Hanover, Brunswick, Bladen, and Columbus Counties.⁴⁹ In General Orders Number 18, issued prior to the erection of the court in New Hanover, its government and jurisdiction were defined.⁵⁰ Its officers were a Judge and Provost Marshal General. In New-Hanover, J. C. Mann, an officer of the Freedmen's Bureau, was appointed Judge; Lieut. G. A. Williams held the position of Marshal General for two months, and then Col. H. B. Judd succeeded him. In general the jurisdiction of Provost Courts covered civil cases in which the amount involved did not ex-

⁴⁷ Minutes of Meetings of County Commissioners, July 7, 1869.

⁴⁸ Canby's General Order No. 120, Public Laws of North Carolina, 1868, ch. 266.

⁴⁹ *Wilmington Journal*, March 27, 1867.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, March 18, 1868.

cede \$300.00; debtor cases, in which ten days' notice must be given if the amount exceeded \$25.00 and fifteen days' notice if the amount exceeded \$10.00, but these notices could be waived with the consent of both parties; other offences not primarily military in nature, all of which excepting manslaughter, assault with intention to kill, dueling, perjury, arson and rape, being transferred to the Post Commander; elections and cases arising therefrom, such as prevention of voting by intimidation, etc.; offenses at common law under the state statutes. In February of 1868, its jurisdiction was limited to three matters. It had jurisdiction in matters of difference between employee and the employer relative to rights under military orders; when the proper state authorities failed or were unable to protect persons and property the court might have jurisdiction, as when the Criminal Court failed to find a true bill against the defendants in the case of Ormsby vs. Murphy, the Provost Court took the case in hand; when impartial justice could not be had, appeal was in order to the court.⁵¹ In the case of *in re* Reaves (May 10, 1868) Judge Mann assumed original jurisdiction in criminal matters.⁵² The Court was subject to military authorities, and its decisions were sometimes forwarded to General Canby as in the Reaves case. In case of Bowden vs. King, Canby set aside the judgment of the Court. The jurisdiction of the Provost Court ceased when the military government was withdrawn.

Courts of oyer and terminer were also erected to facilitate justice. During and immediately after the war disorder prevailed. Crimes were frequently committed, the procedure of the courts was slow, and the docket congested. Hence, special courts of oyer and terminer were erected to relieve the congestion. In 1862 the legislature authorized the Governor to issue commissions to superior court judges to hold courts of oyer and terminer. Another law of 1863 provided for the erection of courts upon the petition of the county court, the application of the Attorney General, or of the solicitor of any judicial district. In pursuance of these facts a special court was established for New Hanover County in the early part of 1865. Its existence ended with the termination of the Provisional Government in January, 1866. Later, in July, 1866, a

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, February 18, 1868.

⁵² *Ibid.*, May 10, 1868.

special court for New Hanover was erected, which continued in operation until the rise of the new judicial system provided for by the constitution of 1868. By the original acts the jurisdiction of the special court was confined to petty crimes, misdemeanors, and white people only were subject to it. However under an amendment made during the war, both races might be tried in the special court. The jurisdiction under the act of 1866 was practically the same as under the war legislation.

A criminal court with a wider jurisdiction than that of the Provost Court and Oyer and Terminer Courts was needed. In the early part of 1867, agitation for a criminal court began and on February 12, of that year an Act passed the Legislature to establish a Criminal Court for New Hanover County.⁵³ The judge was elected by the legislature and was commissioned by the Governor. Hon. O. P. Meares was first to fill the position. He served until August, 1868, and then, being barred from office by the Howard Amendment, he was succeeded by Colonel Edward Cantwell. Colonel Cantwell was prominent as the author of *Cantwell's Justice*, and also as a Confederate soldier. However, he had received a presidential pardon and so could undertake the duties of the office. From this time on he was identified with the Republican party. Justice as administered in his court was impartial. The first instance of a negro serving as a jury-man occurred in this court in April, 1868. In August, 1868, the greater portion of the work done by the criminal court was taken over by the Special Court of Wilmington, created by act of the legislature. The jurisdiction over most of the offences committed in the city limits was transferred to the special court. The new court also exercised jurisdiction in those cases arising in the city which formerly would have been tried by the court of pleas and quarter sessions. Its jurisdiction was thus confined to petty crimes and misdemeanors committed within the corporate limits of the city.⁵⁴ The judge was required to be a resident of the City and to have a state law license. He was appointed by the Governor for a term of eight years with an annual salary of \$2,000. The Court met four times a year. Its procedure was like that of the Superior Court to which appeals could be

⁵³ Laws, 1867, ch. 28; *Morning Star*, February 14, 1867.

⁵⁴ Laws of North Carolina, 1868 (Act of August 8th).

made. There arose four chief objections to the Special Court: (1) the expense—two grand juries, and two petit juries were by its establishment made necessary; (2) jury service was inconvenient and many citizens avoided it when possible; (3) there was difficulty in determining whether crimes were committed in the City, and hence if it were a matter for the Court to dispose of; (4) the bill taxed the City people to support the Court.⁵⁵ However the Court was established, and Cantwell was again made Judge.

It is unnecessary to take up in detail the Superior Courts. Their jurisdiction was much the same as today except in so far as certain cases were attended to by the various other courts. Judge Buxton at first presided but later was succeeded by D. L. Russel, a native radical, who afterwards became one of the three Republican Governors North Carolina has had. There was also a Master in Equity. His duties, as denoted by his title, were confined to equity cases. The office was abolished along with the County Court.⁵⁶ The Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions did not play an important part. Its jurisdiction at first included matters of a probate nature, such as wills, inheritances, administrations of estates, assessing of damage on property, and hearing of motions. Until the establishment of the Criminal Court it exercised criminal jurisdiction. Finally there were Military Courts and a Special Magistrate's Court. The former dealt with matters under the control of the military authorities. The latter confined itself almost exclusively to ejectment cases.

Reference has already been made to the fact that military interference often obstructed the work of the Judiciary. Below are a few instances illustrating this. On October 15, 1867, jury lists were ordered to be prepared under military directions.⁵⁷ By a special order of General Canby (order No. 176), registration books were to be submitted by the commanding officer to the sheriff, who was to enter the names on the jury list and then return the same to the officer.⁵⁸ In August, 1867, Judge Meares of the Criminal Court was told that all juries not drawn in accord with the orders would be suspended.

⁵⁵ *Morning Star and Wilmington Journal*, August 27, 1868.

⁵⁶ *Wilmington Journal*, July 21, 1868.

⁵⁷ *Morning Star*, October 10, 1867.

⁵⁸ *Wilmington Journal*, October 12, 1867.

Jury lists in the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions were ordered revised so as to include negroes. Verdicts rendered were often set aside. In the Criminal Court, S. J. Boney was convicted of stealing a horse and sentenced to death, an act of the Legislature of 1867 making this offense punishable by death.⁵⁹ General Sickles set aside the verdict.⁶⁰ On another occasion a negro was convicted of manslaughter and sentenced to be branded, but Sickles again interposed. The Chairman of the County Court was notified that "Whipping or maiming the person" as a punishment was prohibited by the Department. Interference in these cases was probably justified because of the severity of the punishment, but, in the April Term, 1867, of the Criminal Court, Sickles set aside all verdicts rendered, which was certainly extreme and uncalled for.⁶¹

CITY AFFAIRS

A paper on reconstruction in New Hanover County would not be complete without a discussion of government affairs in Wilmington. At one time General Canby removed the municipal officers and placed in their stead a commission composed of radicals, and Wilmington for a while had arbitrary rule under a commission form of government. Even after the War, Wilmington was not yet recognized as a city. It was referred to as "The Town of Wilmington."

At the time of the fall of Fort Fisher in 1865, John Dawson, a prominent banker and business man, was Mayor. The Board of Aldermen was composed of H. Von Glahn, J. G. Burr, W. H. Lippitt, W. A. Wright, S. D. Wallace, Eli Murray, Alex Adrian, and W. S. Anderson.⁶² Upon the institution of the Provisional Government, so far as is known, these same officers exercised municipal functions in so far as these were not taken over by the military authorities. These officers served subordinate to the military and were really a "Provisional Commission." The Provisional Government expired January 1, 1866, and, in order that the town should not be without officers, a bill was passed in the Legis-

⁵⁹ Public Laws of North Carolina, 1866, ch. 62.

⁶⁰ *Wilmington Journal*, August 5, 1867.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, May 1, 1867.

⁶² *Ibid.*, April 2, 1865.

lature to continue the Provisional Committee until city officers were elected.⁶³

About this time a movement to secure a city charter for Wilmington began.⁶⁴ Civic pride was behind the movement. The "City of Newbern," the "City of Raleigh," and others were smaller than the "Town of Wilmington," and yet they seemed to have a prestige by virtue of their municipal titles. In February, 1866, a bill was introduced in the Legislature to charter Wilmington as a City. Its population at this time was about 18,000. Mr. E. D. Hall, Senator from New Hanover, was active and secured its passage in both Houses of the Legislature on February 1, 1865.⁶⁵ At first, opposition arose as it was thought the charter would increase the taxes, but it was pointed out that no new office would be created and hence this argument was untenable. The charter provided for the creation of four wards, two Aldermen to be chosen from each. The Mayor was to receive a salary of \$2,000. The Mayor and Board were to be elected, and these were to appoint the other officers. The Chief Marshal and Assistant were to be appointed. The offices of Town Collector and Chief of the Fire and Police Departments were merged into that of Marshal. The Sheriff of the County was to hold an election ten days after he received a certified copy of the bill. A property qualification was placed on the Mayor and Aldermen. The Charter was submitted to the people March 9, 1866, and passed with a vote of 358 to 240. At the time of the submission of the Charter to the people, municipal officers were voted on. Dawson headed one list and A. H. Van Bokelen the other. The latter ticket triumphed by a vote of 352 to 240. Aldermen elected were S. D. Wallace, R. J. Jones, J. G. Burr, J. H. Ryan, O. G. Parsley, W. H. Lippitt, W. A. Wright, and A. E. Hall. General Robert Ransom was chosen City Marshal and T. W. Anderson City Clerk.⁶⁶ Van Bokelen continued in authority until December 18, 1866, when Dawson was again elected Mayor with practically the same Board. The new regime held power until July, 1868. The condition of the

⁶³ *Ibid.*, January 24, 1866; also Laws of North Carolina, 1866, ch. 21.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, January 26, 1866.

⁶⁵ Private Laws, 1866, ch. 2.

⁶⁶ *Wilmington Journal*, March 10, 1866.

City was very discouraging. Crime and disorder prevailed, and maintenance of order was the chief problem. The task was severe. In August, 1867, a highway robbery organization was discovered, in which several policemen were implicated. Those in authority, however, were exonerated. This incident illustrates the difficulty of enforcing order.

The City was heavily in debt and the treasury very much depleted. No definite figures are obtainable.⁶⁷ The "Town of Wilmington bonds" had been taken up by a new issue upon the incorporation of the City. These bonds were to be paid in stated installments. July 1, 1868, the coupons of the new issue fell due and were taken up to the extent of \$6,000. The valuation of City property in January, 1867, was \$3,291,635. In May, 1868, the Board of Aldermen levied taxes at a rate which was one-quarter per cent higher than that of 1860. As to the final disposition of the City debt no information could be obtained.⁶⁸

Another City election occurred in July, 1868. Prior to this, on December 19, 1867, General Canby had been petitioned to remove the city officers.⁶⁹ The only objection to them was that they refused to place negroes in office, which demand was made in the latter part of 1867. By order of Canby, the municipal offices were closed May 1, 1867, and a new set of officers were appointed as follows: Mayor, J. H. Neff, a radical scalawag, William Teller, negro, James Wilson, scalawag, E. R. Brink, carpetbagger, G. H. Jackson, negro, L. G. Estes, carpetbagger, Silas Martin, scalawag, G. R. French, scalawag, G. W. Price, negro.⁷⁰ For some reason, the papers did not say much about the occurrence. This commission ruled, or rather misruled, Wilmington for only about one and one-half months. An election took place July 15, 1868. In this election there were two distinct elements. A thorough organization of the radicals, composed of negroes, scalawags, and carpet baggers, had been developing for some time. The radical ticket had been drawn up six months before the election. This was

⁶⁷ Letter from Silas U. Martin, mayor in 1871, to Hon. Joe E. Stevenson, states the debt in 1868 was \$525,000.—*Wilmington Journal*, May 10, 1871.

⁶⁸ The writer could not gain access to authoritative sources on the city's financial condition.

⁶⁹ *Wilmington Journal*, December 20, 1867.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, May 31, 1868.

called by the opposing party the "Guy Fawkes Junto" ticket, and proposed the following for office, Mayor, J. H. Neff; Aldermen, J. C. Klein, E. M. Shoemaker, J. H. Chadbourne, and G. Z. French.⁷¹ There were no negroes among them but all were carpetbaggers and scalawags. Opposing this line-up was the Citizens ticket headed by W. W. Harris. The latter triumphed in spite of the radical's boasted strength and in spite of a black registration of 2,052 as against 1,142 whites. The reason for the defeat of the radical ticket was that the negroes were learning that their interests were with those of the Southern people, and they refused to be bossed by carpetbaggers and scalawags, or rather that is the reason assigned by the newspaper of the period. Neff received only three white and twenty-three colored votes. But the officers elected were not permitted to serve, for Governor Holden came to the rescue of his radical friends, and on July 28, 1868, presumably under the power of "An Act in Relation to Municipal Affairs," he appointed as Mayor, Neff, and as Commissioners, Henry Kuhl, scalawag, William Kellog, negro, James Wilson, scalawag, E. R. Brink, carpetbagger, G. Z. French, scalawag, G. W. Price, negro, D. Rumley, carpetbagger, and Lawson B. Rice, carpetbagger.⁷² Their appointment was illegal for the Act read "In the absence of any contrary provision," etc. However, the city officers surrendered because they thought resistance would be prejudicial to the City. So on July 30, the City affairs were turned over to Neff and his associates. The new Board at once reorganized a police force, replacing whites with negroes, and proceeded to fill other offices with scalawags, carpetbaggers and negroes. Disorder was the ordinary condition. Neff, of course, was incompetent, and this condition prevailed until the re-establishment of the state government.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC

The outlook for the development of New Hanover County in 1865 was very discouraging. In general, four factors were responsible: the havoc played by the epidemic of yellow fever during the war, the number of the heads of families who were killed in the war, ravages of war, and industrial paralysis.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, July 15, 1868.

⁷² *Ibid.*, July 28, 1868.

The county had been pretty well stripped by the soldiers, even the church bells in the city of Wilmington were taken by the Yankees.⁷³ War always leaves devastation in its wake. Roving negroes committed depredations, and, first and last, destroyed much property. There were practically no industries; farms were abandoned, and great stretches of land remained uncultivated. Of a total area of farm lands of 448,549 acres, 395,624 were uncultivated in 1865, and the lumber, cotton, and naval stores business was for a time practically shattered. Even those industries and farms in operation were seriously hampered by a lack of labor. Over 10,000 slaves were set free by the outcome of the War. The negroes' idea of freedom was freedom from work. They congregated in the City of Wilmington and there became a source of much trouble. The population of New Hanover County in 1870 was 27,978, and the City of Wilmington contained nearly half of this.

There was much disturbance in Wilmington, but the first riot in the County took place at Topsail Sound on November 27, 1865.⁷⁴ Three negroes and two whites were killed and others wounded. The trouble started when a negro mob undertook to rescue from the officers one of their number who had committed theft. This incident showed the necessity for organization among the whites, and in December following a militia company for local defense was organized under the leadership of Captain Robert Radcliff, an ex-Confederate soldier. The negro majority in New Hanover County at this time was about 10,000, and the task of controlling it proved baffling. Reports of crime in all parts of the County were frequent. Wilmington was the center of disturbance. From 1865-68 there were no less than ten riots of serious proportions. Crime was of daily occurrence. For instance, in the month of May, 1868, there were committed seventy offences, fifty-six of which were larceny and the remainder of a more aggravated nature, ranging from arson to criminal assault. Of the offenders seventeen were white and sixty-three negroes.⁷⁵ The record of this month is by no means extreme but is merely typical of conditions. As early as 1866 a work house

⁷³ *Ibid.*, May 15, 1865.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, November 29, 1865.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, June 1, 1868.

was provided for the purpose of handling criminals. In 1867 an organization known as Regulators who made depredations on property and stole cattle and horses was unearthed. The charge was made that the radical County officers were implicated but this was not sustained.

This condition of strife necessarily caused much suffering in addition to that due to the ravages of war, the devastation of disease, and industrial paralysis. In the years 1866, 1867, 1868, the crop production was only one-fourth of the normal yield. Provisions were scarce and prices high. Wood was from \$8.00 to \$10.00 per cord. Pork sold for twelve cents per pound on foot. Rent in Wilmington for a modest dwelling was \$500.00 per annum. These are merely illustrations. Household groceries were sufficiently high as to surpass the level of the present high price era. Sanitary conditions were very bad. There was a smallpox epidemic among the negroes in February, 1866, and in that month 452 cases in the City limits were reported.⁷⁶ The Medical Society made an heroic effort and rendered good service. In 1868 Canby ordered that negroes discharged for voting contrary to the wishes of their employers were to be supported at the public expense. This put a premium on idleness and swelled the number of the unemployed. The order also provided for additional poor taxes, thus showing one method of relieving distress. From 1865 to 1868 over \$9,000 of the tax payers' money was spent for this purpose.⁷⁷ The Freedmen's Bureau rendered practically no service, and constant interference on the part of its officers served only to obstruct the work of other authorities. In 1868, Thaddeus Stevens presented a resolution in Congress, with a memorial from the City attached, instructing the Appropriation Committee to bring in a bill directing the Freedmen's Bureau to advance \$75,000 to the City of Wilmington on the bonds of that City for the purpose of relieving distress. The loan was authorized, but I have not found if it was ever negotiated. Another agency in this work was the Ladies Benevolent Society. Just the amount of its activity cannot be determined. The City authorities co-operated with this organization. In July, 1868, the Board of Aldermen ordered

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, March 1, 1866.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, January 2, 1868.

that an amount not over \$100.00 per month be paid to the president of the Society, Mrs. Kennedy, to be used for charitable purposes.⁷⁸ A Court of Wardens for the Poor was established, and, in 1867 it was ordered that fines and license fees be applied for the relief of the poor. It is impossible to approximate the amount of work accomplished by these various methods.

In connection with the economic phase of reconstruction in New Hanover, a word or two must be said relative to the Bankrupt Law which went into effect March 2, 1867, and the extent to which its provisions were taken advantage of. The law provided that any one owning at least three hundred acres of land could get the benefit of the law. A deposit of fifty dollars must be made with the Register of Bankruptcy to cover the cost of application, and additional fees raised the expense to nearly \$100.00. A separate statement of both assets and liabilities had to be made and sworn to preliminary to the applicant's being declared bankrupt. His creditors then met and appointed an assignee to dispose of the estate. The law provided the bankrupt could be allowed an exemption of \$400.00 in property, clothing, and other effects allowed by the state law at first.⁷⁹ Mr. A. W. Rieger was Register in Bankruptcy for New Hanover and Brunswick Counties⁸⁰ Mr. W. A. Guthrie was appointed to the position for the judicial district, of which New Hanover was a part, in 1868. He came to Wilmington in 1868 and in January of that year as many as fifty persons were declared bankrupt.⁸¹ By June of the same year fifteen additional applications were granted making a total of sixty-five for the county. There was some justification for people going into bankruptcy. They had contracted debts on a basis which counted slaves as property. Now this valuable asset was destroyed. Furthermore, real estate had very considerably depreciated, and this prevented debtors from being able to meet their obligations.

Another problem of note was that of labor. Industrial paralysis was in part due to an overturning of old labor conditions. Necessarily improved conditions could only be obtained through

⁷⁸ *Morning Star*, July 12, 1868; *Evening Dispatch*, July 13, 1868.

⁷⁹ *Wilmington Journal*, January 26, 1866.

⁸⁰ Conversation with Major W. A. Guthrie.

⁸¹ *Wilmington Journal*, January 23, 1868.

a readjustment of labor. Regarding house-servants much need not be said. In addition to the work of the Freedmen's Bureau, carried on on a small scale in New Hanover County, a sort of house-wives' league was organized to solve the problem. Practically all accomplished was to require certificates as to the fitness and character of the applicant attested to by previous employers.

Negroes left the farms; quite a number emigrated from New Hanover to the cotton states. In order to obtain a labor supply efforts were made to induce immigration. In January, 1867, a County Agricultural Society was formed whose purpose was to solve the labor question.⁸² Dugald McMillan was chairman, and he, together with S. S. Satchwell and B. R. Mason composed the Executive Committee. Subsidiary district societies were organized also. In July, 1867, the minutes of the meeting of the Spring Garden Agricultural Club showed a definite step toward encouraging immigration.⁸³ In August, 1867, the minutes of the Topsail Agricultural Society showed that there were thirty-two coolie laborers in New Hanover County.⁸⁴ The Southern Immigration Society, a national organization, had an agency in Wilmington during 1867, and 1868. For 1868, Mr. Bontfort, an agent of the Company, fixed the wages of immigrants at \$8.00 to \$10.00 per month for the first six months, and \$10.00 to \$12.00 thereafter. He also suggested that an Immigrant Aid Society be established. In January, 1868, a County Immigration Society was organized, and a committee was appointed to report on labor conditions with recommendations as to steps to be taken.⁸⁵ In June, Mr. Van Sickle of New Jersey came to New Hanover in the interest of immigration. At the meeting of the Society in the same month, a plan embracing four methods of inducing immigration was suggested: (1) the County should obtain about ten thousand acres of reasonably compact land; (2) this should be let out at low and attractive prices, making use of credit methods; (3) means of communication with prospective settlers must be devised; (4) quick means of transportation

⁸² *Ibid.*, January 1, 1867.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, July 27, 1867.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, August 1, 1867.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, January 21, 1868.

should be provided.⁸⁶ The work actually accomplished is uncertain, but the scheme was partly successful. Private concerns also attempted to encourage immigration. As early as 1865, F. W. Foster and Company opened an office in Wilmington for the purpose of inducing immigration. In January, 1866, this Company caused to be brought to New Hanover thirty-seven German laborers.⁸⁷

In order to get labor, farmers adopted the plan of having negro criminals bound out to them, and they would pay the cost of the cases. Nothing much was said of this practice for it would have been regarded in the North as a species of slavery.⁸⁸ The result of importation of labor, the utilization of negroes through the process above referred to, and the work of the New Hanover Agriculture Society in teaching methods of farming assisted greatly in bettering conditions. In 1868 the General Assembly passed an act incorporating the Cape Fear Agricultural Society. Its work was not confined to the county, but the Society had for its object the betterment of Agriculture throughout the Cape Fear section.⁸⁹

The farms of New Hanover County averaged about eighty acres,⁹⁰ less than in 1860. The transformation from the plantation system to the small farms, which was one of the results of the war, was taking place, and this accounts for the increasing small size of the farms as compared with those before the war. The principal products were cotton, crude turpentine, spirits, tar, lumber, hogs and a few cattle. Below are inspectors reports for 1866-1867 and 1867-1868. In 1866-1867: cotton 12,454 bales; crude turpentine, 91,588 barrels; spirits, 44,990 barrels; and tar, 25,644 barrels. In 1867-1868: cotton 12,094 bales; turpentine, 125,654 barrels; spirits, 75,473 barrels; tar, 25,988 barrels.⁹¹ It will be noted that there was an increase in production of all staples except cotton, and in spite of better labor facilities the production of that article fell off about 500 bales. This was due to the cotton tax of two and one-half cents levied

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, January 21, 1868.

⁸⁷ *Evening Dispatch*, January 16, 1866.

⁸⁸ Conversation with Major Guthrie.

⁸⁹ *Laws*, 1868-9, ch. 199.

⁹⁰ That is, if the number of acres in improved farm land be taken as the basis.

⁹¹ *Wilmington Journal*, March 10, 1868.

by the National Government. This amounted to a tax from twenty to thirty per cent and had to be paid upon the marketing of the crop. The effect of this tax was to cause the farmer to abandon to a certain extent cotton culture. Its baneful effect was soon seen, and after continued efforts on the part of the business men all over the country it was repealed in 1868. As early as December, 1866, the legislature of North Carolina passed a resolution authorizing the Attorney General to test the legality of the tax.

Trade conditions of Wilmington were not in the best condition. In the latter part of 1866, the Wilmington Chamber of Commerce was incorporated for the purpose of bettering conditions.⁹² Commerce was carried on by a line of steamers between New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, and Wilmington. But much of the Carolina business as in the days of old went to Norfolk and Charleston. Railroad fares out of and into Wilmington were excessive. An effort was made to have them reduced as it was claimed that better rates would enable business men to reach out for trade. The railroads finally acceded to the request, and an appreciable change for the better gradually became evident. Freight rates were also reduced, and shipments of cotton began to be made from South Carolina and Georgia.⁹³ Before the War there had been a little direct trade with Europe. An effort was made to revive and enlarge this. As early as February, 1866, business houses began receiving shipments from Europe. But this was hampered by strict quarantine regulations, and did not amount to much until a much later date. However, in this period, the foundation was laid for the present valuable trade, and here many of the present business houses of Wilmington had their beginning.

The scarcity of money was one of the prime causes for unwholesome trade relations. The condition of Wilmington banks was not conducive to confidence and hence banking facilities were bad. They finally closed their affairs in accordance with an act, by which they were allowed to file bills in Courts of Equity for the benefit of depositors.⁹⁴ Individual

⁹² Private Laws, 1866-67, ch. 73.

⁹³ *Wilmington Journal*, June 12, 1868.

⁹⁴ Private Laws of North Carolina, 1866, ch. 3.

brokers sold exchange on New York, Boston, and other cities. Brokers also bought notes on those cities. But these meager banking facilities were insufficient. There were alternate periods of depression, and merchants had to wait for shipments from other cities.⁹⁵ Need of a national bank was recognized and an effort was made to have it established but it did not materialize during the period of our study.

POLITICAL AFFAIRS

In discussing the politics of New Hanover County during the time of reconstruction, there appears a greater uniformity with general state affairs than is the case in the social and economic phases. County politics was hardly more or less than a reflection of state issues.

The first act of the national administration upon the fall of the Confederacy was to institute some sort of government for the recalcitrant states. The scheme known as Presidential Reconstruction was begun on May 29, 1865 when President Johnson issued his amnesty proclamations pardoning certain classes who had espoused the Confederate cause and appointing W. W. Holden as Provisional Governor of North Carolina. Holden was authorized to call a convention which should provide a republican form of government for the state and re-establish relations with the Federal Government. A proclamation by Governor Holden on June 12, 1865, stated his policy and called upon the loyal people to aid him in establishing a government. He at once went to work appointing justices of the peace who administered the amnesty oath and provided for elections.

The political subdivisions of New Hanover were the precincts. Of these there were fourteen, of which the Wilmington precinct was the most important since it contained the most important town of the County. Wilmington was also the County Seat. The lack of sources prevents a thorough consideration of the politics of the several precincts, but in general the main tendencies can be traced.

All told there were fifty-five magistrates appointed for New Hanover by Provisional Governor Holden. A deal of

⁹⁵ *Wilmington Journal*, January 1, 1866.

trouble arose here, as elsewhere, in reference to the removal of disabilities. However, the preliminaries for calling a convention having been complied with, Governor Holden on August 8, 1865, issued a proclamation ordering the election of delegates for a convention to meet October 2, 1865. No issues of great importance were brought to the front in the campaign. The election in New Hanover was quiet and orderly. In fact, the period from the cessation of hostilities till the latter part of 1867 was very quiet politically and not until that time did party lines become so marked as to cause much strife.

The convention met in Raleigh, October 2, 1865. The New Hanover delegates to the convention were O. G. Parsley, S. S. Satchwell, and William Freeman.⁹⁶ Among the measures taken up was the abrogation of the ordinance of secession, an ordinance repudiating slavery and the institution of state and local government. It was provided that these ordinances be submitted to the electors, and state and local officers were to be elected at the same time. The New Hanover delegates were in favor of the ordinances, for the result of the war practically assured their adoption.

The election provided for took place on November 9, 1865. The candidates for Governor were W. W. Holden and Jonathan Worth. Issues in this election, both as regards state and county affairs, were obscured by the personality of the candidates. Worth was elected Governor by a majority of 5,937 out of a total of 60,000. In New Hanover County he received 693 votes, while Holden polled only 76.⁹⁷ The vote on the ordinances was much smaller. In New Hanover the ordinance prohibiting slavery was carried by a vote of 118 to 96; that repealing the ordinance of secession carried by a vote of 142 to 66.⁹⁸ Despite Worth's majority, President Johnson requested Holden to continue to act as Governor, for he regarded the election as being a victory for the anti-union element of the state. But in December, 1865, he was notified to turn over the affairs of the state to Governor Worth when he should have become qualified.

Lack of continuity in the newspaper files prevents an ac-

⁹⁶ *Wilmington Journal*, November 29, 1865.

⁹⁷ *Daily Dispatch*, November 10, 1865.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, November 10, 1865.

curate account of county affairs prior to 1867. However, some information, detached though it may be, can be had. In the election of November 9, 1865 E. D. Hall was elected Senator from New Hanover, and R. H. Cowan and J. R. Hawes were chosen Representatives. County officers elected were Samuel Bunting, Sheriff; R. B. Wood, Clerk of the County Court; and H. A. Bagg, Clerk of the Superior Court.⁹⁹ An effort to find out the official registration, vote, and majority in this election proved unsuccessful. According to the newspapers these latter officers were regarded as *de facto* officers, and hence their acts were without legality, but the Legislature which met November 27, 1865, validated their official acts and formally approved the revival of county government. The officers mentioned remained in office till August 2, 1868.

The convention met again in May, confronted with the task of forming a state constitution, which would be acceptable to the national administration. By this time opposition to its taking action had developed, but the work was undertaken, and finally a constitution drafted. Without going into a discussion of its provisions, it will suffice to say that it was submitted to the people August 2, 1866, and was rejected by a majority of 1,982 out of a total of 41,122. In New Hanover County the constitution was rejected by a vote of 585 to 70.¹⁰⁰

The next political movement, the effect of which is noticeable on county political affairs, was the meeting of the Loyal Union Convention at Raleigh on September 20, 1866. This convention favored the Fourteenth Amendment, criticized Governor Worth, and after declaring that only loyal union men should hold office, nominated Alfred Dockery to oppose Worth. Here a radical organization, which was the beginning of the Republican Party in North Carolina, began, and from this time on glimmerings of a radical organization in New Hanover are noticeable. No appreciable interest was attached to the campaign which followed, and Worth was re-elected by a majority of 23,496. New Hanover County polled 498 votes for Worth and returned only two for Dockery.¹⁰¹

From this time on party lines came to be more and more

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, November 11, 1865.

¹⁰⁰ Worth, MSS. Letter-book, p. 188.

¹⁰¹ *Daily Dispatch*, November 15, 1866.

sharply drawn. The radical organization in North Carolina, composed of carpet baggers, scalawags, and negroes, became very active. The year 1867 opened up with a campaign in which the issues were based on the alleged alarming condition in the state. Gradually a conservative organization grew up in response to the attacks of radicalism and the state came to be regarded as being divided into radical and conservative sections, the east being regarded as the rebel section, while the west was looked upon as the stronghold of unionism.

As North Carolina had rejected the Fourteenth Amendment in the latter part of 1866, it had not yet been recognized as a state in the Union by Congress. The policy of presidential reconstruction was in this respect a failure—in that it did not establish normal relations with the Federal Government. Thus on March 2, 1867, an act "to provide a more efficient government for the rebel states" was passed and the reconstruction acts placing North Carolina under military authority were applied.¹⁰² General Sickles was assigned to the North Carolina command, and he immediately declared the State government provisional. The general trend of his policy in so far as New Hanover was affected has been previously noted. On August 26, 1867 General E. R. S. Canby succeeded him and in general he continued the policy of his predecessor. Among other things he provided rules of registration and ordered an election to be held November 19 and 20, 1867, at which the calling of a convention to organize the state government was to be voted upon. There was a good deal of discussion as to the removing of disabilities, qualifications of electors, etc., but finally the registration was completed. The returns showed that New Hanover was one of the nineteen counties that had a negro majority. Mention has been made of the beginning of a radical organization in the state. This organization now received a noticeable impetus, and on March 27, a convention under the domination of the Holden men met at Raleigh, with the ostensible purpose of deciding upon measures to restore the state to the Union, but in reality to effect a more perfect organization.¹⁰³ New Hanover County was

¹⁰² Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, p. 197.

¹⁰³ Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*.

represented by General Joseph C. Abbott, carpet bagger, S. S. Ashley, carpet bagger, and A. H. Galloway, negro.¹⁰⁴ From this time on the radicals' cause in New Hanover went forward. Among their leaders were General Abbott, a northern man who had come to Bladen County and thence removed to Wilmington, S. S. Ashley, a white man from Cape Cod who at one time was State Superintendent of Public Instruction, A. H. Galloway, a native of Wilmington, and D. L. Russell of Brunswick, who in 1896 became Governor of North Carolina.

This radical organization called forth activity among the conservatives of the state. Conservative organization began the latter part of 1867 and measures were at once taken in New Hanover County to further its interests. The growth of the County organization dates from December 12, 1867, when the County Executive Committee called a conservative meeting.¹⁰⁵ Three days later the conservative party was formally launched. An Executive Committee, composed of J. A. Engelhard, J. R. Hawes, S. S. Satchwell, J. J. Hedrick, James Reiley, Sol Bear, and Thomas H. McKoy, was chosen. At the same time O. G. Parsley, S. S. Satchwell, and William Freeman were appointed to represent New Hanover¹⁰⁶ in the State Conservative Meeting to be held in the near future. There also sprang up Democratic clubs in all parts of the County and in Wilmington there was a colored Democratic Club. Among the Conservative leaders were A. M. Waddell, lawyer, writer, and patriot, and George Davis, a native of Wilmington who had been Attorney General for the Confederate States.

The election to be held November 19 and 20, 1867 was for the purpose of calling a convention to frame a constitution. In New Hanover the result was in favor of the radicals, and J. C. Abbott, S. S. Ashley, and A. H. Galloway were chosen as representatives. Neither of these had ever paid a single cent of taxes in New Hanover County. In this election the colored people cast their first vote. The total vote of New Hanover was 4,009, with 2,928 for the convention and 1,847 against it.¹⁰⁷

It is not within the scope of this paper to discuss the work

¹⁰⁴ *Wilmington Journal*, March 26, 1867.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, December 12, 1867.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, December 15, 1867.

¹⁰⁷ *Wilmington Journal*, November 22, 1867.

of the convention of 1868. It formed a constitution and took measures to restore the state to civil government by providing for the election of State and County officers. The constitution was adopted by the Convention and submitted to the people. In respect to County affairs it placed the government in the hands of five commissioners to be elected by the people. A Register of Deeds and Treasurer from each county were provided for. Each county was to be divided into townships which were to elect two justices bi-ennially.¹⁰⁸

In 1868 the Conservative candidate for governor was Thomas S. Ashe, while W. W. Holden was the Republican nominee. On April 21, 22, 23, the election was held, in which the constitution was accepted by a vote of 93,086 as against that of 74,016; and Holden was elected Governor by a vote of 92,235 as against 73,594 in favor of Ashe. The New Hanover vote was 3,511 in favor of the constitution and 2,235 against it and 3,568 for Holden to 2,231 for Ashe.¹⁰⁹

In July, 1868, an election for county officers was held in New Hanover County. Practically the same officers were retained under the new constitution, and the radical element was in charge of the county affairs. The County Commissioners were: E. M. Shoemaker, Rufus Garriss, Stephen Keys, Elijah Hewlett, and James Wilson. As Sheriff J. W. Schenck, Jr., was chosen, and he replaced Samuel R. Bunting. B. S. Waldron was elected Register of Deeds and R. B. Wood remained Clerk of the County Court. As regards the office of Sheriff, there was a dispute. Bunting claimed Schenck's election was obtained by fraud and refused for a time to yield. Schenck appealed to the Governor, and finally Bunting gave up the contest. The radical element was now dominant in New Hanover. The county gave almost continuously Republican majorities until 1900.

SOURCES

- The Wilmington Journal*, 1862-1872.
The Evening Dispatch, 1867-1872.
The Morning Star, 1866-1870.

¹⁰⁸ Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, p. 251.

¹⁰⁹ *Daily Dispatch*, April 24, 1868.

The Carolina Farmer, 1868-1870.

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HISTORICAL PAPERS

Published by the Trinity
College Historical Society



SERIES XII

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA
1916

THE SEEMAN PRINTERY
DURHAM, N. C.
1916

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PREFATORY NOTE

The authors of two papers here published, Mr. Turner and Mr. Harrell, are students in Trinity College. For valuable criticisms of their work acknowledgment is due Mr. R. D. W. Connor and Mr. Marshall Haywood, of Raleigh. The sketch map on p. 56 was kindly furnished by Mr. W. F. Eason, Surveyor of Gates County.

WM. K. BOYD,
For Committee on Publication.

Nov. 22, 1916.

HISTORICAL PAPERS

SERIES XII

SLAVERY IN EDGECOMBE COUNTY *

BY JAMES K. TURNER

ORIGIN AND NUMBERS

Slavery existed in Edgecombe County from its earliest days. Before the grant of the Carolina charter to the Lords Proprietors, settlers came from Virginia into the Albemarle section, and it is reasonable to believe that the first African slaves were brought in by them at their migration. African slaves, however, were not the only type of slavery in Edgecombe. There were Indian slaves, who had become so on account of crime, or of sale by some of their own race as captives taken in war. The colonial records tell that captive Indians were carried up Tar River and worked in the turpentine industry.¹

There was yet a third class of bondsmen, the unfortunate class of whites who had been indentured in England, and sent by their masters to the colony. Many such servants were also apprenticed by the courts of the province or had been kidnapped in England, brought over and sold, or according to an act of Parliament, had been transported to the colony and sold for crime, for a term of years, to the highest bidder. It is practically impossible to ascertain the exact date when this sort of servitude came to Edgecombe, but there are several examples of its existence. When the Reverend George Whitfield made his tour of eastern North Carolina in 1765, visiting Edgecombe County, he had with him a white servant. The Colonial Records inform us that St. Mary's Parish, Edgecombe, had several of these servants to support, because of infirmities and old age. The law regarding indentured servants provided for release of such servants having a good behavior

* Edgecombe is one of the large counties of eastern North Carolina. It was chartered in 1741. This study of Slavery in Edgecombe was awarded the Southern History Prize in June, 1916.—Wm. K. Boyd.

and fruitful service. It is obvious that there must have been instances in which masters gave the freedom to their servants before their time expired, although we are unable, through lack of preserved records, to recite any cases. From the evidence of the reports of St. Mary's Parish we conclude that in times past such a system of servitude was extensive.

The system of negro slavery had practically the same origin as the indentured system, that is, the slaves were brought into the colony by the masters from Virginia and elsewhere. A farmer settling in Edgecombe County usually brought one or two slaves with him, or he would buy about that number as soon as he was able. Either from natural increase or from importation from Virginia—the latter being the more probable, because it is known as early as 1665 that slaves were brought to the Albemarle region from Virginia—there was from the first a steady growth in the number of slaves.

To settle a new plantation without negroes was considered a hopeless task² and, although we have rare information on this point, it suggests that the importation was considerable. We do not know how many came or under what circumstances they lived in the early periods, but when the later movements of immigration came from Virginia about the middle of the eighteenth century or perhaps a little earlier, and filled up the counties of Edgecombe, Halifax, and Northampton, it was inevitable that this immigration ceased.³

By order of Governor Burrington and council the new settlers had the right to receive fifty acres of land for each slave he brought with him.⁴ This privilege is embodied in the instructions to Governor Burrington in 1730,⁵ in those to Governor Dobbs in 1734, and in those to Governor Tryon in 1735. Governor Johnston said in 1735 that he knew of no such instruction. The leaders of the colonists declared that such had been the custom. It was finally decided to drop the custom, but how long this was enforced does not appear.⁶ Several persons proved their rights to land on this account, consequently the number of slaves that first came by act of importation was considerable.⁷

The county in its earliest history increased in population very slowly, and consequently it is impossible to estimate the

number in the first twenty-five years of the existence of slavery.⁸ In 1730 when Governor Burrington was asked to report on the conditions of the Royal African Company in North Carolina, he replied that up to that year the trade had been small. This proves that foreign importation did not flourish, and the planters were suffering because the natural increase was not sufficient. Governor Burrington added that under the existing condition, the colonists had been "under the necessity of buying the refuse, refractory and distempered negroes brought from other governments," whereas it would, he did not doubt, be an easy matter to sell a ship load of good negroes in almost any part of the province.

However in Governor Johnston's administration the land policy of the Crown encouraged slavery. That policy was to require the cultivation of six acres of each hundred granted within three years after the patent was issued. Consequently free labor became scarce and high. This opened the way for a more extensive use of slaves.

The conditions of foreign importation may be seen from the fact that in 1754 only nineteen negroes were entered in the custom house at Bath, and that the average number brought into Beaufort for the preceding seven years was sixteen.⁹ It is likely, however, that an additional number were brought in without paying duty, since the custom houses were very loosely kept.

The relaxation of the restrictions in cultivation gave rise for a new immigration, and from 1775 to the Civil War we find a record of a steady flow of negroes into Edgecombe County.¹⁰

In 1709 the Reverend James Adam, a missionary of the church of England, wrote from an adjoining precinct¹¹ that there were in the county 1332 souls of whom 211 were negroes. About one-sixth of the whole population then in 1709 were black. In 1754, forty-five years later, we have the first census. The clerks of the several counties, by instruction, made a return to the governor of all the taxables in their respective counties. The number of blacks reported was 624 and whites 1160.¹² This gave an increase over the year 1709 of 413

slaves and a few whites, the ratio of the increase being two to one in favor of the negroes.

There was some dispute as to the accuracy of this census, since Governor Dobbs pronounced it defective. The people, he said, were holding back their taxables or negroes. The error could not have been great, for when a year later he himself ordered a more correct return of the total number of negro taxables, they were the same as in 1754.

Still another census was made in the same way in 1756, when 1,091 negro taxables and 1764 whites were reported, showing an increase of about 167 negroes and 514 whites over the preceding year. It must have been that the increase of the negroes was from births, since Dobbs in 1761 said that but few people had come in bringing slaves since the French and Indian wars. This sudden change and growth of the white population may be attributed to a heavy immigration of white families who came to settle in the fertile bottoms of Fishing and Swift creeks. Elisha Battle, with several more prominent men, came to Edgecombe between 1740 and 1760 and bought 1,212 acres of land from Mr. Sanders and settled with his family.

Another census made in 1766 gives the number of both white and black taxables as 2,066; there being no distinction between white and black we are without means of ascertaining the exact number of negroes in that year. It is to be noted, however, that there was a considerable decline of population compared with that of previous years.¹³ In 1767 both slaves and whites had decreased in number. There were 1060 slaves and 1,200 white taxables, making a decrease of twenty-nine slaves and over 330 whites. This was due to the fact that in 1757, a year after the census in 1756 was taken, Halifax County was formed as independent county from Edgecombe. This county, as can be seen from the maps, included several slave-holders in the bottoms of Fishing Creek. There must have been a heavy increase of slaves, considering the population Halifax took from Edgecombe when the two counties were divided.

In 1790 we have a notable increase of slaves and a small increase of whites. There were in the county 1260 heads of families. Of these only 481 owned slaves, and only 27 families

owned twenty or more slaves. Four men owned a considerable number: Edward Hall 86, Absalom Benton 40, Lewis Ervin 36, and Josiah Ford 86. Seventy-five families owned less than 20 and over 10, and a hundred families owned less than 10 and over 2. Ninety-nine owned 2, while 79 families owned only one slave. The entire white population is here reported for the first time. There were 3,152 slaves and 6,933 whites, an increase of 2,092 slaves over the year 1767. Since we have no account of the entire white population prior to this census, no definite comparison of the increase can be given, but it will be a safe estimate to say it was of a ratio of three to one. It was during this great increase also that Nash County was formed from Edgecombe in 1777, taking with it a liberal portion of population.

In 1800 there was a decrease of 417 whites from the previous census of 1790, and an increase of 753 slaves. It is to be noted that the year 1800 indicates the general trend that made Edgecombe a slave county, and finally marked her as being one of the great black counties of the South. Never again does the census bring the total population of whites up to the number of blacks. There never were many free negroes in the county. The census of 1800 gives the first returns of free negroes, 106; in 1860, the last census, there were only 389.

By 1830 the white and black population was almost equal, the negroes having a slight majority. In 1840 a sudden leap, as if some mighty forces had shot servitude to the forefront, ran the number of slaves to 15,708, or over twice the number of whites. There is only one solution for this great increase—cotton had a sudden boom when the new invention, the cotton gin, came to be used in the early years of the nineteenth century. It is nothing but right to say that in the early days of the county many earnest men looked upon slavery as an evil that would in time disappear; but with the invention of the cotton gin, Edgecombe as nature so placed her, became a great center for cotton growing. It was then discovered by her people that slavery was a "natural institution," and the only relation that could exist between the whites and the blacks, and together with the entire South, Edgecombe began to force the

political parties to assume a positive and uncompromising defense of these propositions.

In 1850 the tide slightly changed, and number of slaves declined, because men of Edgecombe had begun to go southwest in search of new lands, carrying their slaves with them. It is noticeable that the largest number of sales of slaves in Tarboro were made between 1845 and 1850, which indicates a tendency to purchase negroes for western farming.

The last census before the liberation of the slaves, that of 1860, shows that there were 10,108 negroes in bondage and 389 free negroes, and a population of 6,789 whites. Slaves had increased nearly 2,000 in number and the whites had decreased nearly 1,500 in number since 1840.

These are the official returns, and therefore constitute our only means of knowing with any degree of certainty how many negroes there were in the county. Unsatisfactory as they may be, they nevertheless indicate a tendency which is not wholly uninformative—namely a system which brought Edgecombe ultimately into a slave and, then immediately after the Civil War, a negro regime.

LAW OF SLAVERY

The law concerning slavery in Edgecombe was varied and extensive for new conditions demanded new changes in the law. Law never succeeds unless it corresponds to the particular needs of the age in which it exists; consequently we need not be surprised at the alarming number of peculiarities in the legislation concerning slavery. They had a particular purpose and function then that similar laws today would not have. It may be noted in the beginning, however, that most laws about slaves were passed to protect the master and not the slave.

In addition to the laws of the province there were local regulations made by the County Court of Edgecombe. The earliest of these was in 1741. It declared that "no person whatsoever, being a Christian or of Christian parentage—imported or brought into the precinct shall be deemed a servant for any term of years" unless by indenture or agreement. We have been successful in finding so far only one example of this rule

being taken advantage of by the dependent classes. Forty-odd years after it was made, in 1788, Samuel Williams, who must have been of low English descent, bound himself to George Patterson for 99 years as a servant without permission to leave his master, and to obey all the commands given to him, for food and clothing.¹⁴

According to the same ordinance, if the servants binding themselves thus should become disobedient or unruly, they might be carried before a justice of the peace and sentenced to not more than twenty lashes; if they ran away and were recaptured, they were to serve double the time lost. Moreover, the ordinance also provided that if any person should "presume to whip a Christian naked," without an order from a magistrate, such person should forfeit forty shillings proclamation money to the party injured. Servants by indenture had the privilege to carry complaints to magistrates, who might bind masters and mistresses "to answer the complaint at the next county court." If any master discharged his servant while sick, before the servant's time of service expired, the county court was to levy on the master for enough to enable the church warden of the parish to care for the sick servant until death or recovery. If the servant recovered, he became free.

The law of servants was considerably more lenient than the law of slaves. In 1753 we find an ordinance forbidding any slave to go armed with any weapon of defense or to hunt in any manner unless he should have a certificate from his master. The servants enjoyed this privilege. Later this right was restricted by another ordinance which forbade any justice of the county to give permission to any slave to carry a gun or hunt in any form unless the slave's master or mistress went on a heavy bond laying themselves liable for damages for any persons injured thereby. No slave was allowed to carry a gun on a plantation where a crop was not cultivated, and in case of cultivation, only one slave had the privilege.

In order to see that such restrictions were carried out the justices of the county court divided the county into districts, and yearly at the first court appointed freeholders in each district, duly sworn as searchers. The searchers examined

the slave quarters for weapons four times a year or more as they thought necessary. As an inducement to this office, the searchers were exempted from serving as constables or upon the roads, or in the militia, or as jurors, and did not have to pay any provincial, road, or parish tax.

November 28, 1803, after a threatened uprising of the negroes in eastern North Carolina, the regulations concerning searchers were expanded into the patrol system by the quarterly session of the Court of Pleas at Tarboro. The patrollers were to conform to rules and regulations, one copy of which was to be furnished to each and every district. During the time they were engaged the patrolmen were to be exempted from the same duties as the searchers. But if one should neglect or refuse to act, he had to forfeit and pay the sum of ten pounds.

The rules and regulations to be observed by the patrolmen of the several districts in Edgecombe County were without a doubt very strict. They provided for the patrolmen to go by night and at such times as they thought would answer the object of their appointment, to all the houses inhabited by slaves within their respective districts once every month or oftener if necessary. Any guns or fighting implements found in any of the houses or in the possession of a slave, or in any place of concealment, were to be seized and presented to the county court. Reports were made in writing, specifying the time and the place where the person or persons in whose possession or care they were found. If any circumstances indicated danger to the peace or safety of the colony, attending the finding, the patrolmen apprehended the slave or slaves on whom suspicion rested and carried him before some justice of the peace to be dealt with as the law directed. If the patrollers found any slave during night or day more than one mile from the house or the plantation in which he lived, without a paper in writing or some other strong convincing evidence of leave or orders from his owner, overseer, or employer, they or any two of them were permitted to inflict punishment, according to the opinion they entertained respecting the design of the offender, not exceeding ten lashes. On any slave they found behaving in a riotous or disorderly manner whether at or from home,

with or without written papers, they or any two of them might inflict punishment according to the circumstances of the case, not exceeding fifteen lashes, provided they were of the opinion that such riotous or disorderly behavior did not proceed from a premeditated design to disturb the public peace. But when they saw or knew of a riot or other disorderly behavior among slaves indicating danger to the peace or safety of the State, they might take and use all necessary and proper means to apprehend the offenders, and after having apprehended them, they, without inflicting any punishment other than was necessary to their safe keeping, carried the slaves before some justice of the peace who dealt with them according to law.

It is to be understood and at all times remembered that the object of patrolling was to prevent public mischief without creating private injury and, therefore, a slave found from home by day or at an early hour of the night without papers, but behaving in orderly and peaceable manner and having in his possession something known to belong to his master, overseer or employer, as a horse or an ox, or seeming to be engaged in the performance of some duty to the person to whom he owed obedience, was not necessarily punished or unreasonably restrained. The patroller or patrollers finding a slave in such situation went with the slave to his owner to know whether the story told by such a slave was true or false, and if false, then severe punishment was inflicted.

Since some owners, overseers, and employers of slaves were not capable of writing, it was further provided that a negro man of good moral character and peaceful demeanor was not to be punished for a mere act of going without a written paper on Saturday night to see his wife at a house of good fame, where he had long been accustomed to go with the consent of his master or mistress, overseer or employer, or with an order of illness by a doctor.

In 1807 new rules were adopted by the quarterly session of Common Pleas in Tarboro. The patrollers were required to call on the master, mistress or overseer as the case might be, for the names of their slaves from twelve years of age and upwards. The slaves were enrolled on a list provided and

kept for that purpose. Each succeeding time they went through their districts, the patrollmen called the names of the slaves that they had collected, and if any were missing or absent between the hours of 9 o'clock at night and 6 o'clock in the morning or on the Sabbath day, the patroller called on the master or mistress of such slave as was absent to know whether he were gone on business or by their special permit or knowledge; if neither was the case, the slave was adjudged guilty of the same crime and liable to the same punishment as if caught without permit from home. The older negroes tell how they were accustomed to line up for the roll call when the patroller came to the plantation.

Frequently a disagreement would arise between the master and the patroller with respect to the punishment of the slaves caught away from home. It was then the duty of the patroller to order the master or the mistress of the slave to bring him before some justice of the peace at a time and place which he might appoint. Whenever the master refused to comply with this demand, the patroller would apply to some justice of the peace for a warrant for such slave or slaves to appear before him or some other justice of the peace to be examined and tried for offense, in which case the cost according to law was to be paid by the owner of the slave.¹⁵

It can be said, without treading on the radicals' feelings or imposing on the abolitionists' sympathy, that the law concerning slavery was both good and bad. In some instances the slave was protected by local ordinances enacted by the Inferior Court. This is illustrated by the prevention of whipping slaves who professed Christianity.

In 1715 an act prohibiting private burial places was passed by the colonial assembly and later enforced in Edgecombe County. The frequent occurrence of several mysterious deaths led the Assembly to provide that every planter, attorney, and owner of every settled plantation should set apart a burial place, and fence the same for interring all such Christian persons, whether bound or free, that should die on the plantation. What traveler in passing through Edgecombe County is not, today, greeted with scores of little graveyards afar off on the hill extending from the farm mansion? This

is the system left from the early period of slavery and of a consequence from this law.

As a matter of precaution, there were, before the interring, three or four neighbors who were required by law to view the corpse, and ascertain whether the person came to his or her death by any violent or unlawful means. If such was the decision of the viewers, it was to be reported to the coroner. A penalty of five shillings was imposed on any one who refused to come and view the corpse. Moreover, if any persons dying were buried contrary to the law, the person or persons occasioning the same were forced to forfeit and pay the sum of ten pounds, one-third of which went to the informer, one-third to the Lords Proprietors, and the other one-third to the poor. This law, of course, excluded such cases in which it was the desire of the deceased when in his or her life time to be interred elsewhere. This law no doubt did much to prevent unnecessary slaying of the negro slaves.

The most lenient law made by the Assembly affecting slaves was made in 1753. In case a slave did not appear properly clothed and fed, and was convicted of stealing corn, cattle or hogs from any person not his owner, the injured person could maintain an action against the master and recover damages, and the slave remained unpunished by the law. This law, however, did not prevent the slave from being chastised by his master.

The law gave some liberty prior to the year 1800 that the slave was not to enjoy afterwards. No servant could be whipped, who professed to be a Christian, on his or her bare back. On the other hand we find many instances where the law forbade slaves to leave the plantation, and they were refused the right to raise horses, cattle and hogs—chickens being the only fowl allowed, and in statute of 1777 we find it unlawful for any slave in the county to grow tobacco for his own use under the penalty of five pounds current money for every five hundred hills so cultivated, which was to be recovered from the master or overseer. Yet the slave was not treated as a beast. On the eve of the Revolutionary War a more humane law protected the slave from wilful and malicious killing. After May 5, 1774, any person found guilty of a premeditated

act of wilful murder of his slave was to be tried by the same law and the same fine was imposed as if the slave had been a freeman.

During the Revolution the slaves in various sections of the county took the opportunity of becoming free. Masters, especially Loyalists, were freeing their slaves, and to such an alarming extent that a law was passed by the Assembly on November 12, 1777, forbidding a master to free his slave except for meritorious service, and then at such times only as the county court allowed the decision and gave a license of good faith. There are a few instances where the slave owners were debarred from freeing negroes by this law.¹⁶

Occasionally through the graciousness of the master a slave was freed irrespective of the law, and the negro took chances for his freedom by hiding in the swamps and numerous reed marshes in the county. This gave the slave dealers opportunities to recapture negroes and sell them again, when the poor slave was so unfortunate as not to find one to plead his case. Many trading vessels made frequent trips up the Pamlico and Tar Rivers, bringing various commodities of interest to the negroes and finally enticing them away from their hiding places under profession of friendship. English traders came up Tar River under a pretext to trade with the slaves in order to decoy the hidden negroes away. A law was passed by the Assembly preventing the Englishmen from trading with slaves or carrying them away. In 1791 a law was passed to prevent the merchant or trader to harbor or trade with any slave under any pretense. This no doubt prevented the negroes from hiding and also from being carried off and resold.

In many instances the slaves in their attempt to get away from the county forged passes. The Assembly made it punishable by death for a slave to attempt such methods of escape.

The slave who was set free without being adjudged and allowed by the court of the county and license issued, after an expiration of six months, was taken up by the church wardens and sold as a slave at the next court at public outcry, and the value of the slave was given to the poor. There are three cases where the negroes were sold at the Tarboro courthouse in 1800. It is not known how much the poor received, however.

In 1781 an ordinance permitted the masters to rent their slaves out by public auction to the highest bidder for any term not exceeding one year. Regular hiring days held in January were established at the courthouse in Tarboro. Frequently men who had large estates consisting of negroes provided in their wills for the slaves to be hired out and the money paid over to their widows for a continuous income. There are several instances in which negro laborers were rented at the Tarboro courthouse. The average price about 1800 ranged from \$150 to \$200 a year for men, and \$65 to \$90 for women. By 1856 prices had increased and advanced from the time the custom began. Negro men hired for \$165 to \$200 a year—plow boys and women from \$100 to \$125. In 1859, a year later, the price increased considerably over 1858. Corn field hands, girls from 8 to 10 years old, brought \$25 to \$30; 10 to 12 years old \$80 to \$85, while boys from 15 to 18 years brought \$180 to \$202. Men brought unheard of prices, varying from \$175 to \$250.¹⁷ All this personal property was put in a heap together and bidden off as public service.¹⁸ But one remembers that the first law applying to slaves was a clause in the Fundamental Constitution giving every freeman an "absolute power and authority over negro slaves of what opinion or religion soever."¹⁹

The manner of trying slaves in colonial days was very interesting with respect to the method of economizing time. A slave committing an offense, crime, or misdemeanor was committed by the justice of the peace to the "common goal of the county," and the sheriff of the county upon the committment certified the same to the justice of commission of the county court. The justice issued a summons for two or more justices of the court and four freeholders, such as had owned slaves in the county to constitute a court. The three justices and the four slaveholders were authorized and required upon oath to try all manner of crimes and offenses that were committed by any slaves at the courthouse of the county, and to take evidence and confession of the defender on the oath of one or two creditable witnesses or such testimony of negroes or mulattoes bond or free, with circumstances that were con-

vincing to the justices and to the slave owners, without the "solemnity of a jury."

In order to try slaves, when the offense was of a small and usual nature, and to prevent delay and great loss of time and expense to the owners, a law, as an act for remedy, was passed in 1783. This law provided for all justices to have the power to issue subpoenas, if necessary, to compel the attendance of witnesses and to proceed immediately upon the trial of any slave and to pass sentence and award judgment; provided however, the punishment extended no farther than the ordering of the defendant to be whipped not exceeding forty lashes.

Any justice of the peace of the county, who was an owner of slaves, was qualified, irrespective of moral integrity, and pronounced fit by the court to act as a member of the county court though he or they should not be summoned thereto. The law was emphatically stated by the phrase "anything before contained to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding."

Christian character was an important element in slavery. It made the slave more desirable and it also influenced the courts and masters to show leniency to the slaves and to treat them with more mildness and gratitude. In case a slave was not a Christian, it was produced as evidence on the trial against him for capital and other trials of crime. He was charged very severely and placed under greater obligation to tell the truth. It was, therefore, declared by an act of the Assembly in 1741 as a source of protection against perjury, that when any negro or mulatto, bond or free, should upon due proof made or "pregnant circumstance," appearing before the county court, be found to have given a false testimony, he was, without further trial, to have by order of the court one ear nailed to the pillory, and stand in this position for the space of one hour, and then have the same ear cut off, and the other ear nailed in the same manner and cut off at the expiration of one hour, and moreover to have thirty-nine lashes well laid on his or her back at the common whipping post. As a method of prevention of false testimony the chairman of the court charged each negro or mulatto in capital cases before his or her testimony, on not being a Christian, to tell the truth.

There was a case about 1771 and also another in 1825 in which a negro man called Siman was given a mild sentence according to this law. For false testimony he was branded in the palm of his right hand with a hot iron and imprisoned in close jail for twelve months.²⁰

The most noted case in the history of slavery in Edgecombe and also the greatest in the entire State was that of *State vs. Will*. The trial was held by Judge Donnell in the circuit court, January 22, 1834. It was a case that awakened a general and profound interest throughout the country and influenced the legal relation between the master and his slave in North Carolina. It recognized the right of the slave to defend himself against the assaults of his master in the preservation of his own life—a right never asserted heretofore in the county.

A slave, Will, was indicted for the murder of Richard Baxter. Will belonged to James S. Battle, and the deceased, Richard Baxter, was the overseer of Mr. Battle, and was entrusted with the management of the slave at the time of the homicide. Early in the morning of the 22d day of January, the day the killing took place, Will had a dispute with another slave, Allen, who was also a slave of Mr. Battle, and a foreman on the same plantation of which the deceased was an overseer. The dispute arose between Will and Allen about a hoe which Will claimed as his own because he had helved it in his own time; but Allen directed another slave to use it on that day.

Some angry words passed between Will and the foreman, and Will broke out the helve, and walked off about one-fourth of a mile to a cotton screw and began packing cotton. Soon after the dispute Mr. Baxter, the overseer, was informed of what had occurred. He immediately went into the house, and his wife was heard to say, "I would not, my dear," to which he was said to have replied in a positive tone of voice, "I will." In a very short time after this Mr. Baxter went from the house to the place where the foreman was, told him that he was going after Will, and instructed him to take his cowhide and follow at a distance. Mr. Baxter then returned to the house, took his gun, saddled his horse, and rode to the screw,

a distance of about six hundred yards, where Will was at work.

The overseer came up within twenty or twenty-five feet of the screw without being observed by the slave, dismounted, and hastily got over the fence into the screwyard. He walked directly to the cotton screw, gun in hand, where the slave was standing, engaged in throwing cotton, and ordered him to come down. The slave took off his hat in an humble manner and came down. Mr. Baxter spoke some words to Will, which were not heard by any of the three negroes present. The slave immediately began to run. He proceeded about fifteen steps when the overseer fired upon him, sending the whole load into the negro's back.

The wound caused by the shot was sufficient to have produced death, but the slave continued to make off through a field, and after retreating about 150 yards in sight of the overseer, was pursued by two slaves directed by Mr. Baxter, who said, "He could not go far." The overseer himself, laying down his gun, mounted his horse, and having directed his foreman, who had just come up, to pursue the prisoner also, rode around the field and headed off the wounded slave. Mr. Baxter soon dismounted and pursued the negro on foot, and as soon as the slave discovered he was blocked, he changed his course to avoid the overseer, and ran in another direction towards the woods. The overseer, however, soon overtook him and collared him with his right hand. In the meantime the negroes ordered to pursue the slave came toward Will and the overseer.

They were ordered by Mr. Baxter to seize the wounded slave. One of them attempted to lay hold of the negro, who had his knife drawn, and the left thumb of the overseer in his mouth. When the slave came up, Will struck at him with his knife, but missed him and cut the overseer on the thigh. In the scuffle which followed between Will and Mr. Baxter, the overseer received an ugly wound in the arm.

Soon after the overseer let go his hold, the slave ran towards the nearest wood and escaped. Mr. Baxter did not pursue the slave, but he ordered the negroes to do so, but soon recalled them. When they returned, Mr. Baxter was sitting

on the ground bleeding, and as they came up, the overseer said, "Will has killed me; if I had minded what my poor wife said, I would not have been in this fix."

In addition to the wound on his thigh, Mr. Baxter had a slight puncture in his chest about skin deep, and a wound about four inches long and two inches deep on his right arm above his elbow, which was inflicted by the slave. The loss of blood occasioned the overseer's death, and he died in the evening of the same day. In the meantime, the slave went to his master and surrendered himself and the following day was arrested. When the negro was informed of the death of the overseer he exclaimed, "Is it possible?" and appeared to be much affected by the report.

The case was called by the court. The jury hesitated to pronounce Will guilty of felony and murder according to the indictment specified and charged against him by the court. The jurors were altogether ignorant of the law, since there was no precedent in the case. They requested the advice of the court upon the matter. In the meantime, Judge Donnell claimed the slave was guilty of "feloniously killing and slaying" Mr. Baxter, and pronounced the sentence of death from the special verdict which had been made by the jury. The slave appealed to the Supreme Court. B. F. Moore, one of the most famous pleaders of the North Carolina bar, then living on Fishing Creek, interceded for Will and defended his case in the Supreme Court. It was conceded that Baxter occupied the place of master, and, in his capacity of overseer, was invested with all the authority of owner, in the means of rendering the prisoner subservient to his lawful commands. With this concession freely made, it was believed that if the shot of Mr. Baxter had proved fatal, he would have been guilty of murder, and not of manslaughter. The instrument used and the short distance between the parties were sufficient to produce death, and nothing but the want of malice could have deprived the act of any features of murder.

It was then shown that Baxter had loaded his gun and proceeded to the cotton screw with the intent to shoot the slave if the latter should run. It was clear then that if Baxter's shot had been fatal, he would have been guilty of murder

and not of manslaughter. This was evident from his whole conduct and particularly so from his directing the foreman to walk behind at a distance. If he had armed himself for defense, expecting a conflict with the prisoner, he would have summoned aid and kept men at his command ready for encounter. It became evident to the defendant's mind that the purpose of the shooting had actually been formed and time had been given him for reflection. The argument by Mr. Moore on behalf of Will was therefore as follows: first, that if Baxter's shot had killed the prisoner, Baxter would have been guilty of manslaughter at the least; second, this position being established the killing of Baxter under the circumstances related was but manslaughter on the part of the prisoner.

The public mind, however, was perverted by opinion in the county that any means might be resorted to in order to bring about the perfect submission of the slave to his master's will, and that any resistance to that will, reasonable or unreasonable, lawfully placed the life of a slave at his master's feet. Mr. Moore attempted to draw the line, if there was any, between the lawful and unlawful exercise of the master's power in Edgecombe County.

The decision in the case of *State vs. Mann*²¹ was used as a precedent. This case *left the slave when his life was spared under the slender guardianship of the "frowns and execrations" of a moral sentiment against cruelty*. Judge Henderson, who rendered the decision fixed the true boundary of the master's power. "It extends," he says, "to securing the service and labors of the slave, and no farther." He furthermore declared that a power over the life of the slave was not surrendered by the law because the possession of such a power is always necessary to the purposes of slavery, and that his life was in care of the law. Therefore, said Mr. Moore, the previous law, which declared the relation of master and slave, and had been practiced in Edgecombe since its formation, should no longer cover the entire relation between master and slave. On the contrary the idea of perfect submission of the slave was in accordance with the policy which should regulate condition of life, whenever it existed.

It is safe to say that Mr. Moore did not, however, argue so much from the point of law—which if it had been interpreted literally would have been decidedly against him—as he did the force of an opinion developing in the court, which was contrary to the use of absolute power. Indeed the courts of the country reflected this opinion and so fostered an enlightened benevolence. When we view the proceedings of the early courts and the sentiments of the people, we cannot but help admitting that while the courts were lauding the Christian spirit of the times, manifested by the humane treatment of the slaves, they were engaged in investigating to what possible extent the master might push his authority without incurring civil responsibility.

From this viewpoint Mr. Moore made his plea one of a moral nature. "I am," he said, "arguing no question of abstract right, but I am endeavoring to prove that the natural incidents of slavery must be borne with because they are inherent to the condition itself; and that any attempt to restrain or punish a slave for the exercise of a right, which even absolute power cannot destroy, is inhuman and without the slightest benefit to the security of the master or to that of society at large.

"If," continued Mr. Moore, "the deceased had been resisted, a great degree of force might have been used, and the law would not have been scrupulous in determining the excess. If he had been chastising the prisoner in the ordinary mode and death had ensued, it would have been nothing more than an unfortunate accident. But the prisoner was neither resisting the master nor did the calamity grow out of an attempt to chastise. It is confidently contended that a master has not by law of the land the right to kill his slave for a simple act of disobedience, however provoking may be the circumstances under which it is committed; that if a slave be required to stand and he run off, he has not forfeited his life. This is conclusive, if the law will never justify a homicide except it be committed upon unavoidable necessity, and will excuse no one, except it be done by misadventure or *se defendendo*. There is no principle of criminal law which will justify or excuse the

death that has been caused through the provocation of the passion alone."

Moreover, it was shown by Mr. Moore that the prisoner was shot in the act of making off from his overseer, who was prepared to chastise him. A master's authority to apprehend the slave was conceded by the court not to be greater than that of a constable or a sheriff to arrest for misdemeanor; and a constable could not kill in order to prevent an escape of one guilty of that kind of offense. The law had such a high regard for human life that it instructed the officers to permit an escape rather than kill. If the officer acted illegally, by abusing his authority or exceeding it, resistance unto death was not murder. Consequently, if the master had greater authority to apprehend his slave than a law officer had to arrest under a precept for a misdemeanor, he surely did not have a greater authority than a sheriff, acting under a precept, had to arrest a felon. Here the law again showed its deep regard for human life and its hesitation to kill a felon, a murderer, or traitor unless his escape be inevitable. "And in every instance in which one man can be justified in killing another, the abuse of his power makes him guilty of manslaughter." Thus an officer who had the right to kill a felon in order to prevent his escape was guilty of manslaughter when the escape could have been prevented by more lenient means. This necessity remained to be proved, said Mr. Moore, for it was never to be presumed. No such necessity appeared in the finding of the jury. In legal contemplation, therefore, it did not exist.

The prisoner was thus looked upon as in an act of disobedience and not resistance, between which there was a vast difference. The deceased then must have exceeded his authority according to the evidence and the defendant was guilty of manslaughter only. The slave simply slew his overseer, after having been dangerously shot, pursued and overtaken. The tamest and most domestic brute would doubtless have done likewise. Was the victim now to be a sacrifice offered to the policy which regulated the relation of slavery among our fathers? May we say that the momentum of feeling, acting through the juries of the county and the spirit of the Supreme Court at Raleigh, indicated that the interests of society were at stake and de-

manded a permanent settlement of the extent of a master's authority?

By a timely and judicious administration of the law, in relation to this subject, the Supreme Court by releasing Will did much to form a sounder public opinion by liberating the slave from the charges of murder. The legal condition of the slave was greatly advanced for the negro and the whites were now, by the decision returned in Will's case, placed under the very same law.²¹ Will returned to his master and served him until death.

SLAVE PRICES

A very interesting phase of the slave system in the county was the method of ascertaining the age and value of the slaves. Whenever a slaveholder was desirous of learning the age of his slave,²² he carried the slave before the grand jury convened at the county court and the court pronounced the age of the slave.

Quite frequently slaves were slain both accidentally and premeditatedly. In either case the slayer if detected was responsible to the owner for the value of the slave killed. Men who were familiar with certain slaves were summoned as a jury to estimate their value. George Sugg, a farmer living in the eastern part of the county, was called upon in 1806 to estimate the value of a slave killed upon an adjoining farm. The slave was a runaway and belonged to Mr. Mace. He was robbing the citizens in the vicinity of Little River, now Fishing Creek, when William Mace, a manager for his father, went in search for the slave. Mr. Mace tarried at Little River approximately five days, but not finding the slave was about to return home. On his way back he visited the slave quarters of Mr. Toole, a slave owner, in the night. A light was observed within, but it was put out in a moment. Mr. Mace went in and blowing up a light saw the slave, Tom, and recognized him. The slave, on being discovered, attempted to escape. Mr. Mace called to him to stand, threatening to shoot him if he did not, but the slave ran, upon which Mr. Mace fired. It was the design of Mr. Mace to shoot over the negro's head in order to frighten him, but some of the shots hit and killed

him instantly. The court passed the opinion that the negro was worth fifty pounds.

In the valuation of a slave, his behavior and power of workmanship were always taken into consideration by the courts. Our record of the prices of slaves is very incomplete. In 1785 John Ford sold one negro man to Jeremiah Hilliard for 180 pounds.²³ In 1788 one negro boy about eight years old sold in Tarboro for forty-five pounds, or \$203.25.²⁵ Joseph Buns sold a negro woman in 1788 for 60 pounds to John Dew and at the same time a negro girl, 16 years old, was sold to a Virginia planter for 90 pounds. A year later negro boys about sixteen or seventeen years old sold for 120 pounds each.

In 1790 John Dew sold a negro woman back to Buns for 50 pounds.²⁵ Girls about eleven years old brought 70 pounds in the slave market in Tarboro in 1790. These are some of the estimates of slave prices in the early history in the county. Later slaves brought 100 pounds per head.²⁶ Richard Blackledge, of Tarboro, sold a negro boy about thirteen to sixteen years, four feet, eight inches high, for 200 milled dollars.

Halifax traders made frequent trips to Edgecombe for slaves to start a slave market. Jacob Barrow, of Halifax, purchased slaves at Tarboro in 1789 at a normal price of 120 pounds and in 1792 negro men at the age of forty-five brought 100 pounds, about the same price as in 1790.

In 1794 a negro woman and child brought 200 Spanish milled dollars, and numerous other negroes brought about the same price.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century slaves brought a good price. In 1801 at open court Bennett Barrow, a slave trader, sold to John Davidson six slaves, as follows: a woman named Millery and her three children named Harmon, Jim, and Molley, and another woman named Nelly and a child named Sam for 400 pounds. Some further evidence can be obtained from the following figures: in 1803 one negro boy sold for \$125 current money, another boy sold for \$475, still another woman and her child brought 400 silver dollars. In 1770 a negro woman fifteen years old and her child sold for \$375 and a negro girl ten years old for \$135

current money. We have to consider that physical condition and the early cultivation of cotton may have been the reason for so many enormous changes in prices. Moreover, the ability a slave had for work, trade, etc., determined in many instances the price of his body. One negro man who was a blacksmith and a good workman brought \$1,000 in Tarboro in 1818, and in 1854 a rough carpenter about twenty-three years old sold for \$2,000.²⁷

Toward the middle of the nineteenth century slaves were estimated by "piles" or quantities. The records give an account of a pile of negroes as follows: Moll, Suckey, Sally, Maria, Molly, Austen, Daniah, one negro woman twenty-three years old and infant child, negro girl and negro boy, one negro man nineteen years old, one negro woman and two children, and a negro fellow thirty years old, a negro boy fifteen years old, and girl fifteen years old, sold for the sum of \$5,111.

Another method was resorted to in the estimation of the value of slaves. It was not, however, the most accurate one. Frequently masters would become short of funds and be unable to pay their taxes promptly, and slaves were sold at public auction at the court house to indemnify the sheriff for the taxes of the master. In 1838 an incident of this kind occurred when a negro girl was sold to the highest bidder for \$177. Again in 1843 a negro man was sold to B. F. Moore, of Fishing Creek, at a public auction in default of taxes for one dollar.²⁸ This was not a fair sample of the value of slaves, and must have been primarily to bring the cost of taxes levied.

SOCIAL LIFE

The peculiar life of the slave is interesting from the view point of character, socially and religiously. Only now and then, according to old slaveholders' records, was a slave found truthful, faithful, and entirely honest in dealing with labor and articles. Cunning and deception were inevitable habits. The old trick played on the master by turning a huge pot with its mouth upon the floor of the master's residence, in order to deaden the noise while the negroes danced, was considered part of the slave's right. It was not fair to expect anything else of him.

The main cause of certain restraints in the slave's liberty came in 1859, in the form of John Brown's raid. The press began to urge masters throughout the state to curtail the large freedom enjoyed by the negroes. Consequently the Edgecombe Court passed a regulation forbidding negroes to assemble in groups between sunset and sunrise. Upon this event came the agitation for a new movement advocated by a book called "The Impending Crisis of the South," published in New York in 1857 by Hinton Rowan Helper, a native of Rowan County, but was not widely read until the time of John Brown's raid. This book was a compilation of statistics intended to prove that slavery was an economic curse. In addition it contained sentiments usually expected from abolition quarters in the North. The slave owner naturally rejected the literature and the cause of abolition propagandism.

The marriage of the slaves was a matter of little ceremony. The masters of the contracting parties first gave their consent to the union. That being arranged, the groom sought the bride, offered her some toy, a brass ring or beads, and if his gift was accepted, the marriage was considered made. If the couple ever separated, the present was always returned. Separation occurred often, and at times against the will of the parties. "If the woman bore no children in two or three years," says Bricknell, "the planter obliged them to take a second, third, fourth, fifth, or more husbands or bed-fellows—a fruitful woman amongst them being much valued by the planters and a numerous issue esteemed the great riches in the county." The children belonged to the owner of the mother, and the planter took pains to bring them up properly.

Although the slaves were permitted to marry among themselves, after 1787 no slave was allowed to marry or cohabit with any free negro without permission of the master of the slave in writing, and the sanction of two justices of the peace.²⁹

The slaves showed great jealousy among themselves on account of their wives and mistresses.

The slaves owned by the first settlers were very few, but those settlers who succeeded them had large numbers. Accustomed to settling down on little farms on the outskirts of civilization, the early farmers found it hard to become ab-

sorbed into the larger life of a settled community. It has most often been their fate to recover from nature a rim of forest land, and then giving that up to some "worldly habitant of civilized life," move on toward the West. This was a frequent occurrence in Edgecombe County in the early period. Before the county was declared an organized district, and existed merely as a precinct, many people who occupied their little holdings during the seventeenth century sold them early in the eighteenth and sought other lands on the frontiers. The newcomers were men of means and usually brought their slaves with them. Men like Elisha Battle, Willie Jones, and Isaac Sessums and others came to the county with money and slaves to buy up the cheap lands. There is one instance where a man from Virginia bought eleven adjacent plantations. On these plantations on which small farmers had formerly lived, there now lived a large planter with his family and a large number of slaves. Hence we have a gradual change of the social life as this economic process went on.

The coming of these rich owners mark the change from the system of a few slaves to that of many. The same process was facilitated in the opening up of the turpentine industry. Here the slaves were profitable and large numbers of them were taken to the high tracts of long straw pine which lay back from the low grounds of Swift and Fishing Creeks and Tar River.³⁰

RELIGIOUS LIFE

There is no phase of the subject on which we have no more incomplete and unsatisfactory records than on the subject of the religious and social life of the slaves. The early writers said that the slaves in the colony, hence in the several counties, except in rare cases, were undoubtedly pagans. From all indications after the introduction of slaves the people seem to have been content that they should have remained such. Indeed, if we may believe such contemporary evidence that has come down to us, the whites did not care much for religion themselves.

The one central fact that led to the indifference to religion of the slaves on the part of the whites was the thought of the illegality in holding a Christian in bondage. The right

and power of enslaving the negro seems to have been based on the fact that he was a pagan. If such was the case, would not conversion enfranchise him? It was in view of this feeling that the Lords Proprietors declared in the Fundamental Constitution: "Since charity obliges us to wish well to the souls of all men, and religion ought to alter nothing in any man's civil estate or right it shall be lawful for slaves as well as for others to enter themselves and be of what church or profession any of them shall think best, and thereof be as fully members as any freeman. But yet no slave shall hereby be exempted from that civil dominion his master hath over him, but be in all things in the same state and condition he was in before."

This law was a piece of skilful manipulation on the part of the Lords Proprietors. It gave an emphatic religious freedom to the slave, and at the same time gave a concealed compromise to prevent an agitation and uprising of the slaves. There seemed, however, to have been in spite of this law, a fear of allowing slaves to be baptized in a religious rite. The law might have been used successfully to protect the planters, should a case have arisen over the point in question, and yet is left an element of risk in it that made the planters unwilling to allow the conversion of the negroes.

The conditions that followed these circumstances are clearly seen from a statement of Reverend Charles Edward Taylor, a clergyman of the English Church, who on a tour in 1765 writes that he went to Edgecombe County on a preaching tour and did not have much success, there being no minister there at that time, the Reverend John Burges, the first English preacher in the county, having resigned previously. He baptized in three days 159 whites and four black infants.³¹ There is no intimation in the reports of Reverend M. N. Burges that he was ever interested enough in the slave to attempt baptizing him.

In a letter to the Bishop of London, Reverend Mr. Moir reports that he had completed the building of the parish church, at Tarborough, November 22, 1748, and that he had baptized in one day 100 children and dipped two adults. He does not mention having baptized any negroes. On April 8, 1760, however, he reported having baptized three adult negroes and

206 children. From this report Mr. Moir seems to have been an arduous worker, but Governor Dobbs attested his statement in a letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, January 22, 1760: "I wish that your admonition of Mr. Moir to have good effect. I observe in his report to you he mentions having baptized above 300 white people and fifty negroes in one year. I wish that it might be true, as I am informed that he does very little duty, but lives on his plantation, not showing hospitality as is his duty, and hoarding up money to return to England." Mr. Moir in return accused Governor Dobbs of being prejudiced against him and hindering his work. Governor Dobbs' successor, Governor Tryon, however, confirmed Governor Dobbs' statement on a letter dated July 26, 1765, which says: "I do not think that the province receives any benefit from the Reverend Mr. Moir as an itinerant missionary, for under his license to preach everywhere, he seldom preaches anywhere. I do not represent him as an immoral man, but think it would be advisable that he might be fixed to some parish."

Under these circumstances, where even the whites were obviously neglected in spiritual development, what may be a conclusion as to the negro's opportunities in moral matters?

The method of instructing the slave in the religious affairs prior to the coming of new denominations was entirely according to the notions of the clergymen, so far as we know. In the earliest days the settlers of the county did not put themselves to the trouble to try to convert their slaves. In the later period, as we shall presently see, they became more interested. Not only did the masters prevent the negroes from accepting religion, but in 1787 an act of the Legislature prevented any negro or mulatto to "entertain any slave in his or her house during the Sabbath, during the night between sunset and sunrise on penalty of twenty shillings for the first offense and forty shillings for each subsequent offense." No assembling of slaves was tolerated unless some white man was present.

When later in the period of slavery the system became more mild, the negroes were allowed to join any church they might fancy, but they were not permitted to have a church organization among themselves. To have one was at once against the policy of the English Church and against the senti-

ments of the planters. The planters feared that negro churches might become centers of negro conspiracies.

The Baptists came into the eastern counties at an early date. By the middle of the eighteenth century they had become strong in the eastern part of Halifax and Edgecombe counties. Mr. Burnett, a missionary of the Established Church, said that they allowed negroes to speak at their churches. Their kind feeling for the slaves is shown by a reply of the Kehukee Baptist Association at Falls Church, to a question asked in 1783, in regard to the duty of a master towards his slave who refused to attend family worship. The answer was: "It is the duty of every master of a family to give his slaves liberty to attend worship of God in his family, and likewise it is his duty to exhort them to it, and to endeavor to convince them of their duty, and then to leave them to their choice."³²

The doctrines of Baptist and Methodist churches appealed to the popular mind, and stirred the hearts of the middle, and even to a large extent, the higher classes of society. Other churches had negro members, but none in such large numbers as these. There were several Presbyterians in the county, but unfortunately we have no conclusive evidence as to their relation to slavery. In both the Presbyterian and Episcopal churches, the negroes were mostly slaves of the families who had their membership there, and consequently were affected only in so far as they were servants.

In all denominations the negroes had equal rights in instruction and communion, but were deprived of participation in the operation of the church government. When there were only a few negro members, they attended services with the whites, and a certain portion of the church, in the form of a large gallery, was assigned to them. There are today several old Baptist Churches in the county which retain their old galleries over the front entrance for negro worshippers. It is not an infrequent sight to see slave time darkies now assembling in their accustomed places when the First Sunday preaching begins. When there was a large number of negroes, they were given a separate sermon, usually after the whites had dispersed. In the vicinity of one of the Methodist churches in the county today, "Temperance Hall," the writer was told of

slaves as in the other churches. Sometimes there were special gatherings there by the negroes after the whites had gone to their respective homes.

There were only a few negro preachers, and a majority of the preaching was done by white preachers. The great influence that a preacher exercised over his flock was something that the whites very properly would not have surrendered to the negro preacher, had they been ever so numerous.

In 1831 a strict law was passed forbidding the slaves and free negroes to preach, exhort or hold prayer meetings. This in many respects was a harsh law, and in most cases in the county, as elsewhere, was not strictly enforced. The white preachers in their attempt to be apprehensive and to preach such sermons as the negroes need, emphasized the duty of servants to masters from the text, "Servants obey your masters." The more independent among the blacks, especially among the mulattoes, rejected this kind of preaching. To them it seemed merely a white man religion, and but another means of making the bonds of servitude more secure.

It was the custom to send some quiet old preacher of great kindness, humility, and usually of ability to the task of preaching to the negroes. It is clearly shown in the respects that the negroes were very devoted to their preacher, and I have been told by some of our oldest citizens, showed their appreciation of his service by frequent presents, such as food and articles of personal wear.

For the negroes on the plantation who joined the neighboring churches, special instruction was often provided. Such at least was shown from the report of Bishop Atkinson of the Episcopal Church. In the Diocesan Convention, 1856, he reported that he appointed Mr. William Murphy some months before to officiate at Wilson and Rocky Mount, taking charge at the same time of religious instruction of the slaves of Mr. Turner Battle and his sister. Bishop Atkinson himself a few years later preached in Rocky Mount one afternoon and administered the communion, and in the evening preached to the slaves of Mr. Battle and his sister. In the Episcopal Church the negro members must have been slaves of the white members since the Episcopalians were largely slaveholders. Us-

ally the colored people occupied the seats reserved for the missions for the slaves. Captain T. W. Battle had one, but discontinued it after a year because the slaves took no interest. There seems also to have been one in connection with the church at Tarborough that was permanent.

It is notable to observe that there was an encouraging indication of increasing interest in the religious instruction of the slaves prior to the Civil War. Ministers were employed by masters to aid them in this part of their duty. In the earlier period of the Diocese, Mr. Murphy was employed by the Battle family to promote a religious spirit among the slaves.³³

It appears from the results of the religious training or social life of the slaves that they were either more or less content or because of the rigid laws they were afraid to uprise, since there is but one record of an insurrection even rumored in Edgecombe County. It may not be inappropriate to mention that one incident in conclusion.

NEGRO INSURRECTION DURING THE REVOLUTION

While the province was arming for the Revolution, negro uprisings were especially dreaded. This induced the colonists to increase their patrol. In Pitt, Beaufort, Martin, and Edgecombe counties in 1775, the report was spread that a certain ship captain whose name was Johnson, of White Haven, and who was then loading naval stores in the Pamlico River, was inciting the negroes to rebellion. The alleged plan was to the effect that through the teachings of Captain Johnson all the slaves in that region had to agree to murder on a certain night all the whites where they (the slaves) lived. They were to proceed from house to house toward the interior of the province, murdering as they went. Here they were told they would find the inhabitants and governor ready to help them.³⁴ Johnson was just sailing at that time, and he was reported to have said that he would return in the autumn and take his choice of the plantations on the river. The whites it seemed believed the story and for a while the whole region was in a fever of excitement. The "terrified people pursued an imaginary band of 150 negroes for several days, but none were

taken or seen, though they had several times been fired at." This was as near a discovery of the real movement as they ever came to, and marks the only account of the first and last indication of any slave insurrection in the county.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- ¹ Colonial Records, Vol. III, p. 431.
- ² Colonial Records, Vol. I, pp. 41, 602, 715; Vol. VI, pp. 745, 1026.
- ³ Later the importation of slavery ceased, and the steadiness of this increase indicates that it was due entirely to births.
- ⁴ Colonial Records, Vol. I, pp. 80.
- ⁵ Colonial Records, Vol. III, pp. 102, 101; Vol. V, pp. 1133; Vol. VII, pp. 22.
- ⁶ Colonial Records, Vol. IV, p. 60.
- ⁷ John Alston bought 19 slaves, John Pope 6 white servants, while Elisha Battle bought 11 plantations and brought 10 slaves from Virginia at late as 1735.
- ⁸ Edgecombe was originally a part of Bertie Precinct.
- ⁹ Colonial Records, Vol. V, pp. 144, 145, 314.
- ¹⁰ Colonial Records, Vol. V, p. 315.
- ¹¹ Colonial Records, Vol. III; Vol. I, p. 720.
- ¹² Granville County was cut off from Edgecombe in 1747, making a considerable decrease in the original number.
- ¹³ Due to the formation of Halifax County in 1757.
- ¹⁴ Book IV, RR Tarboro, p. 640.
- ¹⁵ Inferior Court Records, 1799-1811, Tarboro, North Carolina.
- ¹⁶ There is no more evidence of emancipating slaves in the court records until 1835. From this time until the War between the States, slaves were frequently emancipated by their various masters. In 1851 several slave masters in the county liberated their slaves, while Jacob Mettles, a prominent planter, emancipated six at one time and shipped them to Liberia on board the "Morgan Dix" from Baltimore.
- ¹⁷ Tarboro Southerner, January 15, 1859.
- ¹⁸ Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 204.
- ¹⁹ Tarboro Southerner, January 9, 1859.
- ²⁰ Minute Docket B, 1825-1834, p. S. 1826 L.
- ²¹ 2 Dev. 263.
- ²² It was necessary to know the age of slaves in order to determine the selling price of said slave, the value being fixed according to age, etc.
- ²³ Book IV, p. 642, RD Tarboro.
- ²⁴ Book IV, p. 640, RD Tarboro.
- ²⁵ Book V, p. 416, RD Tarboro.
- ²⁶ Book V, pp. 232, 248, RD Tarboro.
- ²⁷ Tarboro Southerner, January 14, 1854.

²⁸ Book 24, p. 2, RD Tarboro.

²⁹ Ordinance made in Tarboro, 1787, p. 610, N. C.

³⁰ Colonial Records, Vol. III, p. 431.

³¹ Colonial Records, Vol. IX, 326.

³² Biggs' History Kehukee Asso., pp. 59, 60.

³³ Bishop's N. C., p. 158.

³⁴ Governor Martin was principally the instigator of this rebellion. He desired to cause trouble for the rebellion colonists.

METHODIST EXPANSION IN NORTH CAROLINA AFTER THE REVOLUTION *

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First of all, I wish to pay a tribute. Seven years ago at the meeting of this Society I listened with rapt attention to an address on "Some First Things in North Carolina Methodism." It stimulated my interest, already aroused by the speaker's first volume, and I went home to watch with eager expectation for the announcement of the second volume of his "History of Methodism in North Carolina." Alas! earth's mortality claimed Dr. Grissom before his work was completed. For years he searched the records, collected manuscripts, and travelled far and near—a veritable itinerant of Methodist history—in order to tell the story of his church's achievement in the state of his nativity. His method was so thorough and his perspective so well integrated in the general trend of American history, that his loss is felt by those interested in the social as well as the ecclesiastical history of North Carolina.

Of all this I have a peculiar sense. A general study of the political and social history of North Carolina from the close of the revolution to 1860 has led me to the question of religious development. For Methodism I have found no continuous guide, this being the period which would have been covered by Dr. Grissom's second volume. However, I take the liberty of presenting a general survey of religious movements from the close of the revolution through the first decade of the nineteenth century, with special reference to Methodism, with an earnest appeal for criticism as to facts and their interpretation and an earnest hope that some member of this society has already undertaken Dr. Grissom's unfinished task.

The Revolutionary War shattered the religious forces of North Carolina. Readjustment to a new regime was as much a problem for the churches as for industry, trade, and political thought. For this statistics bear witness. In 1790 the population of the state was 393,751, 50,000 of whom were

* An address before the North Carolina Conference Historical Society at Wilmington, N. C., Nov. 30, 1915.

heads of families. The exact proportion of church members cannot be ascertained, but 30,000 is a liberal estimate, leaving an uncultivated spiritual field of 363,751 souls. Yet the condition within the churches was not very favorable for the task before them. The Presbyterians had probably the largest membership. They were strongly intrenched in the piedmont and along the upper Cape Fear; but most of the loyalists in North Carolina were of Presbyterian stock and after the revolution many of the Scotch on the Cape Fear emigrated. In the piedmont section a number of the Presbyterian pastors had been active in the Revolutionary cause, notably Humphrey Hunter and Thomas McCaule, who served in the army; but for this very reason some of the congregations had declined. Moreover strict Calvinistic thought and discipline often leads to spiritual revolt; witness Rousseau in France, the English deists, and Benjamin Franklin in America. It is not strange, therefore, to find that in North Carolina the traditions of Calvinism were seriously questioned at the close of the war. "The pastors shed tears over departed worth," lost in battle, we are told, "but they grieved most over the living who had renounced the religion of their fathers, and embraced a cold skepticism that promised only a life of licentiousness and the vain hope of annihilation." The Baptists had the largest opportunity in North Carolina. They covered a greater territory than any other denomination, being grouped in two associations, the Kehukee in the east and the Sandy Creek in the piedmont, the latter being the third oldest association of Baptists in the United States. Their rapid growth in the South toward the middle of the eighteenth century was little less than a profound social movement. This extremely democratic organization fitted in well with the ideals of the plain people while the style of preaching and type of thought made a popular appeal. The Baptist membership in 1790 was 7,742, surpassed only by the Presbyterians who with the Independents had been estimated at 9,000 in 1762. But there were certain inherent weaknesses in the denomination. Individualism was too strongly intrenched in its polity for an organized diffusion of the faith; the Arminian doctrines so notable in the early days of the Sandy Creek Association had become dormant,

and there was a strong tendency toward dissensions over certain ordinances of the church.

So much for the two largest denominations in North Carolina. There were also the Quakers, well organized in some of the eastern and at least one of the piedmont counties; but they were a distinct social class rather than an aggressive denomination. The Moravians had a worthy and heroic history, but not until recent years have they sought an increase of membership. The progress of the Lutherans and German Reformed had been seriously checked by the interruption of intercourse with Europe during the war. Most significant was the condition of the Anglicans. Throughout the South the Church of England was prostrate. Among its communicants in North Carolina were a number of revolutionary leaders and its clergy were as a rule true to the patriot cause. But its tradition of close alliance with the British colonial system was a serious hindrance, there was no local episcopate, and early efforts to organize the diocese of North Carolina failed. In strong contrast to this condition of "suspended animation" in the South was the virility of the church in the North. There the support of the colonial government had never been so thorough; yet after the war bishops were elected and consecrated for the states of Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and New York and in 1785 the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church was organized.

Evidently there was an opportunity for a church that had an organization suitable for a distinct propaganda, that was free from doctrinal disputes, and that was thoroughly consecrated to some elemental Christian truth which would appeal to the people. In Methodism the hour and the opportunity met. The line of expansion seems to have been determined in quite a measure by the relative strength of the Anglicans. In 1783 eighty per cent of the Methodist membership was in the South, in 1800 sixty per cent, and in 1810 fifty-seven per cent; in other words, the new denomination took hold most rapidly in that section in which the Church of England was most prostrate.

Let us notice the role of North Carolina in the new movement. The Methodist pioneers made their appearance in

North Carolina in 1772. The prevalent opinion is that the growth of the societies was checked by the Revolution, that many of the British preachers returned to England, and that the native circuit riders were popularly regarded as loyal to the Crown to the injury of their cause. Such a conclusion is not in accord with the facts, so far as North Carolina is concerned. In 1776 the membership of the societies in the State was 683; by 1783, the year of the treaty of peace, it had risen to 2,229, and the number of circuits was then increased from four to ten. A step toward independence from the Church of England was taken in 1779, when the preachers of North Carolina and Virginia appointed a presbytery of three with power to ordain themselves, then others. Through the influence of Francis Asbury this action was disavowed until Mr. Wesley could be consulted. In 1784 consent was given and the Methodist societies took on the clothes of a church at Baltimore. The mechanism of the new denomination was well suited to the task before it. The bishops were the generals, the presiding elders the captains, the circuit riders the soldiers of the line. All were engaged in a spiritual warfare; in contrast to the call of the congregation in the Presbyterian and Baptist polities, they were *sent* to the people. Not since the days of the Jesuit fathers in the French northwest had this country seen such an aggressive projection of the Christian faith; hardly since the days of St. Francis had Christianity known a religious type similar to the circuit rider. Like the friars, he knew no place of abode, parsonages not being authorized until 1800. The meagre salary of sixty-four dollars made poverty truly evangelical and, with the views of Asbury, made marriage practically impossible for the majority. Like the mediaeval saints the circuit riders frequently ministered to the intellectual and physical, as well as to the more spiritual needs of the people. What was the attitude of mind, and what were the methods of work among these *fratres minores* who rode the circuits of North Carolina in the latter part of the eighteenth and the first decade of the nineteenth centuries? Shall we turn to the Journal of Francis Asbury, which mentions North Carolina seventy times? Asbury was the preëminent saint of his age, but he was a man of unusual ability, a high

officer, and the directing genius of the early campaign of the Methodist host. Let us turn in preference to the life and thought of the average circuit riders who never attained commanding prominence, yet performed a service as essential as that of the supreme officers. A few of them kept diaries, which next to prayer are the most intimate expression of the inner life. Some entries made by one who travelled circuits in Virginia and North Carolina from 1788 to 1797 are illuminating for our purpose.

FIRST of all the diarist in question preached at nearly every resting place, holding usually two services. We are safe in estimating for him at least seven services a week, most of which were at private homes. He was never satisfied unless there was at each meeting some manifestation of Grace, either the conversion of the sinner or the rejoicing of the redeemed. To him the devil was a living person with whom he had conflicts as real as those of the early monks. "It was not many moments after," he writes of one meeting, "before I felt as if Hell received a reproof; the Lord Jesus appeared—his beautiful picture, his countenance ravished my heart, his presence made all within me rejoice." So intense was he on victory over Satan that exhaustion sometimes overtook him. "This," he writes, "is something that I cannot account for—when my strength of body fails, it cuts off my ideas short." Often when the diarist grieves that God is not with him, the reader realizes that physical infirmity is the real trouble. Given a few monasteries for occasional retreat, and among the early circuit riders would have arisen a group of religious writers comparable only to Thomas à Kempis, John Tauler, and William Law. Their lives and achievements, if they could be written, would make a veritable *Acta Sanctorum*.

Of particular interest was the diarist's reflections on slavery. At every opportunity he preached to the negroes; often they came in larger numbers by night than the whites by day. Whenever possible he argues with the masters concerning the wrongs of the institution. "If ever I get rich through slavery," he writes, "I shall esteem myself a traitor and claim a part in Hell with Judas, and the rich glutton." Again he says, "While the proud whites live in luxury and abomination making a

mock of God, and his word, the African upholds him by his swet and labor of his willing hands—and if they serve the Lord God it must be in the dead of night when they ought to be taking rest of their bodys. O, blood, blood, how awful it cryes up before God against my poor unjust professing Bro.”

Once he witnessed the realities of oppression. Preaching one day, “the dear black people was filled with the power and spirit of God and began with a great Shout to give glory to God—this vexed the Devil. He entered into the cruel white men with violence who eagerly ran into the church with sticks and clubs and caines—abeating and abusing the poor slaves them outcast of man for praising God . . . a magistrate that has taken the oath was the instigator of it . . . with bitter oaths and gnashing of teeth he put up a prayer that we the preachers was all in Some Misearable Infernal Place. . . I think if ever I saw happy people it was today under persecution. O the tears, screams, crys and groans for the wicked it was awful. I looked out the window while I stood at the desk and behold; a poor black bro. lucked me in the face, with bursting grief tears of blood, rolling down his bruised face, and cryed this is what I have for praising my dear Jesus. . . It reached my poor heart, I begged him to bare it for Christ Sake, he would soon (if he was faithful) be out of reach of their clubs—O how can I rest when I see my bro unhumanely treated. O America, America; blood and oppression will be thy overthrow.”

For years the diarist presented the cause of Christ with all his strength; then his itinerating days ended in the year 1797, not with death, but matrimony. But the rejoicing of the bridegroom could not be dissociated from some manifestation of Grace. On his wedding night he made this entry:

Monday, June 5. Many are my afflictions but I hope out of them God will deliver me. This blessed night about nine o'clock I was united in wedlock to Miss Polly Seward, daughter of John Seward, of Brunswick, state of Virginia, by the Rev. John Easter. I think God has owned this union which was sealed with the solemn ceremony. Bro. W. Spencer, whom I called Jonathan, was so kind as to give me his company and attendance. We had sweet prayer and thanksgiving together unto the blessed Lord. I thank God we had an answer to prayer. Many shouts were sent up to Heaven. It was a

solemn time with me, may the Lord bless us, and give us the sweet guidance of his Holy Spirit."

James Meacham, from whom I have quoted, was not the only circuit rider in North Carolina.* In 1783 there were on the North Carolina circuits eighteen preachers; by 1800 there were twenty-seven. Co-operating with them were a large number of local preachers, estimated by Jesse Lee in 1800 at 150. The work of the pioneers was not limited to preaching the gospel. They wielded an intellectual influence. Sometime between 1780 and 1790 Cokesbury School was established on the Yadkin, the first preparatory school in America under Methodist control. A few years after the Revolution Sunday schools were introduced for the purpose of instruction in the elementary branches, and the Conference of 1790 declared, "Let us labor, as the heart and soul of one man, to establish Sunday schools in or near the place of public worship. Let persons be appointed by the bishops, elders, deacons or preachers to teach (gratis) all that will attend and have a capacity to learn; from six o'clock in the morning till ten, and from two 'clock in the afternoon till six; where it does not interfere with public worship. The Council shall compile a proper school book, to teach them learning and piety." Just when the Methodist Sunday school appeared in North Carolina and how extensively the institution was used, I have not been able to learn. In Virginia the first Sunday school was organized in 1786, in South Carolina, in 1787. The circuit riders had still another intellectual influence. When the Methodist publishing house was organized they scattered its books and tracts throughout North Carolina. It is a matter of record that the Discipline of 1786 and also the first number of the *Arminian Magazine* were prepared for the press in North Carolina, the former by John Dickins on the Bertie Circuit, the latter by Coke and Asbury in 1789.

Nor were the Presbyterians and Baptists inactive. In 1788 the Synod of the Carolinas was organized, and the Presbyterian divines busied themselves in combating skepticism, restoring Sabbath observance, and holding short seasons of fasting and prayer in their churches twice a year. Long be-

* See *Diary and Travel of James Meacham* in Historical Papers, Series IX and X.

fore the camp meeting came into vogue, tents or stands for use of the minister in out-of-door preaching were common among the Presbyterian congregations. By the Baptists five new associations were organized, three in the west, the Yadkin (1790), Mayo (1798), and Mountain (1799), and two in the east, Tar River (1794), and Flat River (1794). Thus the period from 1783 to 1800 was one of preparation, characterized by a gradual extension of the churches into fields hitherto unoccupied and by denominational reorganization. The result was a rich harvest, ushered in by a great revival which began in 1801 and lasted for a decade. Baptist traditions regard it as a reflex of the great revival contemporary in the west, while good Presbyterian authority claims that it began in Orange County as the result of prayer meetings conducted by the wife of Dr. David Caldwell. With the Methodists the genesis of the revival undoubtedly was the Conference of 1800 which met in Baltimore. It closed with a distinct manifestation of Grace and the preachers carried the flame of evangelism to the most distant circuits. In North Carolina the revival started in the western counties, thence spread to the Cape Fear, then the coast and the Albemarle section, and culminated in a meeting at Raleigh, 1811. Here was a movement of epochal importance in our religious history. Let us notice some of its characteristics.

First of all there was co-operation on the part of the Methodists, the Presbyterians and the Baptists. The means of reaching the people was the camp meeting. Its origin dates from 1789 or 1790, when it was used in the western counties by John McGee and Daniel Asbury, and later was introduced by McGee into Tennessee and Kentucky. With the revival it became the most prominent means of carrying the gospel to the masses. The numbers attending were estimated by the thousands. From all accounts the results were greater in the piedmont than in the Cape Fear section. To a large degree this may be attributed to racial influences. In the western counties the population was largely Scotch-Irish. These people were exiles in a double sense. In the migration from Scotland to Ireland much of the discipline of the kirk was lost. The English Church was established in Ireland and the govern-

ment opposed any other form of Protestantism. Hence under great difficulties did the Presbyterian church in Ireland maintain its existence. Moreover, the early years of the Scotch in Ireland were years of conflict with rugged nature. Cabins were built, fields were cleared in face of opposition by the native Irish and the beasts of the forest. Thus for a time physical wants stood first. These facts, the frontier life and the policy of the English government, were the background for a new kind of religious experience which came about 1625, a wave of revivals conducted by missionaries, not in churches, but in the cabins of the settlers, the first form of prayer meeting. A century later the Scotch-Irish emigrated to America. Again the task of the first years was a conflict with nature, clearing the forest and establishing homes. The outlook for fruitful life was better than in Ireland; the hearts of the people were softened by the greater degree of liberty and old prejudices relaxed. The result was the revival of 1755 in the Piedmont section, led by Strubal Stearns, the Baptist missionary from New England, and the still greater revival of 1801.

On the other hand the experience of the Scotch Highlanders had been different. In Scotland the kirk was established and the chief religious interest was to defend it from criticism by the Anglicans. Hence the Scotch divines excelled in the philosophy of religion, the defense of traditional thought and forms of worship. Consequently neither in Scotland nor among the Scotch in America were Methodism or revivals very popular. Let me illustrate by two Presbyterian clergymen in North Carolina. Dr. David Caldwell, Scotch-Irish minister, educator and politician, welcomed the revival of 1801 as a special manifestation of Grace; likewise one of his congregations, the church at Alamance. Not so another of his congregations, the church at Buffalo. Alamance went so far as to adopt the evangelical hymns of Isaac Watts but Buffalo continued the old custom of singing the psalms. In strong contrast to Dr. Caldwell was Samuel MacCorkle, a Scotch minister. At first he was extremely doubtful of the value of the great wave of evangelism. At Caldwell's special invitation he attended a camp meeting in Randolph County. He was shocked by the scenes. "Is it possible, said I, that this scene

of seeming confusion can come from the spirit of God? Can He who called light from darkness, and order from confusion, educe light and order from such a dark mental and moral chaos?" Toward the close of the meeting, while still in doubt as to the efficacy of the revival, he was called to his own son, who was under conviction of sin. While praying over him the good dominie's interest widened to the whole world of sinners, his doubts of the value of revivals were dispelled, and he himself became active in camp meetings.

What has this attitude of the Presbyterians toward revivals to do with Methodism? Everything; the Calvinistic forces, both Presbyterian and Baptist, were divided as to the value and advisability of this method of propaganda. The Methodists were not divided, their Arminian doctrine made them unanimous, and hence in the end they reaped a greater harvest. By 1810 they had outstripped other denominations in point of numbers.

The phase of the revival that attracted most attention was the physical expression of emotion. Such religious exercises as falling or the jerks, dancing, barking, laughing, and singing were common. Such phenomena had characterized the previous revivals in Ireland and the piedmont section. They were most common among the Scotch-Irish. Most of our accounts are from Presbyterian sources. Typical were the scenes at a camp meeting held in Rutherford County in 1802 by Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists:

There was a powerful work among the people, such as had never been witnessed before in this part of the country. Many were astonished beyond measure, and appeared to be frightened almost to death. They would fall sometimes, under preaching, their whole length on the ground, and with such suddenness and violence as seemed almost enough to kill them. Some of my neighbors fell at my feet like men shot in battle. This the people called being "struck down," and when they professed religion, they called that "coming through."

One of the most mysterious exercises among the people was what was called the jerks. I saw numbers exercised in this way at a camp-meeting held in Lincoln County. Sometimes their heads would be jerked backward and forward with such violence that it would cause them to utter involuntarily a sharp, quick sound similar to the yelp of a dog; and the hair of the women to crack like a whip. Sometimes

their arms, with clenched fists, would be jerked in alternate directions with such force as seemed sufficient almost to separate them from the body. Sometimes all their limbs would be affected, and they would be thrown into almost every imaginable position, and it was as impossible to hold them still almost as to hold a wild horse. When a woman was exercised in this way, other women would join hands around her and keep her within the circle they formed; but the men were left without constraint to jerk at large through the congregation, over benches, over logs, and even over fences. I have seen persons exercised in such a way that they would go all over the floor with a quick, dancing motion, and with such rapidity that their feet would rattle upon the floor like drum-sticks.

Some of the Presbyterians got into some extremes and brought a reproach upon the good work. They got into what they called the dancing exercise, the marrying exercise, etc. Sometimes a whole set of them would get together and begin dancing about at a most extravagant rate. Sometimes they would be exercised about getting married, and one would tell another he or she had a particular revelation that they must be married, and if the one thus addressed did not consent, he or she must expect to be damned. Thus many got married, and it was said some old maids, who had nearly gotten antiquated, managed in this way to get husbands. But this was condemned by the more sober part among Presbyterians and Methodists, and it has now nearly subsided.*

In the light of such scenes it is not strange to hear that Methodist ministers were sometimes arrested or assaulted and that one husband applied a mustard plaster to his wife to cure her of Methodism. Experience with human souls in the camp meeting often brought with it an unusual knowledge of the mind and its operations. Sometimes the circuit riders utilized this knowledge for the cure of mental ailments. An example occurred in Wilmington in 1815. Joseph Travis was pastor of the Methodist Church. Among the residents of the town was an ex-governor of the state. One day he asked Travis to call on his wife who for some time had been treated by physicians for some mental disturbance. Hear Travis' account of the interview and its results:

Calling on the lady he found that "her head had been shaved and blistered, and I know not what besides had been tried, to restore her mind to a proper balance. Yet withal, she apparently grew worse. I told her that at the request of her husband, I had called to see her. She immediately commenced relating to me her deplorable insanity, and the cause leading thereunto; namely, a confusion of mind which

* David Gray, quoted from Shipp, *Methodism in South Carolina*, p. 273.

suddenly seized her one day; and withal that her greatest grief was that she was not prepared for death. I endeavored to convince her that she was not deranged, assuring her that a deranged person was not conscious of any aberration of mind. I pretty well convinced her of the fact and then proceeded to point her desponding and sin-smitten soul to the great atonement made for sinners by the death and resurrection of Christ. I conversed with her for a half hour or so, prayed with her, and left her. In a day or two afterwards, a carriage drove up to the parsonage. I stepped out, and who should it be but Mrs. Smith. I helped her out of the carriage and with weeping eyes as she entered the parsonage, she exclaimed, "O Sir! you have done me more good than all the doctors put together. You directed me to Jesus. I went to him by faith, and humble confidence and prayer. He has healed me, soul and body; I feel quite happy.*

In the eastern counties the outlook for converts to Methodism was different than in the west. There was a large negro population, and the whites were mainly of English rather than Scotch-Irish extraction. In those counties that had a large colored element in their population Methodism seems to have made a stronger appeal to the negroes than the whites. The first white convert in Fayetteville was baptized in 1802 although for some time there had been a large negro congregation, organized by Henry Evans, a free negro preacher. In Wilmington in 1802 the white membership was 48, the negro 231; in 1812 the figures were 94 white and 704 colored. In the Albemarle section the Methodist movement received the co-operation of the Anglicans. For this Reverend Charles Pettigrew was largely responsible. In vain he had labored to organize the surviving elements of the Church of England into a diocese. In fact he was elected Bishop of North Carolina in 1794 but was never consecrated. Realizing the futility of his efforts, he turned to Methodism as the best hope for religion. At his home he entertained the circuit riders, at the chapel on his plantation near Edenton they preached, and until 1839 Pettigrew's Chapel was a regular appointment on the Columbia Circuit.

The culmination of the evangelistic wave was reached in a meeting at Raleigh. There the Virginia Conference met in 1811. Its sessions were held in the State House because the small Methodist congregation had no building. Asbury was

* Autobiography of Joseph Travis, p. 80.

present, so were McKendree, Jesse Lee and other pioneers of Methodism. Guided by their preaching about fifty professed Christ, among whom was William Hill, Secretary of State from 1811 to 1859. The immediate result was the construction of a church, the direct antecedent of Edenton Street. Among the witnesses of the revival was William Glendenning, one of the original Methodist preachers in America. In 1785 he left the new denomination, dissatisfied with its form of government, joined O'Kelly's Republican Methodist Church; by 1811 he had become an Unitarian and pastor of the only church building in Raleigh. He welcomed his old associates and took a keen interest in the revival but frequently exclaimed, "I do not like the government, I do not like the government." It is very significant that the streams of Unitarianism and Methodism should have met in Raleigh. The town was the capital of the state and in political circles there was a well-defined revolt against religious traditions. Now Unitarianism stood for intellectual revolt in religion and Methodism for a moral revolt; both were for their day and time radical movements, directed against a wall of mental and moral conservatism. If the first church in the new capital was Unitarian, the second was Methodist, and the revival stimulated other denominations into life, for in a few years churches were built by Baptists, Presbyterians and the Episcopalians.

No review of the religious movement in North Carolina in the quarter century after the revolution would be complete without some consideration of its influence on the life of the people. Of this it is unfortunately difficult to make an estimate. Most of our church history consists of the biography of clergymen, outlines of theological controversies and the defense of institutions of the church to the neglect of the life and work of the laity. Moreover, as all the churches in North Carolina were growing or making efforts toward better organization of their forces in the period under consideration, it is very difficult to differentiate the religious influence of one denomination from that of another. Truly there is more likeness than dissimilarity among the children of God. Yet with due regard to these difficulties, certain conclusions are warranted.

First of all, the reality of religion was brought home to the people, principally by the revival of 1801. Now the latter half of the eighteenth century was preëminently an age of free thinking. Skepticism was then aggressive, scoffing, irreligious and irreverent, and such it remained until the scientific movement of the nineteenth century gave free thought, sound facts, a method, and a task. Now the skepticism of the older type existed among the intellectual class in North Carolina, and the uncultivated copied their betters and swaggered about unbelief. Churches had not been too numerous either in country or towns, and the cause of religion had not been very extensively or very thoroughly presented prior to the Revolution. The great revival, therefore, marks healthy reaction, an awakening of the people to the reality of the religious element in life. The conversion of the infidel was a common event. Typical is the following account by James Jenkins. Writing in 1802 of a meeting in the Waxhaws he says: "One among many remarkable cases I will relate of a professed atheist who fell to the earth and sent for brother Gassaway to pray for him. After laboring in the pangs of the new birth for some time, the Lord gave him deliverance. He then confessed before hundreds that for some years he had not believed there was a God now found him gracious to his soul." The reaction from infidelity probably explains in some measure the religious exercises and visions, phenomena which do not occur today because the claims of religion are familiar to us from early youth. People in the present generation are not less religious but more normal in the expression of their convictions.

Out of the religious movement came a demand for moral reform. Illustrative was a new attitude toward alcohol. Every gentleman had his private distillery, the leading politician of North Carolina is said to have kept a bucket of corn whiskey at his front door, and the manufacture and peddling of liquors was an industry as common as raising cotton or tobacco. Yet in the Methodist Conference minutes of 1783 we find the following question and answer:

Q.—"Should our friends be permitted to make spirituous liquors, sell, and drink them in drams?"

A.—“By no means; in that it is wrong in its nature and consequences, and desire all our preachers to teach the people by precept and example to put away the evil.”

So far as I have been able to find this is the genesis of the prohibition movement in the South. Later local preachers were prohibited under penalty to distill or retail spirituous liquors. However, the issue was injected into politics by the Baptists when in 1817 the following resolutions were adopted by the Sandy Creek Association:

Whereas, this association views with concern and regret the custom existing among candidates for public posts of honor and profit, of distributing spirituous liquors among the people, in order to enhance their own popularity, and influence the suffrages of their fellow citizens at elections; and whereas such a custom is both ruinous to the morals and happiness of the people, and dangerous to their civil rights and liberties.

1. Resolved unanimously, That a person be appointed to prepare a memorial to be presented to the next meeting of the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, praying them to enact a law against this degrading evil.

2. Resolved, That it be recommended to the churches of this association to refuse their support to any candidate who shall, either himself or by another person distribute spirituous liquors with a view to conciliate the affections of the people.

3. Resolved, That this association concur with their brethren of the Flat River Association, in inviting all professing Christians, and lovers of the good order and morality, to lend their decided co-operation to avert the evils which this custom entails upon us.

4. Agreed that Brother George Dismukes wait upon the legislature with the memorial of this body.”

The great revival deeply influenced the various denominations. Increase of membership made possible more compact church organization. In 1803 the Lutheran synod of North Carolina was formed. In 1813 the Presbyterian churches withdrew from the Synod of the Carolinas and organized the Synod of North Carolina. In 1817 the Episcopalians organized the Diocese of North Carolina, with three clergymen and less than 200 laity. John Stark Ravenscroft was elected Bishop and at the end of his episcopate in 1830 there were eleven clergymen and 650 lay members.

Of all churches the Baptist was most profoundly affected. Two issues, the direct result of the revival, convulsed the denomination. One was that of missions. In 1805 the Philanthropic Baptist Missionary Society was organized, the first Baptist society for missions in the United States, followed in 1814 by the North Carolina Baptist Society for Foreign Missions, the former acting through the association, the latter through individuals. In 1817 the contributions of the North Carolina Baptists for missions surpassed those of any other state, except Massachusetts. However the cause of home missions overshadowed that of foreign missions. A second movement was for closer relationship between the associations, resulting in the Baptist General Meeting of Correspondence of 1812. In 1821 the Philanthropic Society and the General Meeting were merged into the North Carolina Baptist Missionary Society, with salaried officers and the purpose of developing systematic benevolence. Undoubtedly the increasing importance of domestic over foreign missions and the attempt at co-operation among the associations were due to competition of the Methodists, who by 1810 had passed the Baptists in numbers. But the movements were bitterly opposed. The spirit of individualism was so strongly rooted that there was fear of any semblance of authority beyond the local church. Moreover, the rigid Calvinistic element criticized the organized propaganda for missions as a diversion from God's plans. Much bitterness was engendered. When the party of progress organized the Baptist State Convention in 1831, three of the older associations repudiated the movement and the spirit of schism split many of the churches.

Nor was the problem of organization confined to the Baptists. Considerable dissatisfaction pervaded the Methodists. In the early days of the church there was discontent with the episcopacy. Joseph Pilmoor, the first Methodist preacher in North Carolina, never left the Church of England. William Meredith, who introduced Methodism into Wilmington, lived and died a Primitive Methodist. Glendenning, as we have seen, became a Unitarian, and Parson Miller, of Rowan County, never left the Church of England; indeed, he helped to establish the Diocese of North Carolina.

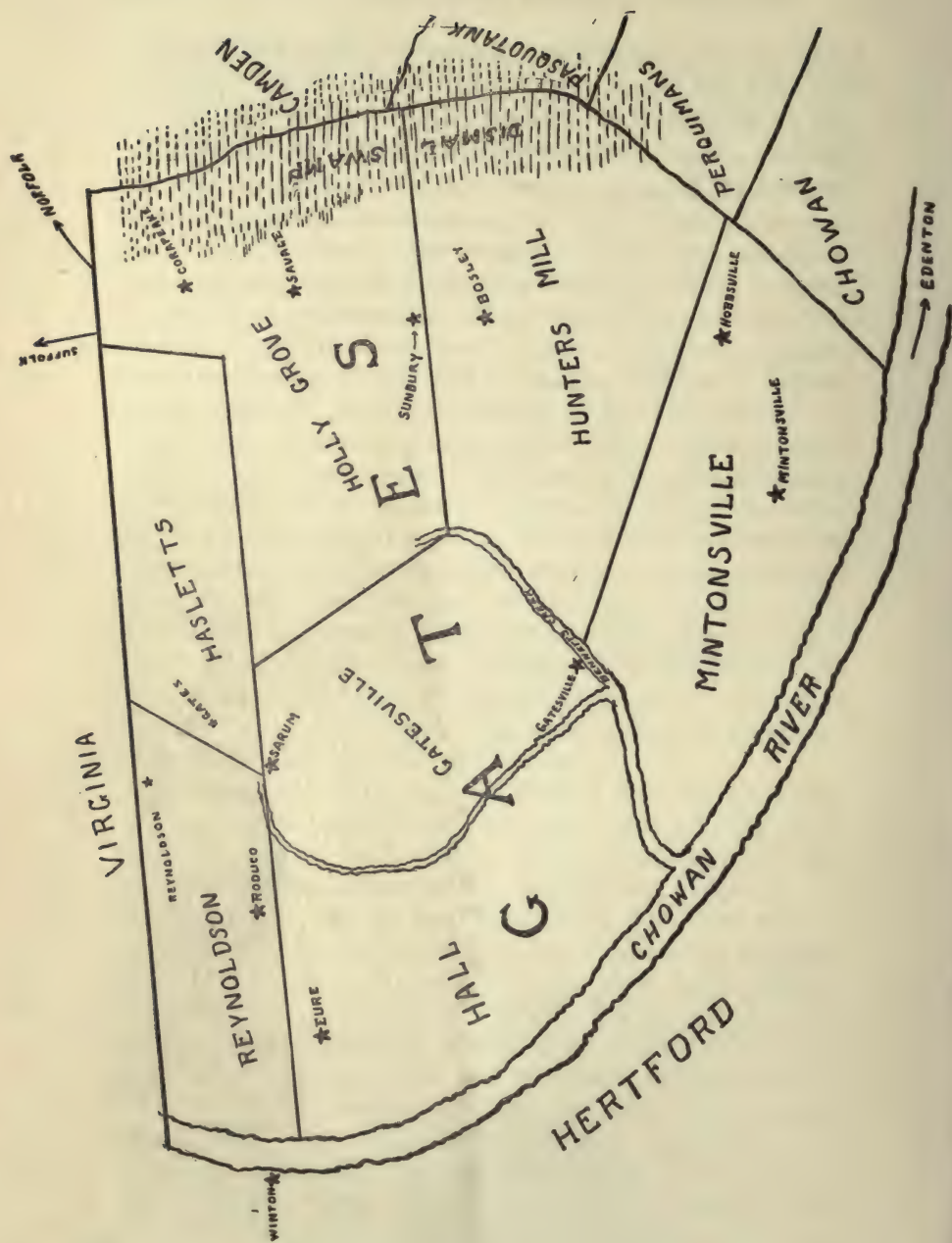
The leader of the earlier discontent was James O'Kelley, a native of Ireland, who spent his later years in Chatham County, North Carolina. When the motion to allow the itinerant to appeal from the Bishop to the Conference in the matter of his appointment was rejected in 1792, O'Kelley withdrew and soon organized the Republican Methodist Church, now the Christian Church. Another period of discontent opened after the great revival. On account of the small salary of the itinerant, there was a host of local preachers who retired from the ranks in order to support their families. They participated in the camp meetings and the revivals, and demanded recognition in the councils of the church. In 1820 the General Conference allowed them to organize district conferences, the chairmen of which were the presiding elders. This concession was not enough; in 1821 the Roanoke District Conference of Local Preachers sent to similar bodies and also to the Virginia Conference a protest against rules for their government made by a general conference in which they were not represented, and a petition for representation was sent up to the General Conference of 1824. From other states were also sent petitions for lay representation. When these were rejected, "union societies" were organized to agitate for reform, the second society in the movement being the Roanoke Union Society, organized in Halifax County, Nov. 3, 1824. A little later the Granville Union was formed on the Tar River Circuit. The policy of the itinerants and presiding elders toward the movement for reform was drastic. Accusing members of the unions of inveighing against the discipline and sowing dissensions, they frequently expelled them from the churches. When a second appeal for reform to the General Conference of 1828 was rejected, a new denomination was launched, the Associated Methodist Churches, later the Methodist Protestant Church; the first annual conference of the new movement was organized in North Carolina in December, 1828.

These revolts were safety valves for discontent. They did not impede the growth of the Methodist Episcopal Church which continued to surpass other denominations in point of numbers. Let us inquire in conclusion if Methodism made

any distinct contribution to religious life and thought in North Carolina. Undoubtedly it did. That contribution did not spring from its superior organization or methods of work but from its doctrine and the attitude of mind arising from it. Of the denominations that made a distinct appeal to the masses, Methodism alone was Arminian, the Baptists and Presbyterians being Calvinistic. The important of this doctrinal cleavage is realized when we contrast certain by-products. Granted the theory of predestination, it inevitably follows that the elect of God are differentiated from the rest of humanity. Moreover the interests of the elect can not be confined to matters purely spiritual. Their voice should be heard in political and social affairs. It is not strange therefore to find Calvinistic ministers taking a leading part in political conventions, preaching on the merits of the federal constitution, serving in the legislature and the halls of Congress. The Calvinistic congregation was a force to be reckoned with in matters of politics and government. Moreover the elect of God must eat and drink; should they not patronize the merchant of their own denomination? Their children had to be educated; should they not be sent to the school conducted by one of the elect? Calvinism produced a corporate spirit from which sprang a denominational influence in politics and education.

In strong contrast is the by-product of Arminianism. If the will is free to accept Christ, Christians cannot be set apart from the rest of humanity in one group or a number of groups; religious values spring from private judgment, the acceptance of Christ by man, rather than the choice of God manifested through certain ordinances or church membership. The spirit of Methodism is, therefore, individualistic. The corporate spirit is almost entirely lacking, and its chief product is a liberal attitude toward all men. Before the Methodist laymen will patronize the Methodist merchant or the Methodist school, he must be shown that these are just as good as any others that can be found elsewhere. Rarely have the preachers exercised a political influence, as in the case of the Calvinistic clergy. Moreover as salvation is open to all, Methodism may use in carrying out its purposes professors of

Christ of any denomination whatsoever. This liberality toward men and human agencies has been the distinct contribution of Methodism to religious life and thought in North Carolina. May it never diminish but increase in influence as the years go by.



GATES COUNTY TO 1860 *

BY ISAAC S. HARRELL

INTRODUCTION

In the northeastern part of North Carolina, bordering Virginia and about thirty miles as the crows fly from Norfolk, is situated the county of Gates. On the west lies the county of Hertford and the boundary to the south is marked by the historic counties of Chowan and Perquimans. On the east the county is cut off from civilization by the dense Dismal Swamp, which is as rich in fine timbers and wild beasts as the old town of Edenton, in Chowan County, is in tradition and legend. The county thus situated has an area of 356 square miles and in 1910 the Federal Census reported a population of 10,455; with the exception of a few of the more thrifty and enterprising counties of the State, Gates is about the average in size and population and a little behind in industry.¹

The county is dotted over with small swamps and pocosons leading either into the great Dismal Swamp on the east or into Bennett's Creek and thence into the Chowan River to the south. Along these swamps, pocosons and creeks lie some of the rich farming lands characteristic of eastern Carolina; the people have no difficulty in producing a large crop if the season is suitable, but too much rain means disaster. Between the low, marshy lands scattered here and there over the county are sand ridges, and on these ridges it is extremely difficult to make a good crop; if there is too much rain the crop will drown, and a short drought will parch vegetation. The money crops of the county are cotton and peanuts; occasionally some thrifty farmer succeeds in marketing an early crop of Irish potatoes. Corn and other grains are raised for home consumption only. The low fertile lands bordering the swamps are covered with reeds that remain green throughout the year and apparently offer a good opportunity for stock raising; but in summer the flies and mosquitoes make grazing impracticable and in winter a large area of the land is flooded with water. However many of the farmers raise a few hogs for the nearby meat packers

* The following topics are discussed: Early Descriptions, The Negro, Churches, Education, Politics, Economic Conditions.

of Suffolk and Norfolk; but even these have to be kept in a pasture by the farmers who live near the great swamps, in order to protect them from beasts that frequently make raids from their homes in the swamp to nearby ranges.

There are no large landowners in the county; all belong to the small farmer class. The products of the county are not as great as they are in some of the other counties of similar area. In 1910 the farms with their live stock were valued at \$1,330,000 and the products not fed to live stock were valued at \$528,348. There are no manufacturing establishments and no cities. There is only one navigable stream in the county, Bennett's Creek, and this leads through a circuitous route to the Chowan River and the Albemarle Sound. Thus in industrial pursuits Gates falls into the class of the unimportant counties of the state.

The county of Gates was established by the General Assembly in 1788.² The name Gates was chosen in honor of General Gates, who had just triumphed in his famous campaign over General Burgoyne in New York. The law of incorporation reads in part: "Whereas by reason of the width of the Chowan River and the difficulty of passing over the same, especially in boisterous weather, it is extremely inconvenient for the inhabitants of the north-east end of the said river, to attend courts and other public business, as also for the convenience of the inhabitants of the north of Chowan and Perquimans Counties, it is necessary that the same be divided into a distinct and separate county."

After the county was created by the General Assembly, it was laid off into townships. That part which was formerly in Perquimans went to make up Mintonville Township. This township was in the eastern part of the county, and was bordered by the Dismal Swamp. In the northern part of the county, just above Mintonville and bordering the Virginia line, the township known in the early days as Folley and later as Holley Grove, was formed. West of the Folley Township and bordering the Virginia line was Hasletts. Adjoining this township and to the west was Reynoldson Township, or the Brick House as it is designated in the early returns because of the place where the elections were held. This township

was joined on the west by Hertford County. To the south of Reynoldson the township known as Hall was laid off. East of this township and south of Hasletts and Folley Townships was Gatesville. The townships of Gatesville, Reynoldson, Hall and Hasletts were formed from Hertford and Chowan counties and in politics always stood exactly opposed to the township of Mintonville, formed from that part of the county taken from Perquimans. Holley Grove or the Folley Township was formed from parts of Perquimans and part of Chowan and was about evenly divided in local political strife as will be explained later. In the earliest returns that can be obtained (those of 1842) there are returns from Hunter's Mill but in many of the returns that follow there is no mention of this township and whether it was united with other townships for several years and later re-established or whether the returns are lost, cannot be ascertained. This township is situated in the middle of the county between Gatesville and Mintonville and south of Folley Township. The situation of these townships and their political status were important influences in the development of the county.

The history of Gates County is not attractive because of any illustrious achievements within its border; there were no great leaders in state or national politics in the early days who hailed from Gates. It was an inert county from the very beginning; there were no agitations for reform; everyone was satisfied with things as they were.

Hence the value of Gates County history is that it illustrates life in North Carolina under average conditions uninfluenced by the stress of progress or extreme poverty.

EARLY DESCRIPTIONS

In order to understand clearly the social and economic conditions in Gates County, it will be necessary to trace briefly the development of the territory from which the county was formed. The best authority for conditions in the country prior to its formation is notes that are to be gathered from the records of travellers visiting the Albemarle section.

The territory included in Gates County was first settled about 1660. Tradition has it that the first settlement was

made near Corapeake (then Oropeake, an Indian name) about two miles from the Virginia line and in what is now Holley Grove Township. The first record we have of a visit to this section, is that of George Fox, the great Quaker preacher, who visited the country about 1672. He came by way of Summer-ton, Virginia, and proceeded to what is now Gatesville, the county seat of Gates, and reports to have seen only one house during the trip of twelve miles. He describes the country as being very barren, especially on the sand ridges, and the many swamps and marshes made his travel slow. He reports only one house at Bonner's Creek (now Bennett's), the present site of Gatesville. Here he spent the night and made the best he could of the pioneer accommodations and on the next day proceeded down the creek to the Chowan River and thence to Edenton, then the most important place in the Province of Carolina. The tradition has it that the first settlement was at Corapeake, one mile from the Dismal Swamp, and Fox entered the colony ten miles to the west. Probably there were houses in the western part of what is now Gates that he did not see.³

It is evident that settlers came in rapidly after 1705, for in 1711 a visitor reports that a Mr. Mashburn was conducting a school at Sarum and that he had children under him who could read and write. From all indications this school was for the Indians and was supported by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, a society in England organized to establish churches in America. This same place is called Indian Town in 1719 when an Episcopal Chapel, the first in the region, was established there.⁴

When William Byrd surveyed the dividing line between North Carolina and Virginia in 1730, he was in territory that later became Gates County for more than a month, and from his reports one is led to believe that there were a good many inhabitants at that time; he writes that the priest accompanying the expedition married a few people and baptized many children. The impression one gets from reading Byrd's *History of the Dividing Line* is that these early people of the section were very primitive, and for the most part very idle. He records that they had adopted the Indians custom of letting the

women do all the work in the fields while the men sat around and smoked. The people lived in log huts and showed no signs of being discontented with their lot. Their only ambition was not to live in Virginia; to live in North Carolina meant less, and often, no tax.⁵

By 1758 the country was taking forward steps; in that year the first post route in North Carolina was established, running from Suffolk, Virginia, to Edenton, and on to Wilmington. This route passed through Gates and gave the people the opportunity to come in touch with the civilized world. In all probability this route went through Summerton, Sarum, and by Pipkin's Store.* It is true the route through Corpeake and Sunbury was nearer and there was a road running that way, as the accounts of travellers show, but Summerton was quite a trading place and there must have been several houses at Sarum. Also there was a stage coach some twenty years later from Suffolk to Wilmington by way of Sarum, and in all probability the coach line would follow the route of the mail line.⁶

No definite conclusions can be reached through a study of the notes made by those who travelled the country in these early days. Some describe it as barren and destitute, covered with sand hills and swamps; other reports are more favorable. J. F. D. Smythe makes the following entry: "We remained in Edenton only a few days and then persued our journey northward, through a country covered with sand and pines, a country dead flat, infested with swamps, and the land everywhere miserably poor and barren. On the second day after we left Edenton, in North Carolina, we came to a town called Suffolk, in Virginia, having travelled around on the edge of the Great Dismal Swamp the principal part of the journey." Smythe made his tour in 1783.⁷

Some travellers coming before Smythe when the country was in all probability not so well developed, give a different account. About 1760 the young George Washington, who was rising into prominence by virtue of his surveys for the great Fairfax estate, came to the country. His mission was to investigate the possibility of constructing internal waterways

* Until a few years ago there stood in Gates County, at Pipkin's, an old tavern called "Pipkin's Inn" and according to tradition this adds one more to those "infinitesimal" number of places where General Lafayette was entertained.⁸

as to open up the section. This was a business scheme and his observation can be reckoned as based on intense study. He has the following to say of the country that is now Gates County and its probability of betterment: "The Main Swamp of Oro-peake is about one-half onward from this, where stands the widow Norflets, Mi & Luke Sumner's Plantations. This swamp cannot be less than 200 yards across, but does not nevertheless discharge as much water as Cypress Swamp. At the mouth of this swamp is a very large meadow of 2 or 3000 acres, held by Sumner, Widow Norflet, Marmaduke Norflet, Powel and others, and valuable ground it is."⁸

In 1777 Ekannah Watson passed over the same road travelled by Smythe and Washington and he writes: "Proceeding: from Suffolk to Edenton, North Carolina, we passed over a spacious and level road through a pine forest, which, being in this district extended quite across in North Carolina. We travelled near the north border of the Great Dismal Swamp, which at this time was infested by concealed loyalist and runaway slaves, who could not be approached with safety. They often attack travellers and had recently killed a Mr. Williams. We entered North Carolina late in the day, availing ourselves of the hospitality so characteristic of southern manners, and threw ourselves upon the kindness of Mr. Granby,* a wealthy farmer and merchant."⁹

Five years later Watson again came to the same section and this time he found Gates County organized. He has the following to say, which throws a good deal of light on the existing conditions of the time in all of the mediocre communities of the State and of the South: "At Suffolk I had no alternative but to embark in a returning coal-cart, with one miserable horse and a black boy as driver. I embarked this mode of conveyance in order to reach the house of Mr. Granby, a wealthy planter of Gates County where I had been hospitably entertained in '77. I was compelled to travel two hours, in intense darkness, in this Tybun-like style, amid a storm of rain; and I

* This Mr. Granby was one of the most wealthy men in the county and lived about where Sunbury is now located. As was frequently the custom, the place was called after the leading man in the community and thus a place grew up called Granby and can be found on the map by that name. Later it came to be called Sunbury and then Sunbury. There is an old bridge near Sunbury that retains the name of Granby.¹⁰

arrived dripping wet and bespotted with mud." The writer goes on to say that Granby did not recognize him as his visitor of '77 and wished to turn him out in the rain, but almost by force the traveller went into the house where he found a dancing party. Once in the light Granby recognized the traveller as his visitor of five years back and made profuse apologies.¹¹

Thus from the records of these three men who visited the region that later became Gates county and who passed over the same route, we get an entirely different impression of conditions. It is very evident that the period that had elapsed since Byrd was in the community was one marked by progress. The country was opened, progress was on foot, things went forward by leaps and bounds; in fact all evidence leads to the belief that the period from 1740-1780 was the period in which the country that later became Gates County made great progress. By 1790 the people of the county compared favorably with those that lived in wealthy counties of the state. It was during this period that the log hut was abandoned and a more comfortable structure erected; slavery was introduced; lands were opened up; roads were laid out; churches established—in short it was during this period that the county took on all of those things that go to make up southern culture of the eighteenth century. There were a number of substantial people who were recognized throughout the section, men had begun to build up considerable fortunes, and from all evidence they were intensely interested in local and national issues.

The first Federal Census taken in 1790 shows that the county had a population at that time of 5,372. Of this number 73 were free negroes, 2,219 were slaves and 3,080 were free whites. There were listed 348 families in the county who had slaves and 282 who did not hold slaves. None of the slave-holders were exceedingly wealthy, most owned a few slaves, none a very large number. The outlook for progress was very bright; there was room for active competition, there was no apparent danger of a few men dominating the whole county. The distribution of slaves was as follows:

Families who owned from 1 to 5 slaves.....	205
Families who owned from 5 to 10 slaves.....	69
Families who owned from 10 to 20 slaves.....	53
Families who owned from 20 to 30 slaves.....	14
Families who owned from 30 to 40 slaves.....	7

Apparently there was no family in the county which held over 40 slaves and the seven owners who held over thirty slaves were:

<i>Name</i>	<i>Residence</i>	<i>Number of Slaves</i>
Miles Benton	Wiggins X Roads	40
John Baker	Lower Part of County	32
Josiah Granberry	Sunbury	30
Isaiah Pipkins	Near Reynoldson	34
Thomas Hunter	Near Sunbury	33
Cornud Orin (Orund?)	Near Drumhill	31
William Baker	Below Gatesville	35

From this background it is evident that Gates County came out of the Revolutionary War with as good prospects for development as could be desired. Proportionally she was about as rich as any of the counties except those with the larger towns, such as Chowan, Orange, and New Hanover. The section was having a wave of prosperity and development. In 1790 the Dismal Swamp Canal was chartered and work was soon begun on it; a little time and money would connect the county with this waterway and with Norfolk. However, in spite of these seeming advantages the development of the county from 1790-1860 does not compare favorably with that of other counties in the state. Gates seems to have made few steps forward. The population increased slowly; industries not at all. To account for this stagnation is difficult. It is due to some extent to the failure to build canals, which will be taken up later. Again there was a general depression throughout the extreme eastern counties when the lands to the west were being opened. Many left the county and went to join the rich land-owners and slave-holders in the far south. Those who were the thrifty and the most prosperous,—the Browns, Granberys, Orunds, Carrs, and Beamons—were all led to the south by the allurements of joining the large class of slave-holders. Again those who stayed at home did not conduct their plantations in such a way as to make them profitable.

In investigating the social conditions in the county prior to 1860 the first factor to be considered is the negro—first the free negro, then the slave.

THE NEGRO

In Gates County the negro was never a political problem; there is no evidence of the abolition sentiment being strong enough to feature in politics. The negro, both free and slave, was a problem of social rather than political importance.

The free negroes held a position in Gates County similar to that held by the same class in the mediocre communities throughout the state. They were not sufficient in number to cause any apprehension until the insurrection in Southampton County, Virginia; after that uprising the people were diligent in their watch over both the free negro and the slave. The figures gathered from the census for 1790 to 1860 give the following facts concerning the number of free negroes and slaves¹³

	<i>Free Negroes</i>	<i>Slaves</i>
1790	72.....	2219
1800	82.....	2688
1810	111.....	2790
1820		
1830	327.....	3648
1840	381.....	3647
1850	396.....	3876
1860	361.....	3901

Thus in the early days the number of free negroes in the county was not sufficient to cause any unrest on the part of the people. However as the years advanced the number increased more rapidly than the increase of either the slave or the white population. This increase was due to some extent to the prolific character of the negro race. However there were other factors at work. Many of the whites in the early days freed their slaves, for before the introduction of the cotton gin slavery was not a profitable institution. We find in the will of Joseph Riddick, one of the largest slave owners, provisions for freeing certain of his slaves.¹⁴ Again it is very probable that many of the free negroes came into the county from Virginia, where the free negroes were plentiful; for during that period

that the free negroes fall off there are indictments in the county courts against free negroes coming into the county from other states contrary to the state law. In 1844 fourteen free negroes were indicted by the grand jury of the county for coming in from Virginia without permission.¹⁵ What the court did with these negroes cannot be ascertained but it is reasonably certain that they did not leave the county. The names of those indicted, Collins, Boon, Brown and Copeland, are common to negroes in the county today who boast that they were of free ancestry. In the years from 1810-1830 the free negroes increased rapidly, as will be seen by the preceding table, but after 1840 the free negro population was practically stationary. Evidently the negroes immigrated to the county when the laws respecting free negroes were lax and often not enforced. When the state laws became more strict, especially when the trouble with the negroes in Southampton, Virginia, arose, there was pressure for local enforcement of the law. During the same period the tendency was stronger to free slaves than it was after the cotton gin gave the black an added value. After 1840 the free negroes do not increase; probably some went to the North where they could hold a more commanding position. From 1850 to 1860 there was a slight decrease in the free negro population, as the table shows. It was during the period from 1810-1830, before the people had been awakened to their danger by the insurrection in Virginia, that the free negroes thrived in the county.

Although there are no records of there being any schools for the free negroes in the county, the census of 1850 records over half of the male free negroes as being able to read and write. There are no records of them voting but every tax list carries a number of free black polls. It was the custom to make the negroes pay all the tax that could be extracted from them and even after the disfranchisement of the free negro in 1835 he was required to pay poll tax.¹⁶

The census records all the free negroes in the county as having white blood.¹⁷ Although conditions were not as bad as they were in Hertford, where a large number of negroes were the direct descendants of prominent white men, the relation between the negroes and the whites was by no means to

be commended. It is probable that some of these free negroes with white blood came from other counties and multiplied in Gates; however miscegenation existed to some extent in the county, for there was one prominent citizen, and in all probability more, who kept negro concubines. This man built at his own expense a church for the free negroes; this church was known as New Hope Baptist Church and part of the time had a free negro preacher. The church was built in 1859 and no slaves were admitted; even after the war it would not for a long time admit any negro who had been a slave, the line always being drawn between those "born free and those shot free." A negro by the name of William Reid preached at this church before the war and among its principal members were the Cuffs, Rooks, Boons, and Copelands, all names prominent among the negroes of the county today.¹⁸

It is evident from the foregoing that the policy of the people of the county towards the free negro was comparatively mild. In fact it was so mild in the early period that it was a desirable place for the free negro to live, as immigration to the county bears evidence. The free negroes were comparatively few in number, especially before 1810, and after 1830 they increased very little, and all of them were mulattoes; it is not strange that the policy towards them was lenient.

The people of Gates County were easy-going and never worried, for they did not believe in commercializing life. "Live and be happy" was their motto. The slaves of the county lived in this atmosphere and their treatment was consequently mild. The master was fond of his slave very much as a kind man is fond of a good horse. The environment of the slaves must have been good for the mortality statistics of slaves in 1850 are better than those of the whites.¹⁹ Of course there were some cruel slave-owners and there were some bad slaves; but, if the information of those, both white and black, who remember the ante-bellum days can be relied upon, the slave in Gates County had about as easy a time as a slave could expect. The strongest evidence that can be found to the contrary is the record of a case that reached the Supreme Court in 1843. A slave, Gilbert, was hired to one Parker by Copeland and the day before the slave was to be returned

Parker attempted to punish him. Gilbert ran from Parker, who shot the negro in the back when at a distance of only 10 feet. Only the smallness of the shot saved the negro. Cope-land brought suit against Parker for damage done his property, the negro. The Superior Court of Gates County decided that Parker had no right to shoot the slave unless the slave showed resistance and held that the owner should be compensated for any permanent damage done to the slave. Parker appealed to the Supreme Court of the State which affirmed the decision of the lower court. This case shows that the tendency of the county was to protect the slave from mistreatment.²⁰

As has already been stated the slaves were brought into this section between 1730 and 1760 in all probability, for it was during this period that the plantation system developed and the country prospered most. In the early days the number of slaves compared to the number of whites is very favorable, however after 1790 many of the counties in the state took on new life and slave and free negroes increased rapidly. No such conditions prevailed in Gates, as the following table will illustrate:²¹

<i>Year</i>	<i>Slaves</i>	<i>Whites</i>
1790	2219	3080
1800	2688	3111
1810	2790	3062
1820 .....	.....	.....
1830	3648	3891
1840	3647	4130
1850	3876	4159
1860	3901	4181

The statistics of 1790 compare well with those of other counties, but Gates was stationary from 1840-1860. In 1790 the slaves were well divided among the people as a preceding table has illustrated; this condition prevailed up to the Civil War. There is only one instance of one master owning as many as one hundred slaves and this was in 1860. His name was Mills Roberts and he lived in Mintonville Township. There were a score who held as many as fifty and half as many held seventy-five.²² On the whole the number of slaves and the number of whites were about equal. In the early period the tendency was for the slaves to increase faster than

the whites, as is shown in the period 1800-1810, when the slave population made a slight increase and the white population a decline; however after that date the white population began to quicken its pace and in 1830 the slave population became stationary.

Where the slave-owners held a great number of slaves, there was always a tendency to have severe laws; the slaves being massed together and there being more danger of discontent and rebellion, it was natural for the laws to be more severe. The farmers of Gates County did not fall into the class of large slave owners, as did the planters of some of the other counties, and this may account to some extent for the laxity of the enforcement of the somewhat lenient state laws. There were some bad slaves, to be sure, and these were dealt with in a high-handed manner when the crime was severe. As an example, a negro named Pete killed a white man in January, 1803. The crime was committed in the morning and before noon he was outlawed by the county government. He was caught about two o'clock of the same afternoon. Five magistrates of the county assembled at Gates Court House, the county seat, the same afternoon gave him a trial and he was sentenced and executed before night.²³ However the slaves were seldom in court and their offences were generally buying or selling some trifle; the laxity of the court indicates their good behavior. The usual punishment for a slave buying or selling except for his master was thirty-nine lashes but this punishment was seldom imposed in Gates, especially during the early days. There are several instances of masters being indicted for allowing slaves to assemble in their kitchens after night, contrary to state law, and these masters were fined. The poor whites were also indicted for selling trifles, usually liquor, to negro slaves and were fined, the slave generally escaping punishment.²⁴

There was only one time in the history of the county when the slaves threatened to cause trouble, after which we find the slave laws were enforced more rigidly and the free negroes were watched more closely. In August, 1831, the slaves led by a free negro preacher, Nat Turner, of Southampton County, Virginia, planned to have a great insurrection and kill off all

the whites. The day was fixed, and the slaves all through the eastern part of Carolina and Virginia were to rise. The leaders got drunk and began the work Sunday before the fixed time but their plan did not succeed. However they succeeded in killing some fifty white people and alarming the entire section of the country before they could be stopped. When the people in Gates heard of the uprising, they left their farms and came to Gatesville, the men to join the militia and the women to be protected. Southampton County was not far away and in Hertford, the adjoining county in North Carolina, an uprising was expected every hour. The people in their distress wrote to the governor for aid. John Pipkins, head of the Gates County militia, wrote as follows:

GATES Co., Augs. 23, 1831.

His Excellency, Montford Stokes,

Dear Sir,

Our defenseless situation impells me at this important crisis, to call on you for some of the public arms to defend our families and our citizens. Not one-half the Regiment under my command is armed. We have just received news from our sister county (Hertford) the important intelligence of an insurrection in the county of South Hampton, Va., and the town of Mufreesboro is hourly expected to be the next scene of bloodshed—The citizens are all in army and all the arms we can raise is now resorted to.

About 200 armed negroes with musketts and bayonetts have made their first attack upon the citizens of South Hampton and have murdered 25 families and they are not as yet arrested in their bloody designs. About 100 stand of arms I think would be a great protection to us—and we need them immediately for our protection.

I am yours with respect,

(Signed) JOHN D. PIPKIN.

However the people were not willing to trust their fate to one letter for they realized the eminent danger and they took pains to bring all possible pressure to bear on the governor. The same day John B. Baker, a man of prominence living in Gatesville, wrote to the governor as follows:

GATES COURT HOUSE, 23rd Augt.

Sir

You, sir, no doubt have been informed that there is a serious insurrection of the negroes in a neighboring County of Va., and the militia are now collecting here—But we have no arms—I had no

notion of so few that can be serviceable being in the hands of our regiment; we have, as far as ascertained, not arms for one-third of the men. This is a wretched situation to be placed in, when all are alarmed, and I fear the most serious consequences if the danger should approach nearer to us.

I am induced to make this statement to you to aid the statement of our Col., with whom you are not acquainted. If sir, you can do so, send us arms as soon as possible. One-hundred stands would place us probably out of danger.

I do not send you the reports from Va. as no doubt you will have received them before this reaches you. They are more alarming than the report of any previous insurrection that I have any knowledge of.

Yours most obediently,

(Signed) JOHN B. BAKER.

These two letters show something of the distress caused in the county by the insurrection in Southampton. There are no reports of any trouble with the negroes in the county trying to rebel. The troops rapidly assembled and in a few days the matter was over. But the people never forgot the uprising; it made a lasting impression upon them of the constant danger of the negro. Perhaps this has much to do with the more stringent enforcement of the slave laws of the state. Although there were no ordinances on slavery passed by the county court after the insurrection, there was certainly a more rigid enforcement of the laws passed by the state. Gates County raised troops to send to help out the inhabitants of Southampton and the legislature passed an act allowing the county and also Hertford to levy a tax to pay the expenses of mobilization of troops. The state also passed an act in 1833 providing for the more stringent enforcement of the patrol laws in Gates County.²⁶ This law provided that the patrolmen should be paid, and provided for a tax to be levied on black polls to raise the necessary amount. No man could serve as a patrolman, except in case of an uprising, who did not own slaves. These measures were characteristic of the time and denote a feeling of unrest among the people over the negro question.

Prior to these measures there is only one law to be found relating to the negro in the county. This was passed by the county court in 1808. At the February term of the Court of Pleas and Quarterly Sessions an ordinance was adopted providing for patrolmen to keep the property around the Court

House free from persons of color. This rule was made to keep away the free negroes who made it a practice to hang around while the court was in session. The ordinance also declared that any person who found such a negro between Bennett's Creek and David Southall's and brought him before the Court would be given a reward. This ordinance was undoubtedly directed against the free negro, but it tends to illustrate the attitude of the county toward the negro; if the negro would keep out of the way the white man did not molest him.⁹³

These measures in the county were necessary to preserve slavery as an institution and were not unjustly severe. In the later days of slavery, slaves were tried in the same courts that white people were tried in. The attitude towards the negro was as lenient as could be expected.

EDUCATION

There is little material dealing with the schools in Gates, and from the sources that are available it seems evident that education played an insignificant part in the early days. As has already been intimated, a traveller reports a school at Sarum about 1710, but this school was supported by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and was for the Indians.²⁷ It is very probable that the people in Gates who gave their sons and daughters an education patronized schools out of the county. There was a good academy at Edenton, and very likely many attended schools in Virginia.

The first mention of a public school in Gates County is a provision in the will of Miles Benton. This will was filed in the court house in Gatesville November 3, 1805. It reads in part as follows: "It is my will and desire that my land and plantation I purchased of Luke Sumner be sold by my executors on a credit of twelve months and the money arising therefrom to be let at interest and the interest arising from the principal to be applied to the building of a schoolhouse and hiring a teacher for the purpose of a free school and that schoolhouse be built within two miles of the places where I now reside and all the children within four miles of my place of residence be permitted to be taught in said school. It is my desire that the court appoint commissioners to superintend said free school

from year to year during time."²⁸ The brother of Miles Benton, John T. Benton, brought suit and the lands set aside by Miles Benton were lost by litigation and the school was never established. Although no evidence can be found to directly substantiate the fact, it is very probable that there were schools of some kind in the county before Benton provided for this public school; for when Francis Asbury came to the county, he once remarks that Mrs. Bakers' son, Marmaduke, was "to have gone this day to finish his education at Princeton."²⁹

In 1820 the first academy in the county was chartered. It was known as the Spring Hill Academy, located at Sarum, now Buckland. This was the place at which Mr. Mashburn ran his Indian School in colonial days. The progress of this school, its course of study and teachers, are unknown. All that can be gathered is from the statute of incorporation and from the recollections of some former students. The charter of 1820 was made to Willis Cowper, Richard B. Gregory, Henry Pugh, and John B. Baker. They were made a body corporate who could sue and be sued, hold and dispose of property, and make such rules and fill such vacancies as they deemed to the best interest of the school.³⁰ Some elderly people say they attended this school just before the civil war and that a "goodly number" of people in the county sent their children to it.³¹

The next academy to be chartered was the one at Sunbury. In 1832 the Legislature passed an act "To incorporate the Sunbury Academy in the County of Gates." This charter was made to John C. Gorden, Joseph Gorden, Richard H. Parker, Henry Costin, Willis Riddick, Wells Cowper, Isaac R. Hunter, Edward K. Hunter, John Gatling, James Costin, Thomas Twim, Noah Harrell, Tillery W. Carr, and George Costin. This body was given the same powers that were given the incorporators of Spring Hill Academy. The academy was located at Sunbury and was at first opened to both boys and girls. This plan did not work very well and in about seven years the academy was closed and a separate school was opened under private control. This institution had a select boarding school located in the yard of the George Costen place, Sunbury, open only to girls. There were three teachers and a

music teacher. Two pianos were used in the music department; a course was given in French and other subjects characteristic of the select boarding schools were taught. Girls came to this school from adjoining counties and at one time the boarding pupils were nearly a score in number. In connection with this school for girls and under practically the same management, was a school for boys at the home of Mr. Gorden, about a mile and a half away. No girls were allowed to attend this school. The school at Gorden's was placed under the care of Mr. Kellogg, a graduate of Yale, and the select boarding school for girls was under the care of a lady from New England. Both of these schools were controlled by practically the same body of men that chartered the Academy.³²

The same year the Sunbury Academy was incorporated, an academy was chartered at Gatesville. The charter was made to Thomas Saunders, Henry Gilliam, William G. Daugherty, Jeptha Fowler and William E. Pugh. This charter embodied the same powers that the previous charters granted in the county embodied. The academy was located at Gatesville and was known as the Gatesville Academy.³³

These academies no doubt served well the needs of the more wealthy citizens of the county. There are many old people in the county who can point out the places where these academies stood and name a number of the teachers. All of these schools were private and tuition was charged those attending. However there are no records of there being any free or common schools until the proceeds of the Literary Fund were distributed among the counties for the purpose of education in 1840. The census of 1840 records that there were at that time five common schools in the county. These five common schools were attended by one hundred and twenty-five pupils. For the same year only one academy is listed and this had forty-eight pupils.³⁴ It is impossible to tell whether the other academies had surrendered to the common schools or whether for some reason or other they failed to be listed.

Under the system established by the Literary Fund, a county received from the state two dollars for every dollar that was raised for education in the county. Education took on life and the best schools the county had until Charles B.

Aycock awoke the state to its great need, were maintained from 1840-1860. The census reports that in 1850 there were twelve common schools and twelve teachers and these schools had an enrollment of 520 pupils. Over \$1,000 was spent in the county for education during the year. The same census reports that there were ten academies with a total enrollment of 210 pupils. These academies had an income from students of \$3,052 and were not endowed.³⁵ In 1859 the Board of Education in the county, through its chairman, S. W. Worrell, reported that there were twelve schools in the county and twelve teachers; only two teachers were women. There were 308 boys out of a possible 835 attending school and 258 girls out of a possible 744. The length of the school term for the year was seven months, the highest in the state with the exception of Halifax County, which also had seven months. During the year there was \$2,679.85 in the hands of the chairman.³⁶ The records of the Literary Fund show that from 1841 to 1860 the annual appropriation for education in the county ranged from \$556.00 to \$1,790.00 contributed by the state, and one-half as much contributed by the county.³⁷

The next and the last educational move in the county before the war was the establishment of the Reynoldson Academy. The charter for this academy was granted in 1850 to the Baptist churches of the Chowan Association. This association had established a school for girls at Murfreesboro in 1848; many men from Gates had been instrumental in aiding the school for girls and now demanded that the school for boys be located in Gates. The object of the proposed academy was to prepare the boys of the community for entrance to Wake Forest College. In 1853 John W. Willey, Dr. W. H. Lee, J. D. Goodman, Edward Howell, R. L. Land, and E. B. D. Howell were appointed to select a suitable place and supervise the construction of the academy. The summit of the rising ground in front of Piney Grove Baptist Church, Reynoldson or Brick House Township, Gates County, was selected. The name Reynoldson was given the school to express the love and esteem held for a Baptist minister whose work in the Association had been praiseworthy.

"Soon a large, commodious and handsome building was

erected, nicely finished, and furnished with more than the usual academic outfit. A small, but choice selection of chemical and philosophical apparatus was secured at a cost of \$600. A large, convenient and comfortable hotel was built and furnished for the accommodation of the teachers and pupils. It was not long before a store was opened and a post office." Reynoldson was one of the best schools in the entire section and its boarding attendance was encouraging. Some of the students came from Virginia, many from adjoining counties. The place selected had many good qualities; it was quiet, not half dozen houses within a mile, "a cool spring of water and a Baptist church within sight of the location."

The school was opened in 1855 under the auspices of James K. Delke, a graduate of the University of North Carolina. Charles Rawls, of Nansemond County, Virginia, was assistant. The next year George Morgan of Gates County, was added to the force of teachers. The school was a success and many wanted to turn it into a college. A committee was appointed to investigate the matter but it advised against such action. From the wording of their report there must have been considerable feeling over the matter throughout the Association. In 1857 the Principal had trouble with the boarding department. Investigation was made of the condition of the school and a debt of \$2,500 was reported. As a remedy the board decided to change the teaching force and Boushall, of Camden County, and Ellis, of Wilmington, N. C., were elected joint principals. Together they ran the school successfully until 1861 when Ellis left and James Taylor, of Gates County, a graduate of Wake Forest, became associated with Boushall. Soon it was closed for both teachers and pupils were called to take their places at the front. The record of the school was good, the situation was desirable. In 1856 the legislature passed an act forbidding liquor being sold within two miles of the school grounds;³⁸ the attendance was large and there are many men in the county today who received their education at the Reynoldson Military Institute.³⁹

From the study of available sources the conclusion must necessarily be drawn that in the early days of the county the people contributed little time and less money to the education

of their children. If the child received a fair education before 1820, he must leave the county; and if he was educated in one of the academies established during the period that followed, he must pay tuition. Some of the children attended schools out of the county, such as the son of Widow Baker, already referred to, but the great majority before 1820, from all evidence, never had the advantage of even a common school education. The period of the academies, 1820-1840, did not better the condition very much, for most of the teachers were brought from other states and the tuition had to be made so high to pay them that only the children of the more wealthy could afford to attend. However with the establishment of schools by the Literary Fund the county took a new interest in education. Free schools were established throughout the county and all who wished to could attend a seven months school without paying any tuition. Then there were the academies that the children of the more wealthy could attend. This system of education was brought to an end by the Civil War; for several decades the people grew up in ignorance partly because they were lazy and partly because they could do no better. It took Aycock to re-awaken the people to their duty to child and state.

THE CHURCHES

During the colonial period the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was interested in establishing churches in America. This society was active in the Albemarle section and with the aid of the vestry in Edenton it succeeded in establishing churches in several of the eastern counties. The first of these churches to be established in Gates County was at Indian Town (Sarum) which was directed, in 1719, to be built at a cost not to exceed \$150.⁴⁰ This church was active, as were the other chapels of the Church of England, until about fifteen years before the Revolutionary War. In 1720 Mr. Paul Phillips was lay reader at the chapel; in 1723 Rev. Thomas Newman was paid for holding twenty services a year. In 1724 Mr. Thomas Rountree was reader at the place near Mr. Abraham Hill's, the location of which is not known. In 1732 Mr. John Champion was paid £15 for shingling the chapel near Indian

Town and in 1738 he repaired the church again and the vestry met there.⁴¹

The next year it was ordered by the vestry that two chapels be built, each thirty-five feet long, twenty-two and one-half feet wide and a pitch of eleven feet; one was to be erected at James Costen's (near Sunbury), and one at James Bradley's (location unknown). The one ordered to be built at Sunbury was erected, and the people used it under the auspices of the established church until a few years before the Revolution. The Hunters, Costens, and Gordons, were the leading families in this church. The other chapel that was ordered to be built was probably never constructed, for no trace of a chapel near James Bradley's can be found. However this chapel may have been the one erected the next year by a man named Parker and known as the Knotty Pine Chapel. This chapel was erected at a cost of forty-two pounds and ten shillings and was located six miles from Gatesville. On the contrary we find that in 1744 Mr. Henry Baker gave one acre of land and the timber to build a chapel on the Knotty Pine Swamp and he was given the privilege to build a pew in any part of the church he pleased.⁴² These churches may have been the same, or perhaps there were two chapels near Gatesville.

Besides these records we find that there were several other chapels in the county before the Revolutionary War. In 1744 it was ordered that the old chapel near Sandy Pine* be sold and a new one built at Tottering Bridge and that Thomas Hunter and Richard Bond attend to the matter. The old chapel was sold for \$95. Again there was a chapel in the county known as Farlee's Chapel; this chapel was doubtless somewhere near Sunbury (possibly at the Folley) for we find that Mr. Abraham Norfleet, who lived at Sunbury, was lay reader at the chapel in 1754.⁴³

These churches no doubt were well supported by the people as is shown by the rapid increase in number and by the constant repairing and enlargement. In 1757 Mr. Elisha Hunter was appointed to repair and tar the three chapels, Constance's (at Sunbury), Farlee's and Knotty Pine, and cause glass win-

* This was probably Sandy Cross for we find that there was a chapel here and Joseph Reddick was one of the leaders.

dows and sashes to be fixed in each. The church wardens were ordered to provide for the three chapels three quart-tankards, three pewter pint cups or cans, three table cloths and three napkins. Thus it is certain that these churches had good attention and the men who served them were of a high type. Mr. Gordon, who came over from England as a missionary, was especially commended for his clean life. The same rector that served the people in Edenton generally preached at Farlee's, Constance's and Knotty Pine. "In 1747 Rev. Clement Hall was ordered to preach at Constance's Chapel from Lady Day to Michaelmas and on ye Saturday at ye house of Mr. James Farlee."⁴⁴ Again in 1754 Rev. Mr. Hall, the first man in North Carolina to write a book, officiated twenty-one Sundays at Farlee's, Sarum (Indian Town), and Constance's, and the remainder of the time at Edenton. These records all go to show that the religious condition of the country where Gates County is now situated was good before the Revolution. The church wardens that had charge of the church were not only officers of the church but they were primarily civil officers. These churches were attended by the most wealthy men in the section. Josiah Granberry, Timothy Walton, Richard Bond, Jethro Benton, Luke Sumner, and Elisha Hunter were all leaders in the church at Sunbury.⁴⁴ It is certain that some of the men named above were most active in the movement for independence. The Sumner named above was of the same family as General Jethro Sumner, the Revolutionary hero; and Luke Sumner was himself a member of the Committee of Safety of the Edenton district.

For over thirty years after 1775 there is no record of a church in the proper sense existing in the county. There were societies, it is true, and there were some few persons who met for religious purposes but there was no church with a building and a preacher until the establishment of the Middle Swamp Baptist Church in 1806. The absence of churches immediately after the Revolutionary War does not necessarily indicate a lack of interest in spiritual things. It is true that religious enthusiasm did not run as high during this period as it did for several years after the great revivals that took place from 1800 to 1830; however there was some interest as is shown by

the continual visits of such men as Asbury and Burkett. The aid that the English societies had given to the Established Church was withdrawn and it threw the religious steering gear out of place. The people were at a loss as to how to proceed; the entire church policy had always been shaped by the royal government. Doubtless the people accepted religion more as a social policy than as a means to salvation. However people were not enough interested in religious questions to erect churches and ask for ministers. Those who attended services at all went to the churches on the border of the Virginia-Carolina line. There was a church at Summerton, a church at Cypress, and probably other churches for those who were disposed to attend. No doubt these churches along the line hindered religious progress in the county. Those who were wealthy and able to erect churches went to these border churches and were somewhat slow in aiding churches in their immediate vicinity.

When churches were finally established in the county, it is a notable fact that they were almost invariably erected where the old established churches of the pre-Revolutionary period had stood, and in several instances the old buildings were used.

THE BAPTISTS

The first church to be established in the county after the Revolution was the Middle Swamp Baptist Church. This church was one of the eighteen churches that went to make up the Chowan Association which was formed in 1806. Most of the churches that constituted the new association had been members of the Kehukee Association. These churches withdrew from the old association when the general division of the Baptist Church over the question of paid clergy and education came up. There is no record of Middle Swamp ever being a member of the Kehukee Association and in all probability it was formed about the same time these other churches withdrew and formed the Chowan Association. This first church cast its lot as favoring education by the church and in favor of paying its clergy. The other churches of the county that were organized at later dates were influenced by this church and they, too, went with the Missionary Baptists.⁴⁵

In 1776 the Western Branch Baptist Church was constituted in Nansemond County, Virginia, and five years later the Ballard Bridge Church in Chowan County, North Carolina, was organized. These two churches were close together for churches in those days and they were often served by the same minister. In going from one of the churches to the other the road lay through Gates County and by the place where the present Middle Swamp Baptist Church stands. The ministers in going from one church to another, especially Lemuel Burkett, often spent the night and held prayer-meetings in the neighborhood of the present church. These prayer-meetings were held in the homes of James Pruden, Micajah Riddick, Mrs. Granberry, Lewis Walters, and Abram Morgan, and it was out of these little meetings that the first Baptist Church in the county sprang.⁴⁶

The first building was a log house built across the road from the present church. It was from all descriptions an unimposing structure with mud between the logs to keep the wind away. Soon this became inadequate to accommodate the growing congregation and a frame building was erected on the same side of the road on which the present building stands. Later this was torn away and another larger and more imposing building was erected, mainly through the activity of Mr. Willie Riddick. In 1874 a fourth structure, and a few years ago the present and fifth building, were erected. Such has been the growth of this church founded by those old preachers of another century. It is said that one of the new churches was to have a stove, something novel, as the old custom had been to have no fire in the church. Many of the old people objected to this worldly feature. They did not think a church was the proper place for a stove and for a time it brought on a feeling that threatened to destroy the brotherly sentiment in the church. It was only by wise leadership and cautious movements that the congregation was kept together.⁴⁷

All of these early churches had negro as well as white members. After the Civil War the Middle Swamp Colored Baptist Church was organized and the colored members went to that church.

There were no more Baptist churches in the county until

the organization of Piney Grove Church at Reynoldson in 1827. Why a church was located at this place, it is hard to determine. There is no record of any Baptist families being especially active in this locality and it does not offer a very imposing place for a church. However the church seemed to thrive and was always in good standing. This church was founded by John Harrell, an elder in the Middle Swamp Church, with the assistance of Elders Delke, Daniels, and Rice. Then there was Cool Springs (below Gatesville) and Sandy Cross churches organized in 1828. The church at Sandy Cross was strong in its membership in the early days. It was located in the midst of a Democratic stronghold and Joseph Riddick and Whit Stallings were both members of the church. The services were first conducted in the old Episcopal chapel located in the community and later a new church was erected. Elder Q. H. Trotman, a native of Perquimans County and a member of the board of trustees of Wake Forest College, was the most influential man in the church for many years. He was very popular and it is told that the section offered to give him strong support if he would run for Congress, but he declined on account of his ministerial duties. He was pastor of this church for twenty-eight years.⁴⁸

What Nathaniel Pruden was to Middle Swamp and John Harrell to Piney Grove, Shadrach W. Worrell was to the Gatesville Church. He moved to Gatesville about 1837 and was chiefly instrumental in organizing a Baptist Church and building a house of worship in that place. The church was constituted in 1854 and admitted into the Chowan Association in 1855. While in Gatesville, Worrell also served as pastor of Cool Springs and Middle Swamp churches. After the war he went to Baltimore where he was unsuccessful as a commission merchant, editor and broker. The last days of his life were spent in poverty.⁴⁹

In addition to these five churches there was a congregation at Watery Swamp, admitted into the Chowan Baptist Association in 1851. This church, from all evidences did not prosper, for we find that it made no report to the Association after 1857 and was consequently dropped.

These Baptist churches have been instruments for good

in the county. Always aggressive, they have contributed much to the Baptist Association. They have sent out fully fifteen ministers and many of the members have been patrons of Wake Forest College. Through their efforts at Reynoldson they gave the people the best school in the county and made it possible for many of the present citizens to secure an education.

THE METHODISTS

The first record of a Methodist sermon being preached in Gates County is recorded in Asbury's Journal, Saturday, December 17, 1785. Asbury records that he preached at Brother Reddick's in Gates County, North Carolina. Evidently Asbury had been in the county before, for he speaks familiarly of the people. He also records having preached at Cypress Chapel several times before this record of his preaching at "Brother Reddick's." It was at Cypress Chapel that he met for the first time James O'Kelly who later withdrew from the Methodist and formed the Christian Church.

Asbury was in the county again in 1787 and preached at Knotty Pine, an old Episcopal chapel built near Sarum during the colonial period. He preached here Sunday, February 11, 1787, and reports that he had a large congregation and an "open time." Although this is the first account in the journal of his being at Knotty Pine it is probable that he had been there before, for he speaks of there being "quite a little revival."⁵⁰

It will be needless to give an account of all the visits of Asbury to the county. His first visit was in 1785 and the last one is recorded in 1810. During this time he came to the county no less than thirteen times to preach. Doubtless he made other visits that are not recorded in his journal, which became rather sparing in the later years of his ministerial work. The preaching was done in the old Episcopal chapels or in the house of some friend. He visited the home of one Mr. Baker, who lived below Gatesville, on nearly all of his trips. This Mr. Baker was probably the son of Lawrence Baker, a wealthy citizen of the colonial period. Asbury indicates that the Baker's were people of some means, for he once notes that they had just built a new house and again he arrived just as their son, Marmaduke, who was to have "gone this day to

finish his education at Princeton," died. This man is also referred to once as Colonel Baker.

During the first visits Asbury made it a point to preach at Knotty Pine but after 1801 he preached at Gates Court House instead. Baker lived near Kotty Pine but even after Asbury stopped his ministry there he never failed to visit the Bakers on his trips through the county. When he went to Gatesville (or Gates Court House as it was then called), he often stopped at Daniel Southall's and sometimes preached at his house; sometimes he preached at the Court House that stood on the lot in front of the present court house. On Thursday, March 10, 1803, he ordained B. Harrall to the deacon's office. "He is a man of good repute, without slaves."

Asbury visited Sunbury at least twice and preached in Constance's Chapel or the house of Isaac Hunter, his journal does not make it definite which. Monday, March 11, 1799, he says: "We rode to Constant's chapel, on one of the branches of Bennett's Creek. . . . I was made very comfortable in in soul and body at Isaac Hunter's; and had a happy meeting with the poor Africans at night." Asbury's efforts must not have been of much avail at Sunbury for two years later he says: "We went forward to Isaac Hunter's, twelve miles. Alas for this place! Five souls of the white—some poor Africans are seeking the Lord."

Asbury was the man who planted Methodism in Gates County. He came and labored among the people; he was in the county at least thirteen times and probably more, during his labors. The conditions were not always encouraging to him; sometimes he says the people are wicked and would not listen to him and declares he will never come to them again. At other times he finds that they give him a warm welcome and come out in great numbers to hear him preach. The first Methodist Church in the county was erected in 1812 and we have no record of Asbury being in the county after 1810. However he may have preached in this church for he was certainly in Norfolk and Suffolk several times after 1812.*

* Asbury's Journals contain the following references to being in the county:
Jan. 1, 1783, (Vol. 1, p. 455);
Saturday, December 17, 1785, preached at "Brother Riddick's" (Vol. I, p. 503);

During these visits of Asbury no churches were built and no regular organization was perfected. However Methodism was being established. At the various places where the Bishop preached societies were organized and services were held. There is no specific reference to any of these organizations in Asbury's Journal, but reliable tradition says that as early as 1800 there was a society in the neighborhood of what is now Parker's Church, and that the society met at the home of Thomas Parker. Tradition also has it that Asbury preached at this home. Again we find that Mrs. Baker, who lived near Knotty Pine and of whom Asbury spoke so often during his visits to the county, wrote to Asbury concerning the condition of the Society in her neighborhood. It is from such societies as these that Methodist churches in Gates County sprang. In all of the early records of the churches we find that the first members were listed as becoming Methodist long before the churches were established in the community. On the roll of Kittrell's Church, Milly Williams's name heads the list and the year 1781 is given as the time when she became a Methodist, and the church was not organized until 1827. Sarah Harrell's name heads the list at Gatesville and the date of her becoming a Methodist is stated as 1801. These people no doubt were received into the societies organized by Asbury; when these societies became sufficiently strong, churches were built and a definite organization was made.⁵¹

The first Methodist church in the county was Savage's. This church dates back to 1811. The deed for the church property is dated November 21, 1812, and is made by John

Sunday, February 11, 1787, preached at Knotty Pine (Vol. II, p. 6);
 Monday, February 28, 1788, preached at Knotty Pine (Vol. II, p. 25);
 Tuesday, January 11, 1791, "Brother Baker's" (Vol. II, p. 105);
 Friday, January 27, 1792, records being in Gates County (Vol. II, p. 14);
 Friday and Saturday, December 2 and 3, records being in Gates and at the house of Colonel Baker (Vol. II, p. 323);
 Friday to Monday, March 8-11, in Gates and at Knotty Pine, Gates Court-house and Constant's Chapel (Vol. II, p. 407);
 Wednesday, March 18, 1801, at Gates Court-house (Vol. III, p. 15);
 Friday, March 20, 1801, at Isaac Hunter's (Vol. III, p. 15);
 Thursday, April 2, 1801, Knotty Pine (Vol. III, p. 18);
 Thursday, March 10, 1803, Gates Court-house (Vol. III, p. 106);
 Friday, March 9, 1804, at Gates Court-house (Vol. III, p. 148);
 Tuesday, February 4, 1806, Knotty Pine (Vol. III, p. 215);
 Thursday, February 6, 1806, Gates Court-house (Vol. III, p. 215);
 Friday, January 19, 1810, Knotty Pine and Gates Court-house (Vol. III, p. 329);
 Monday, January 22, 1810, records being in Gates County (Vol. III, p. 329).

Savage to Jonathan Williams, Jessie Savage, and John Oden, trustees.⁵² The old church stood about where the present structure is and the old building was repaired several times before the erection of the modern one in 1907. The society that built the first church supposedly grew out of a society organized and frequently visited by Asbury at one Deacon Hasletts, near Summerton.

The next church to be organized in the county was Parker's. This church grew out of a society that tradition says was organized and visited by Asbury (there is no record of it in his journals) at Wiggins X Roads. Later the society met at the home of Thomas Parker about one mile from the location of the present Parker's Church. Nothing definite is known of this society but it is evident that it was organized as early as 1800. In 1813 this same Thomas Parker gave the land on which the church was built. This church has had four buildings.*

The church at Sunbury (Philadelphia) and the one at Gatesville grew out of the old chapels that had been erected in the colonial days, just as the Baptist church at Sandy Cross grew out of an old chapel. When Asbury visited the county, he preached at these chapels. It was natural for the people to come to the same place to worship that they had come to as little children forty years back. We find that Isaac Hunter's name heads the list of Philadelphia. It is also noteworthy that one Isaac Hunter was very prominent in the old Constant's Chapel under the colonial rule. When at Constant's, in 1801, Asbury preached to the negroes and from the remarks in his journal he had more hope for these black souls than he did for the white people of the community.⁵³ During his visit in Gatesville in 1803, Asbury ordained one R. Harrell as a deacon and doubtless this man played a prominent part in the development of Methodism in that section of the county. The first church at Sunbury was erected sometime after 1815; the date of the appointment of trustees is thus dated but no record of a building or a deed can be obtained. The Gatesville church was built about 1828. Jesse Brown, Reuben Harrell and

* This is secured from local tradition and cannot be relied upon altogether. However with the aid of the church records beginning some years later and an occasional deed the facts are to be relied upon as stated fairly accurately.

Thomas Wright Hayes were its founders. Of these churches, as of the others, little is known.

Of the remaining four Methodist churches organized before 1860, still less is known. Kittrells was organized in 1827 through the efforts of George Kittrell, a local preacher. There was a quarrel in Savage Church and the dissenting element withdrew and formed Kittrells, two miles away. It was at this church that Henry Willey, the most prominent Whig of the county, held his membership. Allied with him were the Crosses, Williams, Parkers, and Kittrells.⁵⁴ It is evident from the names on the roll of those who went to make up this membership that the church was strong, not so much in number as in personnel. The people in this community were building a new church when the war came on and it was decided best to put off construction until after the cessation of hostilities. Then there is Zion's church which was built in 1820. The church grew out of protracted services that were held under an arbor not far from the location of the present church. The deed for the church property was made October 6, 1819, by Samuel Brown and his wife, Sarah Brown, to Timothy Walton, Jonathan Lassiter, Samuel Brown, John B. Walton, John Walton, Richard Bond and John Davis, trustees.⁵⁵

Fletcher's Chapel and Harrell's church were both organized before 1860. The date of Fletcher's is 1849 and the man most instrumental in its construction was Asa Hofler; nothing more is known of its early history.⁵⁶ As to Harrell's nothing is known. It is probable one of the oldest churches in the county, for Asbury was in close touch with the people in this section during his visits in the county.

Gates was first reported in the conference minutes in 1821. By this time the churches in the county were certainly as many as four and perhaps five. They were considered worthy of recognition and were placed on a charge with Edenton. The next year the circuit was reported with Edenton again and so on until 1825 when it was placed with Murfreesboro. In 1826 Gates became a separate circuit. The reports at this time show that there were 484 white members and 74 black. During these early days the county was in the Norfolk District and

Gates was given a preacher every year except 1830-1, when the county is united with Bertie. In 1828 there were 661 white members and 88 colored. In 1832 there were 703 whites and 200 colored but the next year the colored members fell off to 90. In 1835 there were 790 whites and 100 colored members; in 1839, 758 whites and 95 colored. During these early days Isaac Soule, James Morrison, Irvin Atkinson, Vernon Eskridge, T. Jones, George W. Nolley, A. Norman, James P. Oliver and Isaac M. Arnold all served the people as preachers. However, much of the preaching before the 'forties was done by the local preachers and often the conference makes mention of these local ministers. In fact there are several instances where the conference appointments make special mention of local preachers who are to assist the regular preachers in the work in Gates.⁵⁷

As has already been said these early churches, like the Baptist churches of the same period, had negro as well as white members. There was a gallery built in the rear of the church where the negroes were placed. They would come up and commune after the white people had partaken. The presence of the negro in the churches in the county may be traced to Asbury with a reasonable degree of certainty; while in the county, he preached to them and seemed to delight in having them progress in the faith.* When the white people had their great camp meetings that lasted for two or three weeks, and there were at least two camp grounds in the county, one near Gatesville and one near Sunbury, the negroes would come, too, and have their meetings. An old negro preacher and slave, Jerry Harrell, was often a leader of the negroes of the Methodist faith when they came to the camp ground meeting.⁵⁸ In 1841 Philadelphia Church, Sunbury, had forty-one members of the negro race on its roll. After the war many of these negroes left the white churches and formed a negro church, but some of them stayed with their white friends even to their death.⁵⁹ Joe Hunter, an old colored preacher, did not leave the church at Sunbury after the war but continued to attend and hold his place in the gallery. Every time the whites would

* See account at Constant's Chapel in Vol. III, page 15, of Asbury's Journals.

commune, he would be there and wait until they all were through and then come down to be served.

Another thing that is very noticeable in going through the old church records is the frequency with which members were dismissed for misconduct. Every time a page is turned you will see some name scratched through and the word "dismissed" written beside it.

If we may be guided by the custom in vogue after the war, each of the eight Methodist churches in the county had preaching once each month. This meant that the preacher had to preach twice every Sunday. Sometimes services would be held on a week day, for there were more than eight churches in the Gates Circuit. It must be remembered that Gates was in the Virginia Conference and the church at Summerton and probably other churches in Virginia were connected with the Gates Circuit.⁶⁰

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

One would expect to find the Christian Church strong in the county, for it was in this section that James O'Kelly began his work. O'Kelly was presiding elder of the district in which Gates County is located when he made his break with Methodism. At Cypress Chapel, Virginia, not far from the Gates boundary line, the Christian church had its beginning.⁶¹ However, there was only one Christian church in the county prior to the Civil War. This church was the one at Sunbury. The date of its organization is not known but it was sometime about 1830. The story is told that the church was an offspring of Philadelphia, the Methodist church in the community. The separation was due not so much to a matter of doctrine as to a spirit of personal revenge. It is said that two men, brothers, had a dispute over a ladder. They were both members of the Philadelphia church and the little quarrel found its way into church affairs. The result was the organization of a new church, Damascus. Several families in the community divided, some going to the new and some staying with the old church. Nothing can be learned of the early history of this church. George Costen was the man of the early days who really contributed most to its growth.⁶²

From this survey of the churches we find that there were thirteen churches in the county before 1860. There were four Baptist churches with a total seating capacity of eighteen hundred, and property valued at \$2,200. There were eight Methodist churches with a seating capacity of thirty-three hundred and fifty, and property valued at \$4,100. There was one Christian Church with accommodation for four hundred and property valued at \$400. All of the old chapels of the Established Church of the colonial period had sunk into oblivion.⁶³

POLITICS

The geographical conditions in Gates County did much towards shaping political issues. The county was isolated and interest in state and national politics never ran as high as it did in some of the neighboring counties. When issues did arise, they were dominated mostly by exotic influences.

As a whole the county was about evenly divided in local issues. The people in the eastern part of the county, especially in the southeast, had more difficulty in marketing their products than those in the western part. The eastern section, especially in Mintonville Township, was more isolated than the other sections. Markets were far away and the roads were across sand ridges and swamps. Here a more democratic spirit developed. Mintonville was always the stronghold of the Democrats; in every election for state and national officers from 1840 to 1860 Mintonville polled a strong, and in several instances, an unanimous vote for the Democratic ticket. In the other townships conditions were somewhat different. They seem to be about evenly divided and this tendency is noticed more and more as the crisis of 1860 approaches.⁶⁴ If the vote was a one-sided one, it was sure to be against the man who was being supported in Mintonville. A few election returns taken at random from the scanty files that have been preserved at the county court house at Gatesville illustrate this well. The first returns from all the townships that can be obtained are those for governor in 1842. John M. Morehead was the candidate on the Whig ticket, and Lewis D. Henry on the Democratic. The returns by townships are as follows:⁶⁵

	<i>Morehead</i>	<i>Henry</i>
Gatesville	112	103
Hall	27	88
Haslett's	50	25
Brick House	14	32
Folley	63	53
Hunter's Mill	22	8
Mintonsville	25	114
Total.....	313	423

Again the election returns for governor in 1850 are suggestive; Reid ran on the Democratic ticket and Manly was the Whig candidate.⁶⁶

	<i>Reid</i>	<i>Manly</i>
Gatesville	82	112
Hall	55	69
Brick House	31	37
Haslett's	21	55
Folley	63	95
Hunter's Mill	No returns	No returns
Mintonsville	111	33
Total.....	363	401

The peculiar vote of Mintonsville holds out not only for governor but likewise for the election of state senator. In 1850, Mr. Henry Willey, a man prominent in the politics of the county, was the candidate on the Whig ticket, and Whitmel Stallings, also a man of importance in the county, was the Democratic nominee. Stallings was from Mintonsville Township in the eastern part of the county and served in the state senate and the assembly for fifteen years. Willey was from Willeyton, in Haslett's Township, in the western section of the county. The returns were as follows:⁶⁷

	<i>Willey*</i>	<i>Stallings</i>
Gatesville	49	32
Haslett's	35	14
Hall	30	24

* This was Mr. Henry Willey. His brother, John Willey, was a member of the lower house in 1830, 1832, 1833, 1834, 1842. John Willey and Whitmel Stallings were opposing candidates for the lower house for several years. Stallings finally won consistently over Willey. In 1842 when Stallings gets in the Senate, Mr. Willey is again elected to the House. John Willey and Stallings were both Democrats.

Brick House	15	16
Folley	48	25
Mintonville	17	56
<hr/>		
Total.....	194	167

Both of the foregoing candidates were from Gates County, but in the election for State Senator in 1856 neither of the candidates was from Gates. Dillard, the Democratic candidate, was from Chowan. Savage, the unsuccessful Whig candidate, was also from Chowan.⁶⁸ However, the same discord is disclosed in the county returns.⁶⁹

	<i>Savage</i>	<i>Dillard</i>
Gatesville	29	58
Hall	21	25
Haslett's	32	14
Brick House	12	24
Folley	28	58
Mintonville	77	16
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Total.....	199	195

The election for the member of the House of Commons was held at the same time that election to the Senate was held and the returns correspond very closely. In 1850 Gatling was the Democratic candidate for the Lower House. Gatling was from Haslett's Township and a member of the Gatling family that has been prominent in county politics from the beginning of the county to the present day. Eure, the Whig candidate, was from Hall Township and one of the most wealthy men in the county. The returns were as follows:⁷⁰

	<i>Gatling</i>	<i>Eure</i>
Gatesville	70	130
Hall	22	105
Haslett's	25	49
Brick House	30	36
Folley	70	104
Mintonville	111	37
<hr/>		
Total.....	328	461

The contest for the lower house in 1856 is very close to that of 1850, except in one instance: Gatesville Township was becoming more Democratic and this time cast most of its votes

for the Democratic candidate, Parker. Bond led the Whig ranks. The returns:⁷¹

	<i>Parker</i>	<i>Bond</i>
Gatesville	128	76
Hall	60	65
Haslett's	19	56
Brick House	56	25
Folley	70	104
Mintonville	142	24
Total.....	475	350

The change in the returns from Gatesville Township only denotes the general tendency of the county. The Whig Party had begun its decline.

Not only do the election returns for state officers show that one part of the county was lined up against the other part, but the returns for local officers also bear out this fact. Take for example the returns of the election for sheriff in 1856. Hill ran on the Democratic ticket and Lee was the Whig nominee.⁷²

	<i>Hill</i>	<i>Lee</i>
Gatesville	142	42
Hall	55	55
Haslett's	22	52
Brick House	33	48
Folley	80	93
Mintonville	147	16
Total.....	479	306

Again take a look at the returns in the Congressional elections. In 1847 Biggs of Martin County was the Democratic candidate for Congress in the district, and his Whig opponent was Outlaw of Bertie. These returns bear out the fact of Whig supremacy during the forties.

	<i>Biggs</i>	<i>Outlaw</i>
Gatesville	84	74
Hall	10	40
Brick House	24	20
Haslett's	10	40
Folley	76	85
Mintonville	17	62
Total.....	221	321

By 1851 the situation shows little change so far as national issues were concerned. The same men were again candidates and the returns from the townships in Gates showed little change. By the time the next congressional election came off there was a change. The Whigs began to lose out. The downfall came suddenly in 1855, when they failed to put out a ticket. With the overthrow of the Whigs the Americans, an independent party of the district, put out a candidate, R. T. Paine, of Chowan. Although Paine won the election, he was unable to carry Gates. Many of the old Whigs, rather than join the Americans, went with the Democrats.⁷³

	<i>Paine</i>	<i>Shaw</i>
Gatesville	93	118
Hall	40	52
Brick House	27	36
Haslett's	49	0
Folley	89	77
Mintonville	33	133
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Total.....	331	416

It is evident from these returns that the Whigs and the Democrats were about evenly divided in the county until 1855, when the Whig party failed. After this time most of the voters went with the Democrats. In pointing out the close fight between Mintonville Township, which was the stronghold of the Democrats, and the other townships that were a little inclined to Whiggery, it will be well to mention how close the fight was in the early days. To carry the election, either side had to work hard. Each party would hold a convention, generally on the 4th of July, and the principal pastime was to abuse the other party.⁷⁴ The people did not stop their fight merely with the election for state and local officers, but carried it into the race for the president of the United States. In 1840 Harrison (Whig), received a majority of fifty votes over Van Buren (Democrat). In 1844 Clay (Whig) received a majority of twenty-seven over Polk (Democrat). In 1848 the Whig candidate, Taylor, received 379 votes, and Cass, Democrat, received 289. Scott (Whig) and Pierce (Democrat) tied for the county in 1852. Election returns for the

other years show that the race was always a warm one. The returns for the election of governor are very similar.⁷⁵

To sum up, these election returns indicate that politics in Gates was an uncertain thing. Nearly always a Whig went to the State Senate, but this is explained by the fact that Gates elected her senator with Chowan, Currituck, Perquimans, Pasquotank, Camden, and Hertford counties. All of these counties were inclined to Whiggery, and they outvoted the people of Gates even when Gates wanted a Democratic senator. In the House of Commons the county had first a Whig, then a Democrat. In the National elections most of the results favored the Democratic candidate, but it was not a landslide by any means; the same is true of the Congressional elections. As the Whig party declined, the tendency was for the two parties to unite, rather than for the Whigs to join in with the new American party. As 1860 approached there was greater unity on political questions. In 1856 the two townships that had the heaviest vote, and townships that always voted against each other, cast their lot together; in national and local elections both went Democratic. However the county was not to remain solid, for in the election of 1860 we find again a trace of the old sectionalism. By a vote of 161 to 131 the county voted for a Whig governor. And in this election, as in the former elections, Gatesville and Mintonville Townships voted against each other; Gatesville cast 87 votes for Ellis and 126 for Pool; Mintonville cast 132 votes for Ellis and 39 for Pool. The presidential vote was 353 for Bell, the Whig candidate, and 338 for Breckinridge, the Democrat.⁷⁶ This division was not due to any immediate national issue, but to a revival of old party lines, for the division is equally noticeable in the local elections. In Mintonville Township Ballard, Democrat, received 81 votes, while Eure received 127. In the election for sheriff Hunter received 61 votes in Mintonville, and Parker, 148. The reverse is true in Gatesville, where Hunter had 138, and Parker, 63. It is evident that this dissension in the county was deep-rooted. No doubt the fight in local, state, and national politics was carried on with much feeling. However, after the war, the county became united and it has been practically Democratic down to the present

day. Look how one-sided the vote for governor was in 1866! Worth received 96 votes and Dockery 4 (these 4 came from Mintonville). H. Willey had only 4 votes cast against him for the state senate, and Lee went to the lower house with the same record.⁷⁷

Although no returns can be obtained further back than 1842, the county was in all probability anti-Federalist in the early days, for Joseph Riddick, who was in the assembly for 35 years, voted with the anti-Federalists.* He never wanted to spend any money. The county was opposed to internal improvements and to the Literary Fund.^{78a}

Before attempting to pass any judgment as to the cause of political dissension in the county, it is well to show how these two sections stood on the matter of free suffrage. In August, 1857, the question of free suffrage in senatorial elections was submitted to the people, and the results in Gates fail to show an antagonism as strong as it was in the election of officers. Every township voted for the measure except Haslett's. There is no doubt that this result in Hasletts was brought about largely by the activity of Mr. Henry Willey, the Whig leader in the county, who lived in this section. Gatesville and Mintonville stand together for the free suffrage. Notice the difference in the vote from the townships on these questions and the vote when it is for the election of officers. The vote follows:^{78b}

	<i>Free Suffrage</i>	<i>Against</i>
Gatesville	123	20
Hall	49	29
Brick House	20	18
Haslett's	5	54
Folley	73	51
Mintionsville	108	6
Total.....	378	178

* Joseph Riddick was the leading man in the county from the close of the Revolutionary War to his death in 1839 or 1840. He was in the Assembly from 1781 to 1811 and again in 1815 and 1817. For nine years he was the speaker of the House, was a member of the convention at Hillsboro that debated the Constitution of the United States. During its sessions he made himself distinguished on account of his common sense. He bitterly opposed the ratification by the state of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions and their defeat is largely due to him. He was also a member of the convention of 1835 for a new constitution for the state. In 1798 Governor Johnston wrote to James Iredell, "There are some men of very good understanding in both houses. Riddick, from Gates, has more influence in the Senate; he seems generally disposed to do what is right, but will go about it in his own way."^{78c} He made his trips to Raleigh in a stick-gig and never missed a session. At his old home is a grape-vine that he brought from Raleigh when he was a member of the Assembly.^{78d}

It is seen that the county as a whole was strongly in favor of free suffrage; the democratic spirit prevailed. This vote on suffrage can no doubt be accounted for by the general conditions in the county. There were few schools and these were inadequate; the people were not large property-holders, yet all wanted to vote for the man who was to represent the county in the state Senate. There was no party change, however, in the next senatorial election; the Democrats were in power before the suffrage clause was voted upon. Mr. Willey was the man in the county to lead the movement against suffrage. He came from the community where there were the best schools. As will be noticed, the old Democratic stronghold, Mintonville, was strong for free suffrage.

In February, 1861, the question of calling a convention to consider secession was submitted to the people. The county was strong for the convention (vote: 377 to 141.⁷⁹) Only two townships voted against it, Hunter's Mill and Holly Grove.* In this vote on the convention we find Mintonville strong for the movement. The vote was 79 to 9.⁸¹

It is hard to give any definite reason for this division in the county on political issues. However, there are three explanations that are fairly plausible: first, when Gates County was created, that part taken from Perquimans went to make up Mintonville Township. That taken from Hertford and Chowan went to make up Gatesville Township. Later Chowan and Hertford were Whig counties, while in Perquimans the tendency was more towards the Democrats. The townships in the north were made up partly of one county and partly of another. Gatesville, made up from counties that became Whig, was Whig; Mintonville, made up from a county that became Democratic, was Democratic; and the other townships that had a mingling of each were never very solid. In colonial days there was rivalry between Perquimans and Chowan counties.

A more plausible reason, however, for this sectionalism in the county is to attribute it to the race of a few of the leading

* It is certain that the leading Whig in the county, Mr. Willey, was opposed to secession. Mr. Willey's opposition to the war cost him his seat in the State Senate for the next six years.⁸⁰ After the war he went with the Democrats and was sent to the Constitutional Conventions of 1865 and 1868, and to the State Senate several times.

men for office. We always find that the Whig leaders came from points surrounding Gatesville, while the Democratic leaders came from Mintonville Township. In the early days of the county the feeling was probably not as strong as it was after the development of parties in 1836. Joseph Riddick, from Mintonville Township, an anti-Federalist, represented the county in the House and Senate for 32 years. If the spirit had been as strong along party lines as it was in 1850, it is not probable that one man would have held office for this length of time. Other men held office, not for one or two years, but for a number of years. However, after 1840 no such conditions prevailed, there was a constant change in the personnel and in the party principles of the men elected to the various offices. John Willey, and later, his brother, Henry, came from Haslett's Township and made politics interesting. On the other hand, Whitmel Stallings, of Mintonville Township, was always ready to put up a good fight. Stallings was a Democrat and the leading man in his section of the county. Willey was a Whig and had an equal distinction in his section. It is very probable that it was these men who stirred up political questions and put them before the people. The people evidently did not see many newspapers, and politics, so far as the principles were concerned, appealed to them very little. Their only interest was a personal one, centering about Stallings and Willey. These men formed their ideas and appealed to the people for support. It is most likely that this sectionalism in the county was due to the political feeling that these men had formed in their respective localities. The spirit, once created in the community where people had nothing to do but talk politics during the winter months, did not easily die out. It took the Civil War and its hardships on all the people alike to make them see that they had a common interest and the best way to get things done was for all to stand together.

The question of internal improvements also played an important part in the division of the county. The people who lived in Mintonville Township had the democratic spirit of the pioneer. Internal improvements would not help them and they were opposed to paying taxes to help the other part of the county develop. The men who came from this section were

always opposed to internal improvements, and it was Stallings that made such a fight with Willey, of Haslett's Township, over this question. There were no waterways that could be opened to their advantage, and according to the true democratic spirit they were bitter opponents of spending money to develop trade routes.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The people of Gates County were an optimistic people and when it came to financial affairs they were care-free and loose. Content with their three meals a day, they never worried over the perplexing problems that were threatening the economic development of the country. They had their slaves; every man that was of any consequence held a few, none were large slave owners. The slaves did most of the work, and then they were not worked very hard. As has already been stated no man in the county was a magnet who controlled its finances. At only one time in the county did any one man list as many as one hundred slaves. In 1860 Mills Roberts, who lived in the Mintonsville section, listed this number.

The people raised only those things that were used at home. It was not profitable to raise cotton, for it would have to be hauled to Norfolk in a cart that would carry only one bale each trip, and only so much cotton as could be consumed at home was raised. The people sometimes raised a little corn to sell, however it took most of the corn produced to feed the hogs that were necessary to afford meat for the slaves. A large crop of corn, peas, potatoes and hogs usually constituted the crop of the Gates farmers.⁹⁴

Some of the people who lived on the edge of swamps secured a little cash by sending their slaves in the swamp to make shingles. Most of the shingles were hard to market, and this trade was followed only to a small extent. Those around Holley Grove and Coropeake sent their products down the Washington Ditch to the Dismal Swamp Canal and thence to Norfolk, while those around Gatesville marketed their crops, what little was left to market, after the slaves had been provided for, by sending them down Bennett's Creek to the Chowan River.

The land around Gates was fairly productive and the problem of providing for some easy way to market the crops once raised early arose. Before the Revolution the advantage of accessible markets, that could be obtained if an inward water system was opened, presented itself to the people.

Washington when in this section investigating the probability of internal improvements, says that a swamp runs near Farley's plantation, this plantation being 16 miles from Suffolk, and he indicates that a system of water-ways opening this country would be very profitable.⁸⁴ The people did not forget these things and they labored for a long time to get such a system of canals; after their day the fight was taken up by their children. In 1790 the Dismal Swamp Canal was chartered, but such a move was not of benefit to the inhabitants of Gates. It was impossible for them to get their products in this waterway that would carry them down to Norfolk to market.

The next step was to get some kind of canal to the county that would make the Dismal Swamp Canal of benefit to the people of Gates. The leaders in the county saw the advantage that such an outlet would afford and they began to work for it. The first attempt to get a canal in the county came in 1829, when an act was passed by the General Assembly of North Carolina, entitled "an act to incorporate the Lake Drummond and Orapeake Canal Company." This act provided that the canal since it would be a great benefit to the entire section, should be constructed and those furnishing the capital, since they would run some risk, be allowed to charge one-half the toll charged by the Dismal Swamp Canal Company. The capital was to be \$50,000 and the books for subscribers to stock were to be opened in Norfolk, Deep Creek and in Gates County on the first of April, 1830. In case one-third of the capital was subscribed by the second Monday in the following July the work of securing subscribers may continue until one-half the stock was subscribed and then the construction could begin. Tillery W. Carr, John C. Gordon, and John D. Baker were designated as the ones to receive subscriptions in Gates County. There was to be a president and three directors elected every three years who were to manage the

canal. The canal was to run from Lake Drummond to the south side of the Orapeake Swamp and was to be sixteen feet wide and five feet deep. The work must begin within two years and be completed in ten years. The canal company was chartered for forty years.⁸⁵

As to what steps were taken to get stock subscribed and as to the willingness of the people to back the project, it is hard to determine. It is evident that there were a few of the larger planters who had plantations situated near the proposed canal who were anxious to see the project materialize; but it is equally true that there were some in the county who fought the plan. The act chartering the canal was passed while W. W. Cooper represented the county in the senate and W. W. Stedman and Risup Rawles were the members representing the county in the lower house.⁸⁶ At least two of these men, Cooper and Rawles, were from near Gatesville, and from all account they took no special interest in the project one way or another. The people in one section of the county wanted the canal, and it did not matter materially to the people in the other sections. They had a roundabout way out of the county by the Chowan River and such a canal would not effect their interest.

However the next year there was a change in the lower house and a man came in who was always an ardent Democrat and therefore always opposed to anything that looked like internal improvements. Whitmel Stallings, of Mintonville Township, made his *début* in the political history of the county. Associated with him was John Willey, another Democrat and the brother of Henry Willey who later became the leader of the Whigs of Gates County. The question of the canal took on a political aspect and was made a party issue for several elections in the county. Stallings and the Democrats in Mintonville Township fought the canal because they were Democrats and as such were opposed to internal improvements; and again if the canal was constructed it would still leave their section without any available markets. If the lands in Holley Grove Township were opened, it would make the land in Mintonville have a comparatively smaller value.⁸⁷

The first check to the canal was made when the session

of 1830-31 met. During this session an act was passed by the General Assembly of North Carolina, entitled, "an act to amend an act, passed at the last session of the General Assembly of this state, entitled an act to incorporate the Lake Drummond and Orapeake Canal Company." This act provided that the said company should be compelled to extend their canal from the Orapeake Swamp to the Bennett's Creek or the act would be null and void.⁸⁸ This was probably a frame-up of the member from Mintonville and the members from around Gatesville. The company would in all probability not care to cut a canal over this high hand, and if they did, the people in Gatesville would also be benefited. The charter was extended to seventy instead of forty years.

The next session of the General Assembly passed another act that virtually nullified all that the act passed in 1830 had accomplished. The former charter was to be amended; the canal must go to Bennett's Creek; and was to be increased \$50,000, making a total of \$100,000; the right to construct a canal from Orapeake Swamp to Bennett's Creek, in order to be retained, must be begun in two and finished in ten years after the completion of the Orapeake Canal.⁸⁹

It is hard to say exactly what all of these laws meant, only one thing is certain and that is that Whitmel Stallings was at this time fighting the canal with all of his power. However, the people were determined to have a canal and they were equally strong in their opposition to Stallings. It is noticeable that at this time Holley Grove Township is inclined to go Whig. Even as late as 1850, Mr. Willey, the Whig candidate for the State Senate, polled 48 votes to Stallings' 25.⁹⁰ From all probability little was done to construct the canal. The reasons cannot be obtained. The matter must have been dropped for the time being, but we find another act passed by the General Assembly in its session of 1844-5.

"An act to revive and continue in force an act passed at General Assembly of 1831-32, etc." This provided that the work on the canal must be finished in ten years or the charter forfeited. In all probability new men had taken hold of the affair for we find that this act names Jesse Wiggins, Samuel R. Harrell, J. R. Lassater, Andrew Voight, Isaac S. Har-

rell, Dr. John Gatling and Burrell Brother to open the books in Gates County. As soon as \$25,000 of the capital is subscribed the stockholders are to meet and elect officers and proceed with plans.⁹¹ The plans of these men like the plans of those planters of 1829-30 seems to have fallen by the wayside. The capital was not raised and everything must have been dropped for we hear nothing more of the canal.

However in the early fifties a few men of the neighborhood got together and decided to cut a large ditch that would put them in touch with Norfolk. A ditch about twelve feet wide was cut from a point they called Hamburg, within one-half mile of Holley Grove, to the Washington Ditch and this ditch in turn ran into Lake Drummond and from there boats could go down the Dismal Swamp Canal to Norfolk. Col. Robert R. Hill, Samuel Harrell and Timothy Lassiter were the most active in getting this work done. This was the outcome of the twenty-odd years of strife in the county for a canal.⁹²

The people did not get the kind of a canal they wanted and the one that they did get came too late to save the economic condition of the county. There were several other canals proposed to come to the county and two were actually chartered, one was the Gates County Canal Company, referred to in Laws of 1830-1, Chapter 109, page 95; where this canal proposed to go is not known. Another was a canal referred to in Laws of 1829-30 and chartered about 1827. This canal was to go from the woods in Camden County to the White Oak Spring Marsh in Gates County. From all the facts that can be obtained concerning this canal some work must have been done on it. Now if all of the canals proposed and talked about had been constructed Gates County would have had a financial history, but politics was too rampant and the good of the county was sacrificed to petty party strife.

While the people on one side of the county were trying to get a canal, the people on the other side were sending their goods down the Chowan river. We find that laws are passed prohibiting the felling of timber in Bennett's Creek from Norfleet's Mill, and imposing a fine of \$10 for every offense. A similar law was passed concerning Catherine Creek.

These small creeks were not sufficient to stimulate the people of the county to any great activities, and they were never as prosperous as they would have been if they had secured a canal system that would have made nearby markets easy to reach.

CONCLUSION

As was said in the beginning, this account of Gates County has not been written because of any great achievements that its citizens have accomplished. There have been no great men or great movements in Gates that have stirred State and Nation; it has been a mediocre county and its people have been a mediocre people. What these people in Gates did and thought and how they lived, is characteristic of most of the people of North Carolina before the Civil War. There were only a few James Iredells and Elisha Battles; most of the people fell in the same class with the people of Gates County, and the value of this paper, aside from its local interest, is that it gives an account of that average class.

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HISTORICAL PAPERS

Published by the Trinity
College Historical Society



SERIES XIII

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

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THE SEEMAN PRINTERY
DURHAM, N. C.
1919

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PREFATORY NOTE

The essays herewith submitted are the work of students in Trinity College, having been submitted in competition for two prizes, the Braxton Craven Essay Medal and the Southern History Prize of the Trinity College Historical Society. For valuable criticisms acknowledgement is due Mr. Marshall Haywood, of Raleigh. Influences arising from the World War have delayed publication. The manuscript for Series XIV is at hand and its publication may be expected in 1920.

WM. K. BOYD,

For Committee on Publication.

November 26, 1919.

HISTORICAL PAPERS

SERIES XIII

Religious Defense of Slavery in the North

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Contrary to the opinion prevailing in the South, slavery was not universally condemned in the North but, as a matter of fact, found many defenders, particularly in the colleges and the churches. The abolition movement, although making a religious appeal, was distinctly an extra-church activity. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the churches of all denominations were more or less positively anti-slavery in their teachings and practices, but during the early years of the century there was a marked increase in religious interest among the slaveholding classes—a fact which greatly modified the attitude of the churches in regard to slavery. By 1830, when the Garrisonian abolition was under way, the opinions of the churches had so far changed that not only were Garrison and his followers denounced as heretics and madmen, but the institution of slavery itself found staunch defenders in the North.

This northern defense of slavery was, like the abolition movement, largely concentrated in two sections, New England and the Middle West. The first agitation by the pro-slavery propagandists in these sections occurred during the years immediately following the rise of the abolition movement, and from that time until the actual fall of the Confederacy the northern defenders of slavery, as they decreased in numbers, increased in zeal. As Hart says in his *Slavery and Abolition*: "Abolition was sorely disappointed in the clergy and churches, especially in New England. The cloth of the North was arrayed against him (Garrison) and many of the Northern divines entered the lists. . . . The positive opposition of the churches soon followed. Lewis Tappan and others were tried by their own churches for their abolition activity.

* This essay was awarded the Braxton Craven Prize in 1917.

The Methodist General Conference of 1836 passed a resolution of censure upon two of its members who had spoken in favor of abolition; and the New York Methodist Conference of 1838 warned all members not in any way to patronize *Zion's Watchman*, an anti-slavery paper."¹

In regard to the ministry Barnes says: "They have affixed to the word *abolition* an odious idea, and so far as their influence goes, led the public to do it also."² Of religious papers he also says: "If there is no formal and avowed *defense* of slavery their influence is such as to make it possible and convenient to refer to them in support of the system."³ A number of the *Emancipator* for 1838 expressed the fear that the ministers of the gospel were "settling down to fixed hatred of the principles of liberty and fixed determination at any hazard to maintain the lawfulness of slavery and criminality of efforts for its removal. They are evincing a readiness to abandon any principle, to violate any obligation, to outrage any feeling, to sacrifice any interest heretofore held dear and sacred, if it be found to afford countenance or strength to anti-slavery."⁴

A review of the actions of the leading denominations on the subject of slavery will show to what extent each was inactive or was actually arrayed in the defense of the institution.

I

Of all the sects the Baptists were, perhaps, the most hostile to slavery. The congregational nature of the church government was unfavorable to widespread agitation of any kind. Still, in many instances, there was in the North action which countenanced slavery. In 1835 Rev. D. Sharp, of Boston, cautioned a conference of Baptist ministers "to be prudent in matters not within the appropriate sphere of the church, to give no instructions to political organizations, and to avoid controversies."⁵ In 1840 the South Carolina State Convention was assured by agents of the American and Foreign Bible Society and of the American Baptist Home Mission Society

¹ Hart, *Slavery and Abolition*, 211.

² Barnes, *Church and Slavery*, 17.

³ *Ibid.* 18.

⁴ Wilson, *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power*, Vol. I, 412.

⁵ Putnam, *Baptists and Slavery*, 17.

that the number and influence of the abolitionists among Baptists were small and feeble and that the great body of Baptists in the North had no sympathy with abolition and no desire to interfere in the smallest degree with the institution of slavery. At the Triennial Baptist Convention which met at Baltimore in 1841, radical abolitionists on the general Board, for example, Elon Galusha, were replaced by less radical men. At this convention it was understood that slavery was a subject with which the convention had "no right to interfere."⁶ A letter signed "S. C. C." and published in the *Religious Herald* for April 4, 1844 declared that "the large body of Baptists at the North were as much opposed to the abolition movement as were those at the South."⁷ By this year, however, the subject had become one of general interest to the Baptists. There were lengthy discussions at the Triennial Convention which met in Philadelphia but the Convention "got rid of it by laying the whole subject on the table."⁸ In the same year the two great national missionary societies refused to take any action on the slavery question. The American Baptist Missionary Society had in its employ at this time twenty-six slaveholding missionaries,⁹ and "the great mass of Baptists had reconciled themselves to the existence of slavery."¹⁰ There was, however, some protest against this passive attitude of the church. In September, 1844, there was held in Albany a Baptist Anti-Slavery Convention which declared that the General Convention had "manifested an incurable pro-slavery spirit and was essentially committed to the fellowship of slavery and the employment of slaveholding missionaries."¹¹ The spirit of hostility expressed by this convention grew in the Baptist church and by 1846 had developed to the extent that so far as foreign and domestic missions were concerned the church was completely split. Even after this division, however, the *Christian Times*, a Baptist paper published at Springfield, would publish no anti-slavery propaganda and favored Douglas in his contest against Lincoln.¹²

⁶ *Ibid.* 26, 27.

⁷ *Ibid.* 34.

⁸ *Ibid.* 38.

⁹ Goodell, *Slavery and Anti-Slavery*, 187.

¹⁰ Newman, *The Baptists*, 305.

¹¹ Putnam, *Baptists and Slavery*, 43.

¹² Dodd, *Fight for the Northwest* (*Am. Hist. Review*, vol. XVI).

In the Episcopal Church slavery seems never to have been a vital issue. In regard to the position of this church John Jay said:

"Alas for the expectation that she would conform to the spirit of her mother; she has not only remained a mute and careless spectator of this great conflict of truth and justice with hypocrisy and cruelty, but her very priests and deacons seem to be ministering at the altar of slavery, offering their talents and influence at its unwieldy shrine, and openly repeating the awful blasphemy that the precepts of our Saviour countenance the system of American slavery. Her Northern (free state) clergy with rare exceptions, whatever they may feel on the subject, rebuke it neither in public nor in private, and her periodicals, far from advancing the progress of abolition, oppose our society defending slavery as not incompatible with Christianity and occasionally withholding information useful to the cause of freedom."¹³

In 1839 a committee of the General Theological Seminary declined to admit to the Seminary "a colored young gentleman from the State of New York" who had been recommended as a candidate for holy orders. Later, while Phillips Brooks was considering entering the ministry, a friend "represented to him how the church and the clergy were holding aloof from the humanitarian movement which called for the abolition of slavery but against this plea, which made its impression, he persisted in listening to other voices, to some inward call"¹⁴ In December 1860 the *Chicago Record*, the Episcopal organ for the Northwest, acknowledged that the bishops and clergy of that denomination had never raised their voices against the South or slavery.¹⁵ The whole attitude of this church seems to have been one of inactivity rather than of participation on either side of the slavery controversy.

The Congregational Church, although it had few members in the slave states, yet gave a great deal of consideration to the question of slavery, and from the ranks of the denomination came some of the most ardent defenders of the institution. Members of this church had "constituted a large portion of those few who were slaveholders during the existence of slavery in the Northern and Eastern states."¹⁶ Also, "some of the most prominent ministers especially in the seacoast cities were

¹³ Quoted from Birney, *American Churches, the Bulwark of American Slavery*, 39.

¹⁴ Allen, *Life and Letters of Phillips Brooks*, 141.

¹⁵ Dodd, *Fight for the Northwest*.

¹⁶ Goodell, *Slavery and Anti-Slavery*, 165.

bold in the defense of the pagan Fugitive Slave Law, and the great body of the church was about to endorse and ratify the surrender of the church to slavery."¹⁷ From the viewpoint of the abolitionists "the influence of the religious papers in the state (Maine) was a great obstacle to the righteous cause."¹⁸ In 1836 these same abolitionists considered "the attitude of current religion deplorable, . . . denouncing and assailing as fanatics those who prayed and toiled for them." (the slaves.)¹⁹ In 1838 the Lincoln Congregational Conference refused to have any resolution on slavery read or anything said on the question, and it disallowed the publication of a pastoral letter which slightly alluded to the subject. The Congregational Convention of Maine in 1851 "continued its relations with slaveholding bodies and appointed as delegate to the Presbyterian Assembly a defender of slavery from the Bible."²⁰ The following year one religious paper in New England said: "The Lord's time to remove slavery has not come. We must wait. In His own time He will do it." An editorial in a copy of the *New Haven Spectator*, printed during the year 1832, said: "The Bible contains no explicit prohibition of slavery. It recognizes both in the Old and New Testaments such a constitution of society, and it lends authority to enforce the mutual obligations arising from that constitution. Its language is, 'Slaves, obey your masters, and masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that ye also have a master in heaven.' There is neither chapter nor verse in Holy Writ which lends any countenance to the fulminating spirit of universal emancipation of which some specimens may be seen in some of the newspapers."²¹ Many of the New England clergy came to the defense of Daniel Webster when his action in regard to the Fugitive Slave Law was being criticised by Garrison and his followers.

The Presbyterian Church, having widespread interests in both the North and the South, was more intimately connected with slavery than was the Congregational, and hence was subject to more violent agitation on the question. Like other

¹⁷ Willey, *Anti-Slave History in State and Nation*, 392.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 190.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 71.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 392.

²¹ *New Haven Spectator*, 1832, 473.

denominations the Presbyterians had originally been opposed to slavery, but as slave-holders came into the church in greater and greater numbers, and as the radical "abolition heresy" arose in New England and the Middle West, the attitude of the church was substantially modified.

In 1818 the General Assembly passed the following resolution:

It is manifestly the duty of all who enjoy the light of the present day to use their honest, earnest, and unwearied endeavors to correct the errors of former times and as speedily as possible to efface the blot on our holy religion and to obtain the complete abolition of slavery throughout Christendom, and, if possible, throughout the World.²²

This action embodied what was, for a time, the true attitude of the church upon the subject, but by 1836 this sentiment had been so radically changed that the General Assembly which met at Pittsburg adopted a set of resolutions which stated that "the subject of slavery is inseparably connected with the laws of many states of the union with which it is by no means proper for an ecclesiastical body to interfere," and the whole question of legislation in regard to slavery was "indefinitely postponed." At this same session of the General Assembly a reprint of an article which had appeared in the *Princeton Reportory*, and which was alleged to have been written by Professor Hodge of Princeton, was widely circulated. This article is quoted as saying: "At the time of the advent of Jesus Christ slavery in its worst form prevailed over the world. The Savior found it around him in Judea, the Apostles met with it in Asia, Greece, and Italy. How did they treat it? Not by denunciation of *slaveholding* as necessarily *sinful*. The assumption that slaveholding is in itself a crime is not only an error, but is an error fraught with evil consequences."²³

The Presbyterian Church was, during the decade between 1830 and 1840, torn with dissension in regard to the doctrine of the atonement. This dissension led in 1837 to the excision of four synods charged with heresy, but a still greater di-

²² Quoted from Minutes of the General Assembly of 1849, 187.

²³ Quoted in Goodell, *Slavery and Anti-Slavery*, 153.

vision occurred the following year when the entire church became separated into the Old School and the New School Presbyterians. "It was alleged as early as 1838 that the prevalence of anti-slavery sentiment among New School men, as in New England was one of the reasons for the coöperation of the South in the policy of division. This is not borne out by facts."²⁴ However little slavery may have had to do with the division of the church, it was certainly a fruitful topic of discussion in both branches. "The Old School defended slavery on Scriptural grounds, the New School declared it 'oppressive' and 'unrighteous' but took no decisive action against it."²⁵

The whole action of the New School was vacillating. "Mild anti-slavery resolutions were adopted, but no authoritative action was ever taken against slavery."²⁶ The New School Assembly of 1843, after a three days debate, refused to vote on the following measure: "Resolved: That the Assembly do not think it for the edification of the church for their body to take any action on the subject of slavery."²⁷ The reason given for failure to adopt the measure was that it would be "passed by a small majority and must operate to promote alienation and division."²⁸ As one anti-slavery man said: "The New School Assembly is more solicitous to have the favor of the few slaveholders who are members than to have the blessings of the poor who are perishing in their grasp—more earnest to equal the Old School in numbers than to outstrip it in righteousness."²⁹ For two years after this heroic procedure the New School General Assembly "declined to take action against slavery."³⁰ Reunion with the Old School was agitated in 1846 and again in 1850—regardless of the pro-slavery attitude of the Old School. The entire action of the New School has been summed up in the following words: "In 1839 the whole subject was referred to the Presbyteries, but in 1843 the Presbyteries were censured for acting and were requested to rescind their acts. It (the General Assembly) could not censure slavery, but it could censure Pres-

²⁴ Thompson, *Presbyterian Church*, 155 ff.

²⁵ Goodell, *Slavery and Anti-Slavery*, 162.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 157.

²⁷ Barnes, *Church and Slavery*, 41.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 41.

²⁹ Birney, *American Churches, the Bulwark of American Slavery*, 33.

³⁰ Goodell, *Slavery and Anti-Slavery*, 162.

byteries by whom slavery was censured."³¹ This policy of vacillation was not agreeable to the more radical of the New School Presbyterians, and in 1853 "six synods, twenty-one presbyteries, and fifteen thousand members" withdrew and formed the United Synod of the Presbyterian Church, a strictly anti-slavery body.³²

If the New School did not condemn slavery, the Old School was even less active against the evil. In a convention held preparatory to the separation between the New and the Old Schools the followers of the Old School resolved "that in the judgment of this convention it is of the greatest consequence to the best interests of the church that the subject of slavery shall not be agitated or discussed in the sessions of the General Assembly,"³³ and also that "the Church could not condemn slavery without condemning the apostles for conniving with it."³⁴ The Old School Assembly of 1845 "recognized no responsibility on the part of the church to remove the evils connected with slavery" and the following year condemned "all schismatic measures tending to destroy the peace of the church."³⁵ Again, in 1847 the Old School Assembly voted that it was "inexpedient and improper for it to attempt or propose measures of emancipation."³⁶

Closely related to the Congregational and the Presbyterian Churches were the agitations which arose in regard to slavery in Lane Seminary and in the present M'Cormick Seminary. Lane Seminary was located at Cincinnati, on the border between slave and free territory. In 1832, under the leadership of Theodore D. Weld, a disciple of Garrison, there occurred at Lane a series of debates on the subject of slavery. These debates created so much disturbance that, with the concurrence of the president, Lyman Beecher, they were stopped by action of the trustees. This action resulted in the withdrawal of four-fifths of the Lane students and their subsequent entrance to Oberlin College. Even at Oberlin, however, the sentiment in favor of the negroes was not as strong as is com-

³¹ *Ibid.* 185.

³² Thompson, Presbyterian Church, 135.

³³ Birney, American Church the Bulwark of American Slavery, 33.

³⁴ Hart, Slavery and Abolition, 214.

³⁵ Goodell, Slavery and Anti-Slavery, 157.

³⁶ Thompson, The Presbyterian Church in the U. S., 136.

monly supposed. Provision was made in 1834 for the admission of colored students to the college, but this action was not entirely due to disinterested benevolence. The Board of Trustees found that unless they agreed to admit negro students they could secure neither three much-desired professors nor an offered endowment of \$10,000. Even under these circumstances the sentiment of the board was so evenly divided that it was necessary for Father Keep, the presiding officer, to cast the deciding vote and secure the admission of negro students.³⁷

In the Presbyterian Church the New Albany Seminary, later known as the Theological Seminary of the Northwest, had been under the control of seven Northwestern synods. It was proposed that this seminary be turned over to the General Assembly of the church on the grounds that such a transfer would prevent the establishment of a rival seminary in that region. This action was bitterly opposed by Rev. E. L. M'Masters, who thought that in case of the transfer the seminary would be subject to "the impudent and offensive domination of slaveholders."³⁸ The transfer was, however, accomplished—for reasons similar to those which led to the admission of colored students to Oberlin: Cyrus M'Cormick promised a donation of \$10,000 on the condition that the seminary be turned over to the General Assembly and be moved to Chicago. With this promised aid as an inducement, the transfer was brought about by the brave majority of eight votes. M'Masters was not elected to a position in the new seminary because of his "feelings and purposes in regard to slavery which the Assembly could not sanction."³⁹ Nathan L. Rice was made president and "within a year delivered three lectures in North Church, Chicago, proving from the Bible that slavery was not only not contrary to divine will but positively sanctioned by the Old and New Testaments."⁴⁰ The secular press of Chicago declared the seminary to be "an institution founded in the interests of Southern slavery."⁴¹ In regard to the whole situation Dodd says: "The churches

³⁷ Hart, *Slavery and Abolition, 190-192*, and Fairchild, *Oberlin*, 51 ff.

³⁸ Hasley, *History of M'Cormick Seminary*, 103.

³⁹ Hasley, *History of M'Cormick Seminary*, 122.

⁴⁰ Dodd, *Fight for the Northwest*.

⁴¹ Hasley, *History of M'Cormick Seminary*, 149.

of the Northwest were becoming aroused to the dangers of radicalism and were on the conservative side."⁴²

Of all the churches the Methodists perhaps suffered the most violent dissensions as the result of the slavery agitation. In 1784 there was strict legislation against slavery, but as early as 1808 "a series of resolutions had struck from the Discipline all that related to slaveholding among private members of the Methodist Church."⁴³ Says one who lived during the change of sentiment: "In 1824 provision was made for exhorting owners to give religious instructions to their slaves, for admitting negroes to the church, and for the employment of colored preachers, and here closes the history of her opposition to slavery as a system. These provisions yet (July, 1848) remain as the whole action of the Methodist Church against slavery."⁴⁴

In 1835 Bishops Hedding and Emory exhorted the members of the New England conferences in this manner: "If any agitate other societies or communities on the subject, we advise preachers, trustees, and officials and other members to manifest displeasure and to refuse the use of pulpits and houses for such purposes."⁴⁵ In 1836 the General Conference which met at Cincinnati committed itself "strongly and unqualifiedly against radical abolition" and disclaimed "any right, wish, or intention to interfere with the civil and political relation between master and slave as it exists in the slaveholding states of this union."⁴⁶ This Conference further declared that "the only Scriptural and prudent way for us is wholly to abstain from agitating the subject."⁴⁷ Later, ministers were arraigned and suspended for not complying with this exhortation. The New York and Ohio Conferences approved of this action of the General Conference, but those of New England wished to take unfavorable action on the subject and to pass resolutions hostile to slavery, but Bishop Hedding refused to allow them to vote on the matter.⁴⁸

⁴² Dodd, *Fight for the Northwest*.

⁴³ Matlack, *American Slavery and Methodism*, 28.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 32.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Goodell, *Slavery and Anti-Slavery*, 142.

⁴⁷ Matlack, *American Slavery and Methodism*.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 40-67.

In 1840 the General Conference passed a resolution to the effect that

Under the provisional exception of the general rule of the church on the subject of slavery, the simple holding of slaves, or mere ownership of slave property, in states or territories where the laws do not admit of emancipation, and permit the liberated slave to enjoy freedom, constitutes no legal barrier to the election and ordination of ministers to the various grades of office known in the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and cannot, therefore, be considered as operating any forfeiture of right in view of such election and ordination.⁴⁹

Many distinguished members of this conference openly defended slavery. Bishop Hedding believed that slaveholding might be justified by the Golden Rule and argued that Methodists held slaves according to this rule. Bishop Soule declared: "I have never advised the liberation of slaves, and think I never shall." Dr. Fiske, President of Wesleyan University, said: "The New Testament enjoins obedience upon slaves as an obligation *due* to a present *rightful* authority." The opinion of Dr. T. E. Bond, editor of the *Christian Advocate Journal*, was that "Slavery itself is nowhere forbidden in Scripture." Rev. S. Olin, later President of Wesleyan, declared: "I believe we are all prepared to recognize the right of our Southern brethren to hold slaves under the provision of the Discipline. The man who denies this may be a very good man, but a very bad Methodist." J. B. Ayres, of the Philadelphia Conference, said: "In one neighborhood in Maryland some years ago the Methodists took it into their heads to free all slaves. . . . The curse of the Almighty has rested upon them ever since."⁵⁰ Upon another occasion Wilbur Fiske said: "The general rule of Christianity not only permits, but in supposable cases enjoins, a continuance of the master's authority."⁵¹

The lax attitude of the General Conference led the more radical of the anti-slavery members of the Methodist Church to withdraw from the connection in 1843 and in a meeting held at Ithaca, New York, to set up the Wesleyan Methodist Church, a church "free from episcopacy and slavery."

⁴⁹ Tigert, *Constitutional History of Methodism*, 427.

⁵⁰ All quoted in Matlack, *American Slavery and Methodism*, 28 ff.

⁵¹ Goodell, *Slavery and Anti-Slavery*, 147.

A still greater division, however, was destined to occur in 1844. This was caused fundamentally by a difference of opinion between the northern and the southern Conferences in regard to the extent of the episcopal powers, although a question in regard to slavery was the immediate occasion of the division. The Methodists of the North, living in the midst of Congregationalism, wished to assert the independence of the Annual Conferences; those of the South, where the influence of the Protestant Episcopal Church was stronger, held that the bishops were supreme over all Conference action. Among the early difficulties which arose were the above-mentioned conflicts between Bishop Hedding and the New England Conferences in regard to anti-slavery resolutions.

By 1844 the situation had become acute and feeling was intense. In the midst of this excitement the question was raised as to whether Bishop Andrews, whose wife was a slave owner, should exercise the episcopal function. The bishops counseled postponement of action on the subject, but by a vote of ninety-five to eighty-four their recommendation was tabled.⁵² Bishop Andrews was "virtually suspended from his office as Superintendent" with the result that the southern conferences severed their connection with the northern. At the very conference in which the split occurred, however, "no single voice was heard to declare that it was unchristian to hold slaves under any and every circumstances. . . . many voices were heard pleading equivocally but surely for slavery."⁵³

Although most of the slaveholding congregations of Methodism affiliated themselves with the southern branch of the church, there were, nevertheless, in the northern church four thousand slaveholders, and "every effort was made to prevent their being interfered with by the abolitionists of the North."⁵⁴ Even as late as 1860 the prevalence of pro-slavery sentiments in the North deterred the General Conference from action on the subject. The *Northwestern Christian Advocate* of May 23 and June 6 of that year declared that "slavery had never been proven a sin similar to polygamy, idolatry, and drunkenness, but that it rested upon good Bible grounds."⁵⁵

⁵² Tigert, *Const. Hist. of Sou. Methodism*, 440.

⁵³ Matlack, *American Slavery and Methodism*, 11.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 194.

⁵⁵ Dodd, *Fight for the Northwest*.

Matlack sums up the situation in the Methodist Church as follows:

"However reluctant any may feel to accredit the fact that the executive officers of the church gave their influence against anti-slavery action and in favor of slavery, it cannot be denied.⁵⁶

The chief reasons for the churches failing to give organized support to the anti-slavery movement were undoubtedly natural conservatism and fear of dissention and schism, but it is a significant fact that the dates of the pro-slavery agitation coincide with the establishment of theological seminaries and the emphasizing of the verbal inspiration of the Scriptures. It was, indeed, through a literal interpretation of certain passages of Scripture that the northern defenders of slavery gained most of their arguments.

II

Having traced the attitude of various denominations toward the question of slavery, it is now in order to note some of the more notable defenses of the institution by individual clergymen.

One of the earliest and also one of the most violent of the pamphlets written in defense of slavery was *Thoughts on Slavery*, published anonymously in Lowell, Mass., in 1848. The chief question raised is, "Whether negro slavery is consistent with the precepts of the Christian religion?" In proof of its absolute consistency the author accepts literally Noah's curse of Canaan as the beginning of slavery and at great length goes into a study of the probable psychology of Noah, Ham, and Canaan, with the result that he assumes the curse to have been the direct expression of the will of the Almighty and to extend to the last descendant of Ham, just as the blessing of Noah extends to the last descendant of Shem and Japheth. His conclusion on this point is as follows:

The entire human race is suffering to a certain extent in consequence of the fall of their great progenitor (Adam), a portion of that race is suffering additional evils in consequence of the wickedness of their more immediate ancestor. The modern doctrine in re-

⁵⁶ Matlack, *American Slavery and Methodism*, 64.

lation to the social and political equality of man has not, therefore, always been true, nor, unless the whole progeny of Canaan be extinct and swept from the face of earth, is it true now.⁵⁷

The justice of the divine decree which thus curses a portion of the human race, the author says, can be no more satisfactorily explained than can the indisputably true doctrine of election. He next takes up the history of slavery to show that it is a divinely favored institution. Abraham was undoubtedly a slaveholder, and in the Mosaic law slavery is "expressly recognized and permitted."⁵⁸ This law was not abrogated by the New Testament. Then is discussed the war cry of the abolitionists, "Do as you would be done by." In this connection the author points out that the doctrine, if only carried far enough, would force the abolitionists to let slaveholders alone and would also stop all action at law against criminals. He further holds that conscience cannot be an infallible guide since it permits various inconsistencies. To the abolitionists he says in this connection: "While you are dulcifying your tea and coffee with the sugar of the tropics merely to heighten their flavor—let me impress on your conscience that all this gratification is only purchased by the blood and tears of slavery."⁵⁹ He admits the natural desire of slaves for freedom but doubts the possibility of such freedom; there is no warrant for it from Scripture, for the apostles join with the law and the prophets in enjoining the obedience of servants to masters.

The next section of the pamphlet is devoted to the refutation of certain arguments advanced by Dr. Channing. If, as Dr. Channing held, Paul did not openly declare against slavery because he feared a slave war, but did privately express his hostility to the institution, the author declares that the apostle's action was "so degrading to his high and lofty intellect, so debasing to his spotless morality, so unlike his dauntless courage which distinguished him on all occasions that we turn from it in disgust."⁶⁰ As to Dr. Channing's argument that if slavery is countenanced in the Scriptures, so is polygamy, the writer holds that the origin of slavery is clearly

⁵⁷ *Thoughts on Slavery*, 14.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 17-27.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 32, 40.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 49-51.

divine, that of polygamy uncertain, and that polygamy died naturally among the Jews while slavery remained. "Those who so vehemently affirm that the sinfulness of slavery is so plainly declared in the Bible are bound to explain why all Christendom, with the Bible in their hands, have remained until recently in such profound ignorance of the fact," for the Puritans "with all their strictness did not pronounce it a crime."⁶¹

In conclusion the author takes up the question: "Was slavery designed to be perpetual or temporary?" He argues that as the precepts of the Bible are binding to all ages, so also is the curse on Canaan. The blessings on the descendants of Shem and Japheth have been carried out until they are the masters of the earth. In proving that the curse upon Canaan has been carried to a similar extent, and that the negroes are their descendants, he employs a remarkable syllogism. Africans are cursed with the worst geographical location on the earth; the sons of Canaan were cursed; therefore the Africans are the sons of Canaan. The curse must have been immediate in its operation, it must have "caused a change in the hair, bones and color of the negroes." There is no other way to account for these changes, since negroes were so formed at the time of the early Egyptian monuments, which were made too near the time of the flood for these changes to have been brought about by natural means. "The change that produced the negro was supernatural. God, for wise purposes, ordained that one portion of mankind should enslave another, and he set a mark upon the unfortunate party by which he could always be recognized."⁶² The righteousness of negro slavery cannot therefore be doubted, because "an universal custom, existing from time immemorial, known and practiced of all men in all places, cannot be falsified or mistaken. Such has been the case with regard to negro slavery."

The author's final conclusion is: "Negroes have always been slaves and always will be. Philanthropists have discovered no method to prevent it. As long as there is a descendant of Canaan there will be slavery."⁶³

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 51-53.

⁶² *Ibid.* 66, 68.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 70.

Another striking pamphlet written in defense of slavery was *Conscience and the Constitution*, by Moses Stuart, Professor of Hebrew in Andover Theological Seminary. It is particularly noteworthy for its broad-minded, common-sense consideration of actual facts as they existed in the United States in 1850, and because the good doctor did not allow his earnestness to overcome his sense of humor. The pamphlet was occasioned by the fact that Dr. Stuart had upheld, amid a tumult of criticism, Daniel Webster's famous seventh-of-March speech. In answer to his critics Dr. Stuart wrote this pamphlet in which he does not defend the perpetuation of slavery in the South, but does bitterly denounce the course of the abolitionists and does extenuate slaveholding as having Scriptural sanction and as being an institution for which the Southerners of his day were not responsible.

On the title page Dr. Stuart quotes, in Greek, I Corinthians 7:21: "Art thou called, being a servant, care not for it." With apologies for appearing to hide behind the great apostle, he proceeds to take these words as his text and to suggest the applicability of the words "care not for it" to those who are not under the yoke of slavery, as well as to those who are. "A little more of the *laissez faire*", he says, "would become believers in the Holy Scripture."

After relating the manner in which he had been drawn into the controversy, Dr. Stuart proceeds to consider the question of slavery as it is referred to in the Old Testament. Here he finds it strongly entrenched; "in the commandments servants male and female are recognized as a standing and permanent part of the Jewish people."⁶⁴ Also there is no command to *make* slaves, but it is equally certain that there is no command to *unmake* them. One thing, however, is probable, that there is a cognizance of them in such a way as to render it quite certain that Moses expected the Jewish nation to continue to have such a class of people as servants or slaves."⁶⁵

Next, for the benefit of the "many, many thousands sincerely desirous of knowing what light may be obtained from the Bible to aid them in discriminating and performing their

⁶⁴ *Conscience and the Constitution*, 11.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 11.

duty," Dr. Stuart takes up the question: "Is slavery, aside from the slave traffic, a sin?" On this point he argues the antiquity of slavery, and concludes from specific biblical allusions that it must have existed before the flood, that Abraham possessed fifteen hundred serfs, and that before the birth of Isaac he had intended to make a Damascene slave his heir.⁶⁶

After remarking on the fact that among the Hebrews the year of Jubilee applied only to Israelitish slaves, not to aliens, Dr. Stuart considers the various classes of servants among the Jews and the treatment accorded to them, and shows that when the law was first given only male servants had the privilege of the year of Jubilee, and that it was not until the Hebrews had been under the guidance of Moses for forty years that the same right was granted to females. This fact he calls to the particular attention of those who demand immediate emancipation.⁶⁷ The Mosaic law required the return of escaped Hebrew slaves but not of slaves who had escaped from the neighboring heathen, because under Hebrew bondage the slave would have advantages which he could not have if he were the servant of a heathen master. This fact, Dr. Stuart points out, does not permit Northerners to hold slaves who have escaped from southern masters, because Southerners are certainly not heathen. The law also gives "an unlimited right to purchase (not to steal) bond-men and bond-women of the heathen who shall be bond-men forever with no year of jubilee." For such sentiments, Dr. Stuart says, "the Abolitionists will probably think very ill of Moses and not be very courteous toward me for quoting him."⁶⁸

Next in order comes the testimony of the prophets, "who could not contradict the law of Moses, yet the Abolitionists have twisted texts to make it appear that they do." Individual texts are cited which were made by the Abolitionists to do duty in the slavery controversy, but which have in reality no connection with the subject. In concluding his review of the position of the Old Testament on slavery Dr. Stuart says:

The Jews were permitted to purchase and hold slaves who were native Hebrews. But this could only be done for six years at a time.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 22, 23.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 29.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 34.

Moses made advances in the matter of humane treatment, but the sinfulness of such slavery so modified Moses never once intimates. Furthermore God would not have sanctioned a positive evil among his chosen people.⁶⁹

As to the attitude of the New Testament, Dr. Stuart finds that Christ, whose mission concerned sin, not government, did not mention slavery, and that no apostle was directly hostile to it.⁷⁰ Paul's attitude he sums up thus: "If you are a slave, do not make a fuss about it. Let every man abide *in statu quo*. If you have *spiritual* freedom, *civil* bondage does not matter."⁷¹ Summarizing the whole attitude of the New Testament, he says:

Not one word has Christ said to annul the Mosaic law while it lasted. Neither Peter nor Paul have uttered one. Neither of these has said to Christian masters, "Instantly free your slaves." Yet they lived under the Roman laws concernig slavery which were rigid to the last degree. How is it explicable on any ground when we view them as humane and benevolent teachers—and especially as having a divine commission—how is it possible that they should not have declared openly and explicitly against a *malum in se*?⁷²

The next topic discussed is less directly scriptural. It is "the influence which Christian principles should have in our minds in relation to slavery and to the agitated questions of the day." Dr. Stuart argues that the constitutional requirement that slaves shall be returned is legally sound, and that, although he personally believes that it is, in the broadest sense, not desirable that one man should hold another as property, yet it is a question which each state and each individual must decide for himself, and other states must respect that decision.⁷³ In reply to the contention that conscience is a higher law than the constitution, Dr. Stuart cites the biblical case of Onesimus whom Paul returned to Philemon that he might "receive him *forever*. Paul's Christian conscience would not permit him to injure the vested right of Philemon." The application is made very plain in the words: "Paul's course is very different from that of the Abolitionists."⁷⁴ Dr. Stuart

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 41.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 43-51.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* 51.

⁷² *Ibid.* 55.

⁷³ *Ibid.* 56-59.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 59.

further portrays the fallibility of the human conscience by citing the conscientious action of Saul in persecuting the Christians and of the Hindoo mother in sacrificing her child in the Ganges. He says:

"If there is a higher law, it was discovered by the Abolitionists who condemn the conduct of Paul." As an illustration of his point he cites a member of Congress who declared "he would rather hang a man for sending back a runaway slave than for any other crime whatever." "Alas," says Dr. Stuart, recurring to the case of Onesimus, "for the Apostle Paul if he were now among us and should fall into his clutches. This noble martyr received from the Jews five times forty stripes save one; thrice he was beaten with cudgel-rods; once he was stoned; thrice he suffered ship-wreck; besides enduring an infinitude of other vexations and annoyances; but now he would fare worse, he would be hanged by the neck until dead in the very midst of a *Christian* land."⁷⁵

In the pages which follow Dr. Stuart turns from a biblical to a purely political view of the situation and expresses his opposition to the Mason Act, his conviction of the futility of the Wilmot Proviso, and his disapproval of various state activities,—of the South Carolina Seaman's Act, but no less of the legislation by which "no colored freeman can settle in Ohio."⁷⁶ He further says that the whole United States is wild on the subject of slavery, and that the action of both North and South should be governed not by minor prohibitions or permissions of the Scripture, but by its broader teachings which deal with love and brotherly kindness. From such precepts Dr. Stuart draws for the South the lesson that the ideal state is one in which universal freedom exists,⁷⁷ but his application is no less pointedly directed toward the Abolitionists. To them he says: "No wonder the South is agitated by the course of the Abolitionists, for to be called man-stealers, murderers, tyrants, villains, and every other reproachful name which the rich vocabulary of the Abolitionists affords is enough to wake the dead to life." Such men as the Abolitionists, he says, cannot see the truth of Mr. Webster's declaration that "Abolition has helped rivet the chains of the slave and make his bondage more severe and certain, cannot bear

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 64.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 67-82.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 103-107.

to be told the truth that all this noise and confusion and perpetual vituperation and contumely are much ado about nothing."⁷⁸

For the South he finds further palliation in the fact that slavery was introduced not by Southerners but by Englishmen, and that the slave trade was carried on by New Englanders rather than by Southerners. He believes that "universal and immediate emancipation would be little short of insanity. There should be gradual, but certain, emancipation." Freed slaves, he thinks, should be colonized either in Africa or on government reservations. Above all, he begs the agitated factions to "follow after the things which make for peace" and to "recompense no man evil for evil" in order that the Union may not be destroyed.⁷⁹ On the whole Dr. Stuart admitted the literal right to hold slaves, a right which should not be interfered with, but he believed also in the greater right, the right of all men to freedom, and he hoped for the day when the negroes should possess this right. He faced his subject fairly and courageously. Altogether his book makes a greater appeal to the modern reader than do any of those written in the North in the defense of slavery.

Another of the northern schoolmen who defended slavery was Nathan Lord, who was from 1828 until 1863 President of Dartmouth College. In 1863 he resigned because his views on slavery had led the trustees of the college "seriously to demand whether its interests did not demand a change in the presidency."⁸⁰

Dr. Lord's pro-slavery views were probably based largely upon his abhorrence of the doctrines of Thomas Jefferson and his firm belief in the verbal inspiration in the Scriptures. His first publication on the subject of slavery was a pamphlet of thirty-two pages, entitled *A Letter of Inquiry to Ministers of the Gospel of all Denominations on the Subject of Slavery by a Northern Presbyter*. It was printed in 1854. In this pamphlet Dr. Lord asks his ecclesiastical brethren eleven questions. His initial inquiry is: "Whether it does not especially concern ministers of the gospel to consider slavery as a ques-

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 108.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 112-115.

⁸⁰ John Lord, Nathan Lord, 12 (Publications of New Hampshire Hist. Society).

tion of Divine right?" He next proceeds to inquire, "Whether slavery is not an institution of God according to Natural Religion?" He finds that the natural depravity of man has necessitated slavery, which we must conclude is a part of God's wise providence for the reformation of the world. It would, indeed, be a "reflection upon the character of God to conclude otherwise, just as it would be to conclude that sickness, pain, death, or frost, mildews, earthquakes and volcanoes, or the subjection of the weak to powerful animals, or of the whole to man are not naturally parts of God's comprehensive, righteous, and for aught we know, notwithstanding irregularities, the best possible administration of a disordered system."⁸¹

Having reconciled slavery with natural religion, Dr. Lord inquires, "Whether slavery is not also a positive institution of Revealed Religion?" In his argument upon this topic he naturally accepts the statements of the Bible as a positive criterion for conduct in all ages and circumstances. He raises the question as to whether the curse of Ham did not fall upon all of his descendants just as the blessing of Abraham rested upon the whole race of the Hebrews. He cites the Mosaic code in which the buying and selling of slaves "were required and regulated as necessary parts of the theocratic institution, without which his wonderful designs in separating the Jewish nation and blessing the tribe of Shem could not have been accomplished," and the recognition and moral ordering of slavery in the precepts subsequently given to all races by Christ and his apostles," as topics worthy of study on the part of his fellow ministers.⁸²

Having reconciled slavery with both natural and revealed religion, Dr. Lord next makes inquiries in regard to the practical workings of a system of slavery:

"Whether the holding of slaves as ordained by natural and revealed religion can be inconsistent with providence or the will of God, and particularly with the law of love?"

"Whether interpretations of this law which are in opposition to the Scriptures are not fallacious?"

⁸¹ Letter of Inquiry, 4-7.

⁸² *Ibid.* 8, 9.

"Whether there is any more force in objections against the institution of slavery itself, in distinction from its abuses, than would exist in respect to domestic, civil, or ecclesiastical government?"

"Whether the Nebraska Bill is of great consequence to slavery itself aside from its actual or possible abuses?"

"Whether, since slavery is a part of the institution of God for the government of the world and the betterment of the African race, it is not unwise and hazardous for Christian men to denounce and oppose the institution itself apart from its abuses?"

"Whether the constant play upon the public sympathy and the spread of a new and visionary philosophy which subjects the Scripture to the interpretation of reason and sets man's imaginary rights above his duties, his happiness above his virtue, have not caused an unhinging of the public mind, greatly exaggerated existing facts, and placed the nation in danger of dissolution?"

"Whether, although slaveholding states be justified in respect to the institution of slavery, they can be justified in any of the abuses of the institution?"

"Whether a minister may not receive charity although he differ from his brethren in his honest views?"⁸³

The charity which Dr. Lord sought was, in many instances, not forthcoming. There was a storm of protest from various sources, but particularly from the *New Englander*, and in 1855 Dr. Lord, "for the sake of the ultimate repentance and salvation of his critic and to show that he did not intend to defend slavery as it exists in the moribund fancy of the reviewer," issued a second pamphlet, this time over his own signature. The pamphlet is entitled *A Northern Presbyterian's Second Letter to Ministers of all Denominations on the subject of Slavery*, by Nathan Lord, President of Dartmouth College. In this pamphlet Dr. Lord introduces little new argument, he merely expounds what to him would seem the logical answers to the inquiries of his former pamphlet.

Five years later, on December 1, 1859, at the request of a former pupil from Richmond, Dr. Lord wrote *A Letter to*

⁸³ *Ibid.* 11-31.

J. M. Conrad, Esq., on Slavery, which was published in the *Richmond Whig* and also in pamphlet form. In this letter Dr. Lord expresses his disapproval of the John Brown raid and takes occasion again to deplore the current philosophy which elevates liberty and humanity above submission to the Divine will. He also prophesies the ultimate dissolution of the Union and expresses his belief that throughout the disturbances of the day Providence is working out the curse of Ham, and that, although slavery as an institution might be abolished, it would be impossible to discontinue actual, practical slavery until the will of God had been accomplished.

Altogether Dr. Lord's consideration of slavery is theoretical rather than practical; to him slavery was not a concrete institution but an abstract principle, an academic question which was to be settled not by a consideration of the facts as they existed, but by an application to contemporary problems of theories derived from a literal interpretation of biblical references to the subject.

III

In addition to these pamphlets there were several books written in the North in the defense of slavery. As Albert Bushnell Hart says: "It is a significant fact that among the most thoroughgoing defenses of slavery are four books by Northerners."⁸⁴ Three of these are by ministers and treat the question from a religious point of view.

The earliest is *A South-Side View of Slavery; or Three Months at the South*, by Rev. Nehemiah Adams, of Boston. If Dr. Lord's consideration of slavery is based on a theoretical rather than a practical knowledge of the institution, Dr. Adams could certainly claim that his views were founded upon a personal acquaintance with his subject. His book is the result of a three-months' visit in South Carolina, a visit which completely revolutionized the good doctor's preconceived conceptions of slavery. He looked upon it at close range and found it, upon the whole, good. In regard to the slaves he says: "Ten thousands of people are miserable on their account, and my wonder was that they were not continually verifying

⁸⁴ Hart, *Slavery and Abolition*, 337.

and warranting the distress of which they are the occasion."⁸⁵ He concludes that if his northern brethren "act fraternally with the South, defend them against interference, and abstain from everything accusing and dictatorial, and leave them to manage their institution in view of their accountability to God, we may expect that African slavery will cease to be anything but a means of good to the African race."⁸⁶ As for emancipation, Dr. Adams believed that it would do more harm than good. The one objection which the benign doctor found to slavery was that it loosened family ties among the negroes, but this same evil, he assures us, exists among the lower classes in all forms of society.⁸⁷

Having found slavery such a beneficent institution, Dr. Adams naturally sought and discovered Scriptural sanction for it. He finds that "when the Hebrew nation was organized by the Most High, he found among the people masters and slaves. He could have purged out slaveholding by positive enactments; He could have rid the people of all slave owners by making their dead bodies fall in the wilderness. Instead of this He made slavery the subject of legislation, prescribed its duties, and protected the parties concerned in the performance of them."⁸⁸ Dr. Adams held that slavery was a temporary institution which "when no longer available for good . . . will be abolished." He commended the spirit with which the apostles treated the subject and decided that "the same God who framed the Mosaic code is evidently still at work directing His servants the apostles how to deal with slavery." He cites the instance of Paul and Onesimus and finds that "the difference in the apostles' way of dealing with slavery and with other evils teaches clearly that the relation is not, in their view, sinful."⁸⁹ He believes that the Abolitionists are the greatest enemies to emancipation, which can be wrought only by "spiritual religion." The Abolitionists, he says, would transform the brotherly spirit of Paul into one which would make the early Christians "watch the arrival of ships to receive a fugitive consigned by 'the saints and faithful

⁸⁵ Adams, *South-Side View of Slavery* (1854), 28.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 201.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 86 ff.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 190.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 194, 195.

brethren which are at Colosse' to the 'friends of the slave at Corinth.'” He considers “zeal against slavery one of the chief modern foes of the Bible.”

Dr. Adams' views on slavery are, on the whole, too roseate for even a candid Southerner to accept and are founded rather upon the favorable reaction produced by a brief and pleasant view of slavery than upon a thoroughgoing study of the institution as a whole.

Rev. Samuel Seabury, another of the northern defenders of slavery, endeavored to meet the Abolitionists on their own ground. In his book, *American Slavery Justified by the Law of Nature*, which was published in Boston in 1861, he takes as the basis of his argument the “Higher Law” to which the Abolitionists so frequently appealed. His arguments are in many cases more ingenious than convincing. His main thesis is that slavery—not *absolute* slavery, but slavery in the *limited* form in which it exists in the United States—is not a moral wrong. His argument in proof of this view is based upon the “Law of Nature, stable, eternal, and sufficiently known to Christians whether their knowledge of it be entirely due to revelation or partly to their own reason.”⁹⁰ From this Law of Nature spring the rights of man which are of two kinds. “The first kind comprises those rights which consist of liberty to exact of others what the Law of Nature requires them to render us; the second comprise those rights which authorize us to have or do all which the Law of Nature does not forbid.”⁹¹ There are, he says, two relations to society, the immediate and the mediate. The immediate relation is held only by free men; the mediate relation is held through free men and is the relation occupied by women, children, and servants. Upon this conception he bases his most ardent plea for the necessity of slavery. The mediate relation must not be disturbed, for it “conduces to the material welfare and also to the prosperity of the community”⁹² and, just as the freedom of women from masculine authority would result in an undesirable revolution in society, so the freedom of slaves would

⁹⁰ Seabury, *Slavery Justified by the Law of Nature*, 48.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* 57.

⁹² *Ibid.* 81.

be a curse rather than a blessing.⁹³ Family ties are indissoluble; hence the state has little power over them; the ties of slave and master are less binding, and therefore more under the control of the state. The relation, however, has grown up in the state next to the relation of parent and child, and the rights and obligations involved in it were in force before men formed themselves into political organizations. Since the bondage of woman to man existed in Paradise, bondage is a natural relation, and since the relation may be abused, and since only that which is good may be perverted, bondage is fundamentally a good relation.⁹⁴

The historical origin of slavery is the next topic considered. Slavery grew out of the wants of society and was augmented by the results of wars and by the right of a man to sell his own children. At first slavery was temporary, but it later became permanent and hereditary. Slavery is, indeed, founded upon the expressed or tacit consent of the slaves, otherwise there would be insurrections, and since the relation is founded upon the consent of the slaves, the relation must be agreeable, and the foundation of the master's right must, therefore, be valid.⁹⁵

The statement in the Justinian Code that slavery is "against nature" is ingeniously explained as meaning that slavery is not natural in the sense of being physically natural, but that it is natural in the sense of being hereditary, for just as the children of Arabs are Arabs, so the children of slaves are slaves. Although they may lack *civil* liberty, they have *natural* liberty, and indeed, have more than natural liberty, for they have protection, which is not included in natural liberty.⁹⁶

Dr. Seabury's actual Scriptural argument for slavery is similar to that of his predecessors. The Mosaic law is again cited, as are the curse of Ham and the precepts of Paul. The fact that the negro can look forward to no year of Jubilee such as was the hope of the Hebrews is explained as being due not to the fact that he is a slave, but to the fact that he

⁹³ *Ibid.* 89.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 86, 87, 92.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 98.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* 117ff.

is an alien for whom the government of the United States was not intended.

In conclusion Dr. Seabury says: "We may assume the charge and custody of the African race in humble, reverent, and grateful conviction that in so doing we are working together with God for the accomplishment of his wise purpose."⁹⁷

Some of the premises upon which Dr. Seabury bases his arguments seem unsound, and the manner in which he draws his conclusions seems illogical, but his work is undoubtedly original, and to a reader who would accept profusion of words for profundity of thought it would doubtless appear convincing.

Another writer on slavery was Bishop John Henry Hopkins, of the Episcopal Diocese of New York. In 1860 "several gentlemen of New York" requested Bishop Hopkins to express his opinion on slavery. In reply he wrote a pamphlet which was published in January 1861.⁹⁸ In 1863, at the request of a group of Episcopalians in Philadelphia, he published a second pamphlet on the subject. This second pamphlet elicited an indignant protest from a large number of clergymen of the Diocese of Pennsylvania. Chief among the protestants was Bishop Alonzo Potter. The result of the discussion was that in 1864 Bishop Hopkins wrote a book of forty-eight chapters, each of which is specifically addressed to his "Right Reverend Brother" Bishop Potter. The title of the volume was *A Scriptural, Ecclesiastical, and Historical View of Slavery*.

In the pamphlet Bishop Hopkins confines himself to a literal-minded and minute survey of the Biblical statements on the subject of slavery. In the book he considers also the examples and precepts of the church fathers and of the commentators, as well as the testimony of historians and men of letters. He also gives particular attention to the infidelity which was, to his mind, indissolubly connected with the abolition movement.

The biblical argument contained in the pamphlet gives foremost place to the declaration of Noah in regard to Shem

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 225.

⁹⁸ Hopkins, *Bible View of Slavery*, 3.

and Japeth, "Canaan shall be his servant." Further proof that slavery was divinely ordained is found in the mention of Abraham's bond servants who were "bought with a price", and the fact that Hagar was commanded to "submit herself to her mistress." Even in the Ten Commandments Bishop Hopkins finds sanction for slavery, for, "Thou shalt not covet. . . . thy neighbor's man-servant, nor his maid-servant." The separation of families is also justified by the law which gives to the Hebrew master the wife and children of a freed servant. The laws regarding the treatment of slaves and the purchase of heathen bond-servants are further proof of the divine favor which rests upon the institution.⁹⁹ "With this law before his eyes," says Bishop Hopkins, "what Christian can believe that the Almighty attached immorality to slavery?"

The fact that Christ did not allude to slavery is considered proof that he condoned the institution, for he had not come to destroy the law, but to fulfill it. If Christ's approval of slavery was merely negative, the apostles give positive proof of the Divine approbation which rests upon it, for Paul repeatedly exhorts servants (who were, of course, slaves, says the Bishop), to obey their masters and he was instrumental in returning Onesimus to his master, Philemon.

In regard to southern slavery Bishop Hopkins finds that "there is incomparably more mutual love than can ever be found between employer and hireling." Turning from the purely scriptural foundations of slavery, Bishop Hopkins finds that the right of liberty guaranteed under the Constitution is not, under the law of God, an inalienable right, and that the doctrine does not "harmonize with the great doctrine of the Bible that the Almighty Ruler appoints to every man his lot on earth and commands him to be thankful for his lot, and that we must submit ourselves to those who have rule over us."¹⁰⁰ His final conclusion is that "the slavery of the negro race, as maintained in the Southern States, appears to me fully authorized both in the Old and the New Testaments," and is the "only instrumentality through which the heathen

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 99-110.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* 20, 28.

posterity of Ham have been raised at all" in the scale of humanity.¹⁰¹

Such, then, is the argument of the pamphlet. In the book, which is a response to his "Right Reverend Brother", Bishop Potter, Hopkins declares the abolition movement to be "contrary to the Bible, the Church, the Constitution, and the true interest of the colored race." He repeats his arguments in regard to the posterity of Canaan and at great length upholds his belief that the negroes are these same descendants. He justifies slavery in the South by a favorable comparison with slavery as it existed in the days of the apostles and quotes every available church authority in support of the institution. He argues against the violent methods of the abolitionists and contends that slavery will, if left to itself, die out as it did in Rome, and as villeinage did in England. He finds that slaves receive on the whole better treatment than do laborers of any other class, and that corporal punishment for slaves was sanctioned by the Levitical code. His chief argument against the abolition movement is that it is intimately associated with infidelity.

In his concluding paragraph Bishop Hopkins states that his view of slavery is "the same truth which was held from the beginning, founded on the absolute will of the Almighty and All-Wise Creator, taught by Moses and the prophets, sanctioned by the inspired apostles, and maintained by the Holy Catholic Church throughout the world even to our own day."

On the whole, Bishop Hopkins' views on slavery would have done credit to the most ardent Calvinistic believer in predestination, and, like those of Dr. Lord, they take a theoretical rather than a practical view of the question. Indeed, the arguments of the two writers are strikingly similar. It is in length rather than in depth or breadth that Bishop Hopkins excels Dr. Lord.

IV

In summarizing the attitude of the churches and religious leaders on the subject of slavery, we find that in the early part of the nineteenth century religious sentiment was strongly

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* 39.

against the institution. As the churches grew in influence, however, and as greater numbers of slaveholders became church members, this uncompromising hostility was relaxed. About the same time theological seminaries were springing up, and the study of the Bible, with emphasis upon its verbal inspiration, was increasing; through this literal interpretation of the Scriptures the church leaders found warrant for slavery. By the time the abolition movement came into prominence in 1830, among the leaders in the defense of slavery were church members, and abolition was looked upon as a species of infidelity. As the abolition movement gained ground, however, many church members accepted its principles, but the greater proportion of the religious leaders continued to oppose it. The reason for this opposition lay chiefly in the fact that nearly all of the denominations were nation-wide in their spheres of activity, and the northern leaders feared that an acceptance of abolition would alienate the southern members. In the years between 1835 and 1845, in spite of the lack of coöperation of the churches, the abolition movement swept the North, and the division of the churches was the inevitable result. Spite of this division many prominent churchmen strove for unity and thus became confirmed in their belief that slavery was an institution founded upon biblical authority. Almost until the outcome of the Civil War had definitely settled the issue in the United States, several of these men continued active in their religious defense of slavery.

Militia in North Carolina in Colonial and Revolutionary Times¹

LUTHER LAFAYETTE GOBBEL

The fact that the white settlers in North Carolina were transplanted, as it were, from a civilized soil into a new and undeveloped country inhabited by wild beasts, strange birds, and savage Indian tribes, made necessary some organized means of protection. And as time passed, other circumstances made the need more urgent. To the south of Carolina, in Florida, were the Spaniards, who were none too friendly with their English rivals north of them. Piracy also flourished off the coast of North Carolina and added another cause for an organization for protection.

But why not have organized a standing army? In the first place, the settlers had an inherent prejudice against a standing army. In the second place, the expense attached to the maintenance of such an organization would have been too great for the settlers to bear.² The Proprietors also cared little for the safety of the people and gave nothing for their support or development.³ Thirdly, the English tradition was not conducive to the establishment of a militia system. Finally, the militia system allowed the men to remain under arms for a short time during the period of war or of eminent danger, and then allowed them to return to their regular employment.

THE MILITIA TO 1776: ORGANIZATION

Although the first charter of Carolina made no mention of a militia as such, the charters of 1663 and 1665 gave to the Proprietors the right to fortify for defense and to raise men to go against the native enemy, pirates, and robbers.⁴ The Proprietors, then, possessed the right to call the men into service and to appoint a leader or commander-in-chief. As time went on the governor, or the president of the council in his absence, came to be commander-in-chief with duties to levy, arm, and muster all the able-bodied men, masters and servants, of the province, in order to put down insurrections and

¹ This essay was written in the year 1917-18 in competition for the Southern History Prize of the Trinity College Historical Society.

² State Records XIV, 72.

³ Colonial Records I, 632.

⁴ C. R. I, 30; 111-112.

riots, to drive out the invaders, or to aid a neighboring colony in emergency.⁵

Likewise the Concessions of 1665 conferred on the legislature the power to build fortresses in various counties, to raise soldiers to defend the counties against rebellion, mutiny, Indians, strangers, and foreigners, and to "pursue the enemy by sea as well as by land, if need be out the limit and jurisdiction of the county with the particular consent of the governor and under the conduct of our Lieutenant-General, or commander-in-chief, or whom he shall appoint."⁶

The Fundamental Constitutions of 1669, framed by Locke, also made provision for some form of organized protection. We find in it provisions for an armed force which resembles closely the more modern militia. "All inhabitants and freemen of Carolina above seventeen years of age and under sixty shall be bound to bear arms and serve as soldiers whenever the Grand Council shall find it necessary."⁷

In none of these measures, however, was there made any provision for pay. The Proprietors cared little for the settlers and did nothing for their protection. Instead of having any definite system before 1715, there were spasmodic attempts by a few settlers, more vitally threatened, to repel the enemy at the time of attack or imminent danger; but there was no well-organized system. The first appropriation for the common defense we have any record of was made in April, 1712, when the legislature authorized an issue of £4,000 to pay for the Tuscarora War.⁸

The first law which gave any very full and specific provisions for the organization and direction of militia was enacted in 1715.⁹ The Tuscarora War of 1712 and the activity of the pirates were flaring and bitter reminders of the need for organized effort against the common enemy. It took the lesson of war to pull the people together. The act referred to provided that the militia should consist of all freemen between the ages of 16 and 60 years, who were to be divided into companies commanded by captains. The captains were given two

⁵ C. R. III, 70, 112, 113; IV, 553.

⁶ C. R. I, 83.

⁷ C. R. I, 205, Art. 116.

⁸ Ashe, *History of N. C.* I, 186; C. R. I, 837-839.

⁹ S. R. XXIII, 29-31.

months from the time of the publication of the act to make a roll of all such men, under penalty of £5 for neglect. The lists were to be revised in October of each year, and the same penalty was to be exacted for neglect of this duty. To enforce attendance at regular musters of the men, equipped with "a good gun, well-fixed sword, and at least six charges of powder and balls," a penalty of £5, with an additional two shilling six pence for lack of accoutrement, was provided. A number of people were exempted from musters, but these had to serve in case of invasion or rebellion. Ministers of the Church of England, practicing physicians or surgeons, Lords Proprietors, Deputy Secretaries, attorneys, members of the General Assembly, clerks, marshals, constables, and justices of the peace were so exempted. The governor, as commander-in-chief, was given the power to call out the militia and compel attendance to go against the invading Indians. Provision was also made for the care of those injured in the service. The eighth section of this act provided that if a wounded soldier was unable to pay for his own medical attention, "if he was unable to cure himself," he might be cured by public charge, "and have one good negro man-slave purchased for him." The family of a soldier killed was also to be aided; but this provision was very general, and it is likely that the unfortunates never received much aid from the government. For disobedience to officers, soldiers were to be punished at the discretion of the captain "by tying Neck and Heels, by Running the Gauntlet, Riding the Wooden Horse," etc. A court martial was provided for the trial of cases of desertion during times of alarm. The pay which the militia-men were to get when in actual service was fixed as follows:

Colonel	10 shillings per diem
Lieutenant Colonel	9 shillings per diem
Major	8 shillings per diem
Captain	5 shillings per diem
Aid Major	5 shillings per diem
Lieutenant	3 shillings, 6 pence per diem
Ensign	3 shillings per diem
Sergeant	2 shillings per diem
Private	1 shilling, 6 pence per diem

No commanding officer, however, who had under him less than twenty men was to be paid more than the pay of an

ensign; those having less than forty men, the pay of a lieutenant; less than sixty men, not more than the pay of a captain; less than a hundred men, not more than the pay of a major; and the officer who had command of less than two hundred men was allowed no more than the pay of a colonel. If a soldier was unable to pay the fines incurred by non-attendance, etc., he was to be hired out at the rate of four shillings a week until the fines were paid off.

This act of 1715 remained in force until it was supplanted by the act of 1740. However it was not altogether satisfactory. The fact that the men had to provide themselves with equipment at their own expense and that when the men did serve they had difficulty in collecting the promised pay, was not conducive to the establishment of a well-organized system. Consequently in 1729, the time when the colony was transferred from the Proprietors to the Crown, we learn that "there was a militia system which provided for the organization of the able-bodied men into companies and regiments. But there were neither arms, ammunition, nor fortifications."¹⁰ This situation continued through Governor Burrington's administration; in fact no acts of importance regarding the organization of the militia were passed during the period from 1729 to 1740. In *A Short Discourse on the Present State of the Colonies in America with Respect to the Interest of Great Britain*, written in 1726, we find, in a measure, the justification for this condition: "A militia in an arbitrary and tyrannical government may possibly be of some service to the Governing Power, but we learn from experience that in a free country it is of little use. The people in the plantations are so few in proportion to the lands they possess that, servants being scarce, and slaves so excessively dear, the men are generally under a necessity there to work in order to provide the common necessities of life for their families, so that they cannot spare a day's time without great loss to their interests; wherefore, a militia there will become more burthensome to the poor people than it can be in any part of Europe."¹¹

¹⁰ C. R. III, preface, XIV.

¹¹ C. R. II, 632.

It was in 1740 that the next militia act of any importance was passed. This act changed that of 1715 only slightly. In 1746 the third militia act was passed.¹² It, too, differed only slightly from that of 1715 in that the period of service was fixed at four months instead of two, and the penalty on captains for failure to make the required roll of men subject to the draft was changed. The penalty on privates for non-attendance at musters was fixed at five shillings proclamation money, and two shillings eight pence additional for lack of equipment. There was also a small increase in the pay of both officers and privates. Instead of the colonels getting ten shillings a day, as the act of 1715 provided, they were now to get twelve shillings, six pence a day; instead of the privates getting one shilling, six pence a day, they now were allowed three shillings. The other men were to receive proportional increases. This act was to continue in force three years; it is rather typical of all the acts governing the organization of the militia during the colonial period.

When the act of 1746 expired in 1749, an act altering, explaining, and continuing it was passed.¹³ The former act was thus continued for a period of five more years, with a few changes. The court martial was to be composed of one field officer, four captains, four lieutenants, three ensigns, or the majority of them, and it was not to have the authority to inflict the death penalty. Captains were to hold musters in the districts twice a year and no more. Formerly these musters were held four times a year. This evident "let up" was granted most likely because there was no particular danger immediately in sight.

The fourth inter-colonial war, or the French and Indian War, as it is more commonly called, was not foreseen. The people were suspecting nothing and "indulged in a fatal security." Peaceful conditions were not destined to last long. The shadows of a long and bloody war had to be passed through, and the militia laws had to be revised to meet the new conditions. The acts of 1756 and 1759 continued the act of 1746 with slight amendments and made provision, for

¹² S. R. XXIII, 224-247.

¹³ S. R. XXIII, 331.

the first time, for the militia to march outside the colony to the aid of its neighbors.¹⁴ According to all former laws, the militia was to remain in the province as a means of local protection. After these acts were passed there still remained some question on this point. As late as 1781 the Governor included in his questions and propositions the following: "It seems to be a prevailing opinion that the militia cannot be marched beyond the limits of the State without an act of the Assembly to authorize it."¹⁵

The year 1760 was a critical time for all the colonies. The French and Indians were hammering away at the British and their few colonists, and it was absolutely necessary for North Carolina to defend herself, even if she could not send many soldiers outside of the province. The Assembly, therefore, in June, 1760, passed another militia act, which had as its preamble the following: "Whereas it requires a militia to be appointed for the Defense of the Country *at this critical Juncture*," etc.¹⁶ This act retained many of the provisions of the former acts, but among the new features were provisions laying much stress on attendance at musters and making it plain whose duty it was to call out the militia in case of invasion. A penalty of ten pounds was fixed for non-attendance at musters. Each captain was to appoint a clerk to serve at musters, also three sergeants, three corporals, and a drummer. In case of insurrection or invasion the governor, or commander-in-chief *pro tem*, was given power to raise all or as much of the militia as was considered necessary. Musters were changed back again to four times a year instead of two.

The act of 1760 made possible the organization of cavalry as a branch of the militia. If from thirty to sixty men should desire to form a cavalry troop, they should be free from serving in the infantry. Each cavalryman, however, had to provide himself with "a good serviceable horse not less than fourteen hands high, with a good bridle, saddle, holsters, housings, breastplate and crupper, a case of good pistols, a good broad sword, twelve charges of powder, twelve sizeable

¹⁴ Raper, North Carolina, a Study in British Colonial Government, 173.

¹⁵ C. R. XIX, 867.

¹⁶ S. R. XXIII, 518-22.

bullets, a pair of shoe-boots with suitable spurs, and a carbine well-fixed, with a good belt, swivel, and bucket."

This act, moreover, also aimed at making sure that the higher officers performed their duties accurately and promptly. It ruled that any colonel failing to appear at court-martial should be fined, for every offense, five pounds; every captain, three pounds; every lieutenant and ensign, forty shillings, "unless they shall make such excuse as the said court shall judge sufficient." Officers were made free from arrest by the civil authorities in going to and from musters.

The period specified during which the above act was to be in force was six months. In the session of December, 1760, the Assembly continued and amended it.¹⁷ The amendments were that there was to be one general muster and three private musters a year for the companies, and majors were made liable to the same fines for failure to perform their duties as were the colonels for failure to perform theirs. The act was to continue in force for two years.

In 1762 it was necessary, on account of the time limit of the act of 1760, to take up in the Assembly the militia question again. The act of 1760 was, therefore, revised and continued for a period of one year.¹⁸ Among the few changes possibly the most noteworthy was the addition of coroners and constables to the list of those exempted from attendance at musters.

The act of 1764 extended the exemptions to school masters who had at least ten pupils, to overseers of public roads, and to pilots on the rivers.¹⁹

The act of 1768 is worthy of rather careful examination. After specifying that all freemen between 16 and 60 were to be enrolled, it summed up and gave a complete list of all classes of people exempted.²⁰ They were members of his Majesty's Council, members of the Assembly, Ministers of the Church of England, Presbyterian Ministers, Justices of the Superior Court, Secretary of the Province, practicing attorneys, persons having previously ranked as high as captain, com-

¹⁷ S. R. XXIII, 535.

¹⁸ S. R. XXIII, 535.

¹⁹ S. R. XXIII, 596-601.

²⁰ Davis, Revisal, 434.

missioned officers, Justices of the Peace, physicians and surgeons, schoolmasters of ten pupils, ferrymen, overseers of six taxable slaves, inspectors, public millers, coroners, constables, overseers of public works, searchers, branch pilots.

Another noteworthy provision is that which says that all overseers of as many as six slaves were to be fined if seen at the musters. It is very probable that this provision was made in order to keep the overseers on the job so as to prevent slave insurrections or the loss of production. A heavy penalty was required of those failing to respond to a call or alarm. The pay was the same as that provided in the act of 1746 with a few exceptions: the pay of captains and adjutants was changed from seven shillings to seven shillings, six pence, and the pay of privates was reduced from three shillings to two shillings a day. Eight pence a day, however, was allowed to the commanding officer for victualizing each man in the service. A general muster was to be held each year at the court house in each county, and a court-martial was to be held there to pass on claims for exemption, on neglect and omission, and appeals from treatment received by captains. Ferry fees were not to be charged to any one attending a muster, and the act was to be in force for five years and no longer.

In 1770, however, an amendment was made.²¹ The preamble reads: "Whereas there are in divers parts of this province several people called Quakers, who demean themselves in a quiet and peaceable manner, and from religious principal, are conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms," etc. It was then enacted that such were not obliged to muster but had to be enlisted under a captain and, in case of insurrection, they were forced to serve or furnish a substitute or pay a penalty of ten pounds. This was the first exemption granted the Quakers, and it brought forth from them expression of thanks.²² They attempted to make it plain that they were patriotic and not slackers, but that they had suffered in their consciences by the former requirement made of them.

In 1774 the acts of 1768 and 1770 were re-enacted, with a few minor changes.²³ The act of 1774 was to be in force for

²¹ Davis' Revisal, 455.

²² C. R. IX, 176-7.

²³ S. R. XXIII, 940-5.

one year and no longer. The seeds of the Revolutionary War were now putting forth and soon a new era opened in the life and history of the militia. Before taking up the discussion of the militia during the Revolution, however, let us consider the

MILITIA IN ACTION

The militia was employed before the Revolution, generally speaking, in three kinds of service, classified according to the interest served. The militia was primarily an organization for self-defense, and it was used more for this purpose than for any other. It was also used to assist neighboring provinces, and, finally, it was employed to assist the British cause in America.

The militia before 1715 was practically impotent in so far as both organization and operation were concerned.²⁴ As has been pointed out, the charters of 1663 and 1665 and the Fundamental Constitutions of 1669 gave to the Proprietors the right to fortify and organize for defense. But, as was also pointed out, on account of the weakness and incompetency of many of the governors, the lack of interest on the part of the Proprietors themselves, and the absence of an invasion or insurrection which should demonstrate the necessity for united effort, mustering and drilling were neglected and were practically unknown.²⁵ Internal strife during the Culpepper and Carey rebellions was so great that patriotism ran low.²⁶ When the Tuscarora War broke out in 1712 the province was utterly unprepared. In spite of the fact that only about twelve hundred Tuscaroras were fighting men, they would have completely destroyed the colony if it had not been for the timely and unselfish aid given by South Carolina. As Dr. Hawks says: "the whites, suspecting nothing, indulged in a fatal security."²⁷ Governor Hyde said that "factions and the fact that nearly one half of the people were Quakers made it impossible to raise one-half as many troops as there were Indians in arms."²⁸

²⁴ C. R. I, 886; Raper, *North Carolina, A Study in English Colonial Government*, 170.

²⁵ C. R. II, 632-3; Raper, 171.

²⁶ Raper 171.

²⁷ Hawks, *History of North Carolina*, Vol. II, 528.

²⁸ Hawks, Vol. II, 528.

Virginia was first appealed to by North Carolina, and Governor Spotswood took the question before the Assembly of that colony. Virginia agreed to aid North Carolina on condition that a claim on certain territory be given as security. Considering this unfair, North Carolina appealed to South Carolina for aid. Temporary forts were created along the Neuse and Pamlico rivers and along the south and southwest shores of the Chowan. The residue of the militia was held awaiting aid from South Carolina. The result of the first battle was such as to cause the governor and council to convey thanks to Barnwell of the South Carolina militia and to draw up resolutions, which were in part as follows: "that at least two hundred men should be raised for four months service, to act with the South Carolina troops, and that for the subsistence of the whole army magazines of supply should be established where Barnwell might direct, on Neuse and Pamlico rivers."²⁹ This resolution amounted to little more than to proclaim a very high appreciation for Barnwell's service, for the Proprietors did nothing to aid in the support of the troops.

The operations of the pirates off the coast of North Carolina became so bold by 1713 that the people were forced to give greater respect and attention to the militia and to the common defense it afforded. Old Teach, or Blackbeard, and others of his type were doing their brazen deeds of robbery and murder at this time. In 1715 the demand for, and willingness to coöperate with and support, a militia system had become so great that the act of 1715 was passed, the provisions of which have already been discussed.

In 1715 the militia had its first opportunity to serve a neighbor and to repay South Carolina for saving the colony in 1712. In that year the Yamassee, that tribe of Indians which supported North Carolina and South Carolina against the Tuscaroras, turned on the South Carolinians. To assist South Carolina in putting down the Yamassee, Colonel Maurice Moore and Colonel Theophilus Hastings were put in charge of a number of companies of militia and were sent to South Carolina.

²⁹ Hawks, II, 528.

For several years after the passage of the act of 1715, on account of the fear of another Indian uprising, caused by the bloody loss by the Indian Massacre and the Tuscarora War, musters and drills were held regularly. But the Tuscaroras soon moved to New York and the provisions of the act were then relaxed. There was a drift into the old rut of carelessness. The chief fault of the whole system is thus demonstrated. Emergency revealed unpreparedness and caused action, in time to be "too late." Strict vigilance was then kept for a period; finally the scare passed away, and the system fell into decay.

The next emergency finds another instance of unpreparedness. At the time of the transfer of the province from the Lords Proprietors to the Crown in 1729 there existed the old neglected system; there were neither arms, ammunition, nor fortifications.³⁰ There was very little or no use made of the militia between the years 1715-40, and during Governor Burrington's administration, from 1729 to 1734, the militia fell into decay, and there were no militia acts passed. Then in 1740 came the first call for the use of the militia to serve the mother country. The cause was not altogether altruistic, for it was to the interest of the colonies to defeat the Spaniards. Consequently, when Governor Johnston, in carrying out his instructions from the crown to raise troops, called a special session of the Assembly, his request found a quick response. An appropriation of £12,000 was made to support the levies, and three companies of one hundred men each were raised in the northern counties. Others would have served if provisions had been made for them.³¹ These three companies served in the West Indies, and only a few of the men returned. Captain Innes, however, who commanded one company, won such distinction that in 1756 he was made commander-in-chief of the Virginia forces against the French and Indians.³² The Spaniards did not allow the operations to be confined around the West Indies, but from 1741 to 1748 frequent invasions on the coast were made. The absence of forts made it more imperative to have strong forces of militia to drive back the in-

³⁰ C. R. III, XIV.

³¹ Ashe, *A History of North Carolina*, I, 260-1.

³² *Ibid.* 261.

vaders, who insisted on landing, destroying and carrying off goods and cattle. In 1741 Spanish privateers took possession of Ocracoke Inlet. Eventually they were driven away, but not until their depredations had cost the people over £10,000.³³

In 1744 the Spanish privateers again harassed the coast and in August, 1747, boldly entered the harbor at Beaufort. Major Enoch Ward hastily gathered some militia and held them at bay until August 26, when the town was surrendered to the Spaniards. Finally, the Spaniards were driven away, but not for good, for the attacks continued to September 10, 1748. On September 4, militia companies were hurried to the scene to check the Spaniards, who were reported to be coming up the river. For four days, September 6 to 10, the Spaniards had possession of Brunswick; hostilities were raging. On September 10, the militia under Major John Swann, Captains William Dry, John Ashe, and John Sampson won out.³⁴

The next use made of the militia was in defending the western frontier and sending aid to Virginia against the French and Indians. The French held Canada and Louisiana and were ambitiously desirous of connecting these possessions by taking the rich Ohio valley. They consequently stirred up the Indians where possible and they did not have a very hard task and set about to accomplish their purpose. Virginia was attacked in 1754 and was being hard pressed. The Crown therefore called on Governor Dobbs, who responded promptly to the request. The military strength of the province in 1754 was about 15,000 infantry, 400 mounted men, 1,000 exempt from muster, and about 1,500 not enrolled. There were 22 counties, in each of which President Rowan had formed a regiment of infantry, "the militia having fallen much to decay during the administration of Governor Johnston."³⁵ In September, 1754, the legislature acted promptly and voted £12,000 to equip a regiment of 750 men to go to Virginia, "the first troops raised by any British colony in America to fight outside of its own borders in behalf of a common cause." The number was fixed at 750, under the

³³ *Ibid.* 270.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 271; S. R. XXII, 263-286.

³⁵ C. R., V. pp. XLI, 123-4.

impression that North Carolina would not have to support them after they arrived in Virginia. But finding every province would have to finance its own troops, North Carolina reduced the number to three hundred men, which was still one hundred and fifty more than Virginia had raised, in spite of the fact that it was Virginia soil that was invaded and in spite of the additional fact that Virginia had more than three times the number of whites as had North Carolina. On account of the scarcity of gold, silver, and English money in the province, and also the fact that the paper money of the province was not current outside its limits, beef cattle and hogs were driven to the troops and were also sold on the local market for hard money to be used by the troops. Other ways of providing for the soldiers were to send dressed pork to Virginia and to ship goods to the West Indies and sell them for bills of exchange on New York. "The contributions on the part of North Carolina to the common defense in view of her scant resources were perhaps more generous than wise and were certainly out of proportion to the contributions of other colonies. Governor Dobbs said North Carolina 'could not be expected to defend the western frontier, assist the other colonies, and also maintain an independent force to defend the forts and protect the navigation of the colony.' Yet this is precisely what she did."³⁶ Colonel Innes, of North Carolina, was put in command, but on account of the fact that his men were not over one-half as many in number as were the enemy, and of the fact that the Assembly made no appropriations, the expedition was unceremoniously abandoned. Colonel Innes was then notified that he had been superseded.

Although the militia, on account of the lack of adequate supplies, did not do much outside the colony, it found plenty to do at home from 1757 to 1763 in holding in check the Catawbas and Cherokees. In 1757 the insults and depredations of the Catawbas had reached such a stage that Governor Dobbs reported the situation to the Superior Court in session at Salisbury at that time. The Cherokees, too, came to be so annoying that in May, 1758 the people of Rowan County sent a petition to the legislature stating that the Indians were

³⁶ C. R., V, p. XII.

becoming so murderous that the people near the forks of the Yadkin were leaving the settlement.³⁷ On May 10, 1759 Governor Dobbs informed the Assembly that an express from the western part of the frontier had come to him telling of the murders by the Cherokees, and he asked for advice as to the best and quickest way to protect the people. He also appealed to the Assembly for power to pay workmen to build forts and arms. He was referred to the militia laws in existence and was informed that they fully authorized him to use the militia against the enemy.³⁸ Soon "Major Waddell was given two companies of provincials to protect the frontier and a commission as colonel with authority to order out and command the militia regiments of Anson, Rowan, and Orange if the Indians should continue their incursions."³⁹ In a response to a call from the Board of Trade, Governor Dobbs called on the commanding officers of the militia for return of the numbers mustered, how armed and trained, but his call was not readily complied with. In his report back to the Board of Trade he said: ". . . the militia officers are so defective that I can give no satisfactory account, but from the former year's return; for as I obtained a law to draught men out of the unmarried men in the militia to make up our Companies, they did not attend the musters when summoned, so that of the Regiments returned they are far short of the former year's, this was to avoid being draughted. They are all indolent and relaxed by not having the Laws executed that they won't submit to Government; but fly to the swamps and are concealed by their friends and neighbors. . . . As to their arms, they are not near half-armed, etc."⁴⁰

It is not known whether the Governor called out the militia against the Indians before the fall of 1759 or not, but, using the provision added to the laws in 1756, he did order, with the consent of the Council, Colonel Waddell to call out the Anson, Rowan, and Orange militias to aid Governor Lyttleton of South Carolina in his rather ambitious attempt to conduct in person an expedition against the Cherokees. The Leg-

³⁷ C. R., V., p. L, et seq.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ C. R., V., 571.

islature voted £5,300 for two companies of one hundred men each.⁴¹ The colonels of the militia at Edenton and Newbern held their regiments in readiness for service. Along with a number of provincials 500 militia, who had been drafted for the purpose, were ordered under Colonel Waddell to go to South Carolina. In spite of the provision of the law of 1756, many refused to go outside the province. Colonel Waddell proceeded with what he had, until ordered back by Governor Lyttleton. On October 26, 1759 a treaty was made with the Cherokees. It amounted to very little, however, and South Carolina was left with the bag to hold. The Indians continued their ravages. On February 27, 1760 a party of Indians attacked Fort Dobbs, which was at that time in charge of Colonel Waddell. The Indians were bested and they left the vicinity. Leaving the vicinity did not mean an end of the war, for in 1761 a general co-ordinated campaign in which Virginia and both of the Carolinas were to take part was planned. This campaign, in which both provincials and regulars engaged, resulted in the defeat of the Indians and the end of the bloody war.⁴²

The result was, of course, a relief to the colony, for as Governor Dobbs wrote in 1761, immigration to North Carolina had stopped for seven years back. Not only had immigration stopped, but many of the settlers between the Yadkin and Catawba rivers had abandoned their homes.

The next urgent need for the militia came with the War of the Regulation. This war put the organization to the test, and the test was not altogether successful. On account of the nature of the war, the system could hardly work. Some who were enlisted in the militia agreed to turn out against the Regulators, but there were also many who supported the Regulators. A letter from Governor Tryon to the Earl of Hillsborough in 1771 is, in part, as follows: "The returns I acquired from the commanding officers of the several regiments of the militia, of such as were willing to turn out in deference to their king and country, were in many counties unanimous in support of that glorious cause and through the whole

⁴¹ C. R. V., p. L., et seq.

⁴² C. R. V., p. LIV.

country very favorable on the side of the government."⁴³ The unanimity of the support was not very deep-seated or far-reaching, for the legislature resorted to the offering of bounties.

THE MILITIA DURING THE REVOLUTION

It was during the Revolution that the real strength of the militia as a fighting machine was thoroughly tested. Previously the use to which the militia had been put was mainly that of frequent short expeditions against a tribe of pestiferous Indians, against a band of insurgents at home, or to the aid of a neighboring province in distress. Now comes the long struggle in which were engaged on the one side a well organized power, and on the other a loose, central government, aided by the militia of the different states. It is our purpose to examine the acts regulating the militia during this period, note the changes, determine, if possible, what caused the changes, and note the service rendered by the North Carolina militia to the common cause.

The fact that the people were accustomed to look to the provincial governments for political authority and had little or no love for a central power and the fact that there was an inherited dislike for a standing army, put the greater part of the burden of the battles on the shoulders of the state militia. Of the 200,000 men of military age in the country in 1777, there were only about 4,000 in Washington's army.⁴⁴ His hopes lay, therefore, largely on the militia, but the experience with the militia in the French and Indian War was worth little, for in that war the men fought in small groups where, as Pickering said, "no other discipline was necessary than being good marksmen and dexterous in skulking behind trees and bushes."⁴⁵ Battle conditions against the British were different.

The outbreak of the Revolution found the North Carolina militia fairly well organized. The War of the Regulation had stimulated the legislature to action in behalf of the system. "How well organized the militia forces were will appear from the fact that before the close of the year (1775)

⁴³ C. R. VIII, 495.

⁴⁴ Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, 193.

⁴⁵ Hatch, *The Administration of the American Revolutionary Army*, 3.

Colonel Howe, with a part of the regulars, was sent to aid Virginia against the British at Norfolk, a body of 700 militia under Colonels Polk and Rutherford, and 220 regulars under Colonel Martin, were ordered to South Carolina to suppress a Tory uprising."⁴⁶

The first real test came in 1776. In that year the militia was reorganized and brigaded according to the judicial districts, the Brigadiers being Vail, Caswell, Ashe, Person, Rutherford, and Allen Jones. The Provincial Congress which met at Hillsborough on August 10, 1775, passed resolutions (September 7, 1775 and May 4, 1776) which provided for minute men and militia.⁴⁷ The province was divided, as indicated above, into six districts, in each of which a brigade of militia was to be raised. The militia of each county was to be composed of all effective men between 16 and 60 years of age, formed into one regiment, which was to be divided into companies of not less than fifty, rank and file. Each company was to be divided into five divisions; one division was to be made up of the aged and infirm men, and the others of men who should draw lots for first, second, third, and fourth turns to go into service. Mustering was to be at least once a month instead of twice or four times a year.

Under the first test the reorganized militia proved effective. The Provincial Congress had also organized Committees of Safety in the different counties, with power to call out certain parts of the militia. Consequently when the Loyalists began to create their disturbances, the militia was called out, and at the battle of Moore's Creek, February 27, 1776, 1,000 militia under command of Richard Caswell defeated the Loyalists and put new hope in the hearts of the revolutionists. Later, on May 4, 1776, the Provincial Congress drafted 1,500 men for a period of service of three months, to ward off a threatened attack by the British and to go at once to Wilmington. Frequent occasions demanded the service of the militia to put down the Loyalists and prevent them from joining Governor Martin.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Davis, *North Carolina and the Revolution* (South Atlantic Quarterly, II, 320).

⁴⁷ C. R. X, 196-9; 560-4.

⁴⁷ King, *Military Organization of North Carolina during American Revolution*, N. C. Booklet, Vol. VIII, 45; C. R. X, 761, 400, *passim*.

The year 1777 was an eventful one for the militia of the state. A force was kept at Charleston under General Jones until the middle of the summer. About 2,000 under General Rutherford were employed in subjugating the Indians in the western part of the state. On December 5, 1777 the militia companies stationed on the coast and the frontier were discharged, and in their stead were created a special company of Rangers to warn the militia of signs of Indian uprisings.

An act was passed by the legislature early in this year and was amended at a later session. This act was very similar to that passed by the Provincial Congress in 1776. The militia was again divided into six brigades, one in each of the districts of Edenton, Newbern, Wilmington, Halifax, Salisbury, and Hillsborough, and each brigade was to be in charge of a brigadier general, and to be composed of men from 16 to 50, not 16 to 60, as in 1776. The men in the brigades were to be formed into one or more regiments depending on the number of available men in the district, each regiment under the command of a colonel, lieutenant colonel, and two majors. Every regiment was divided into companies of fifty rank and file, at least, officered by two sergeants, two corporals, one drummer, and one fifer. The commissioned officers in charge of the companies were a captain, a lieutenant, and an ensign. Each company was in turn divided into four divisions, who should draw lots for first, second, third, and fourth turns to go into service, and they were to be numbered according to such lots.⁴⁸

The law also provided that the commanding officer of every regiment, when requested by the brigadier general, should order a general muster at the most convenient place for his regiment, under penalty of twenty-five pounds for neglect, provided he did not call for a muster more than twice in one year. Every captain had to muster his own company every month and oftener, if ordered by the commanding officer, under penalty of five pounds for failure. Every soldier refusing or neglecting to attend should forfeit ten shillings. The law required each brigadier general to return an exact roll of all officers and soldiers of his brigade, arranged in

⁴⁸ S. R. XXIV, 1-3.

their proper companies and divisions, to the governor, once every year, under penalty of one hundred pounds for failure. Each militiaman, moreover, had to furnish himself with a good gun, shot-bag, and powder-horn, and a cutlass or tomahawk, under penalty of two shillings and six pence for default. In case any should be unable to pay for his equipment, the county from which he came was required to provide it for him.

When the militia was called into service, there were to be one wagon and two carts for every company, two horses and one cart for a brigadier general, one baggage cart and two horses for the field officers of each regiment, ammunition and wagons at the direction of the brigadier general, the same rations as for the continental army, one bell tent for each company, entrenching tools, six axes, and a supply of camp kettles.

The old provisions that militiamen were to be tried by court martial only was retained. In order that the state might keep close touch with and command over its militia, it was enacted that when the militia was joined with the continental forces, the highest in command should be a militiaman.⁴⁹ The list of those exempted from attendance at musters was comparatively small when compared with the succeeding acts. Those exempted were members of the Council of State, Public Secretary, justices of the peace, ministers of some church regularly settled and having care of souls, and continental post masters. In order to collect the penalties provided in the act, the sheriffs of the counties were ordered to sell, if necessary, the offender's goods and chattels.

At a later session of the legislature during the same year, the above act was re-enacted and amended.⁵⁰ Among the amendments was one requiring the brigadier general to send his roll to the governor twice a year instead of once, one providing for a quartermaster for every brigade, and one adding to the list of men exempted justices of the Superior Court, the Attorney General, the Treasurer of the Loan Office,

⁴⁹ S. R. XVI, preface, pp. VI-VII.

⁵⁰ S. R. XXIV, 113-9.

clerks of the court, entry takers, and surveyors. The salaries were fixed at the same rate as that of 1776.

In 1778 another act to establish a militia was passed.⁵¹ The principal changes were:

(1) Quakers, Menonists, Dunkards, and Moravians were, for the first time, exempted from the service.

(2) Heavy penalties for failure on the part of officers to furnish muster rolls to their superiors were fixed. A forfeiture of fifty pounds was required of captains failing to furnish muster rolls to the commanding officer of their regiments and a penalty of two hundred and fifty pounds was required of the commanding officers failing to furnish an exact return of such lists to the brigadier general; and if the brigadier general failed to send the list on to the governor, he was required to forfeit five hundred pounds.

(3) A great increase in salary was made, although it was possibly not so great as the figures would indicate, for money was decreasing in value. The comparative rates per diem for 1776 and 1778 are:

	1776	1778
Brigadier General	1 pound 12 shillings	5 pounds
Colonel	12 shillings 6 pence..	40 shillings
Lieutenant Colonel	10 shillings	36 shillings
Major	10 shillings	36 shillings
Captain	7 shillings 6 pence .	28 shillings
Lieutenant	5 shillings	24 shillings
Surgeon	5 shillings	36 shillings
Adjutant	7 shillings 6 pence .	24 shillings
Ensign	4 shillings 6 pence .	20 shillings
Sergeant	4 shillings	12 shillings
Corporals, drummers, fifers	3 shillings	10 shillings
Rank and file	2 shillings 6 pence .	8 shillings

Non-commissioned officers and privates were, according to the act of 1778, to receive a bounty of \$20 a month when on actual duty. The quartermaster was allowed a captain's pay and rations.

In 1780 the act of 1778 was amended.⁵² There had developed a great deal of dissatisfaction with the old organiza-

⁵¹ S. R. XXIV, 190-8.

⁵² S. R. XXV, 335, et seq.

tion and desertions were rather common. Consequently there was a revision. It was sought to make the act more stringent and at the same time less burdensome to bear. One of the changes was to provide that for every person legally drafted or turned out as a volunteer, who failed to appear at the place of rendezvous or to find a substitute, the colonel was to hire a substitute and issue a warrant directed to the sheriff or constable of the delinquent's county, who should levy the sum on the delinquent's goods and chattels, land and tenements, and sell them. If there should be a greater amount derived from the sale than was necessary to pay for the substitute, it was to be turned over to the owner. If he did not have enough property, he was to be held a continental soldier for one year or for the period of the war. In order to make the system more just and to decrease dissatisfaction, it was provided that all who had served one year in the continental army should not be liable to be drafted until the whole of the company to which he might belong should have performed its service. And it was also provided that all who volunteered to go into South Carolina were to receive the same pay and bounty as the militia of the state, and be exempt in the same manner as the others who served three months. Evidently those hiring substitutes had been employing Indians, slaves, etc., for this act of 1780 provided that no Frenchman, Spaniard, British deserter, Hessian deserter, Indian, or slave should be accepted as substitutes. A rather stringent section of the act is that which ordered all commissioned officers who failed to serve, that is, to report at the rendezvous, to be put into ranks and to be thereafter incapable of holding office in the state. Another section was practically as strict, for it provided that the colonel or commanding officer who should fail to call a general muster at the proper time should pay £1,000. For like offense on the part of captains, £500 was required; for non-commissioned officers, £20; and for privates, £10. In order that none should be punished unjustly, there was established a sort of exemption board; the field officers and captains were required to hold "a court of inquiry of infirmities and inabilities."

This was the general organization. In 1781, however, a special act was passed drafting the militia to re-enforce the Southern Army.⁵³ To help General Greene, who was commander of this Southern Army, the legislature passed a law for the government to issue orders to the commanding officers in the district of Salisbury to form the militia already drafted, and of the district of Hillsboro to draft five hundred men, armed and equipped. These men were to serve under the same discipline as the continental troops and to receive the same pay as the other militiamen in service. They were compelled to serve no longer than three months. The government was empowered to order out men not exceeding four thousand in number. Governor Burke complained of this act in that it limited the number to be called out to four thousand.⁵⁴ He said that it would not be enough for both aiding the sister state and defending North Carolina. He complained likewise of the fact that the law required him as governor to consult the council in the disposition of the troops. The governor's message brought no alteration or explanation of this provision, and the governor was left to chafe. Governor Burke also attempted to have changed the law which provided for the trial of officers in the militia.⁵⁵ A whole squadron of Light Horse, under the command of Colonel Guilford Dudley, with the exception of one man, turned traitors. The governor took this opportunity to point out the anomaly of the law which required that officers composing the court martial should all be of the same regiment as the offender, for in this case all the officers were offenders. The governor contended that such cases might happen more than once. The general militia act of this year was strikingly similar to that of 1780.⁵⁶

DISSATISFACTION WITH MILITIA

During the Revolution criticism of the militia organization came from two sources. The system was unsatisfactory from the standpoint of the men serving under it and of the cause it intended to promote.

⁵³ S. R. XXIV, 44-5.

⁵⁴ S. R. XXIV, 1038.

⁵⁵ S. R. XXIV, 1039-40.

⁵⁶ S. R. XXIV, 358-67.

Dissatisfaction on the part of those in service was shown clearly, if not typically, by the address from the Rowan militia officers to the General Assembly in 1778.⁵⁷ Its main contention was that regulars and not the militia should be used, because the militia service was a great hindrance to tillage. The period for which one had to serve was usually three months, and this three months might fall just at that time of the year when the men called out were most needed on their farms. The second argument was that the regulars could give better service. They could be better trained and would not be peeved by the realization that their crops back at home were going to waste and their families possibly suffering. Then, too, the attempt to blend the militia with the continentals caused trouble.⁵⁸ The question as to who should be in command came up, and there were quarrels.⁵⁹ The militia officers held out for the privilege of commanding their own organizations and were indisposed to put the militia under continental officers. The legislature, therefore, passed an act providing that the ranking officer in such cases should be a militia officer.⁶⁰ The practice was to designate the number to be called out from the several counties, who were to serve for sixty or ninety days as the circumstances seemed to require. The result was that the militia was constantly being changed, the time for which the men were to serve was constantly expiring, and the efficiency was disastrously affected. It was practically impossible to determine the number of men available in the future.

Deserters, moreover, were not a few. The sympathy with the Loyalists, the lack of sufficient amount of equipment, and their own bad crop conditions back at home were mainly responsible. At any rate, the state had to pass a law for the apprehension of deserters.⁶¹ Desertions were so common that apprehension of deserters provided a paying business for at least one man, Thomas Amis, of Bladen, who was allowed £120 for the apprehension of nineteen deserters. In not all sections of the state, however, were there men who would ap-

⁵⁷ S. R. XIII, 389-90.

⁵⁸ S. R. XIV, 425-6; 435, 117, 642.

⁵⁹ S. R. XVI, preface, pp. VI-VII.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* S. R. XV, preface, pp. XIII-XIV.

⁶¹ Davis, N. C. and the Revolution (South Atlantic Quarterly, Vol. II, 321).

prehend deserters; some sections rather harbored them. In 1779, along the borders of Edgecombe, Nash, and Johnston counties, deserters flourished. They went so far as to draw up articles of association whereby they vowed to prevent the militia from being drafted. A reign of lawlessness was inaugurated.⁶²

On August 15, 1780, Colonel Porterfield wrote to Major General Gates in part as follows: "I have not more than eighty of the militia now with me, and I expect more of them will desert this day. I met five on their way as I came down."⁶³ About the same time General Edward Stevens wrote to Major General Gates: "The most of the militia that deserted I believe will return of themselves, and those who do not will be apprehended. They are to be put under command of the same field officers and myself, to serve out the eight months." Then, too, frequently the men failed to respond when called to serve in the militia. On August 7, 1779 Brigadier General Allen Jones wrote to Governor Caswell: "I directed a draft of the militia at Halifax the first day of this month, at which time, I am sorry to inform you, but few appeared."⁶⁴ Then on June 6, 1780, General Richard Caswell wrote to Governor Nash: "I am really distressed at the militia's coming in so slowly. Only a few from Jones and Dobbs are yet arrived."⁶⁵ William Brown, a militia officer, wrote to Governor Nash June 13, 1780: "By Captain Williams you have the return of the volunteers and drafted men in obedience to your orders. I should have sent them earlier but was ashamed, the number being so small that appeared on the first day intended for their marching, and am so sorry to find, after losing so much time, that I am necessitated to show the tardiness of my country."⁶⁶

The western counties were more prompt in their response than were the eastern counties. The Board of War wrote to Governor Nash as follows: "The Board hears little of the second drafts from Edenton and Newbern districts. About two hundred with the refugees have only joined General Gregory, a number far inadequate to their proportion. The

⁶² S. R. XIV, preface, pp. IX-X; S. R., XIV, 319, 169-70.

⁶³ C. R. XIV, 558.

⁶⁴ S. R. XIV, 188-2.

⁶⁵ S. R. XIV, 841-2.

⁶⁶ S. R. XIV, 851.

Board recommends that your Excellency would please to call upon the commanding officer in the counties of those districts for their respective quotas already drafted; that they have them marched on immediately, and serve out their time agreeable to the Resolve of the General Assembly. This force, when joined with General Sumner, would be respectable, and would relieve in a great measure the Western Militia, who are doing constant duty; should your Excellency's commands not have their effect, the Board will be under the necessity of applying to you for another aid of militia from those districts." In fact, several counties of the east joined the British toward the close of the war.⁶⁷ Governor Caswell, writing to Governor Burke on August 20, 1781, said: "Most of the inhabitants below this (Neuse and Trent Rivers) will be exceeding fond of becoming British subjects, and most of the inhabitants of Beaufort and Hyde Counties to the north of Newbern will join them. Our whole force that can be collected from this part of the country will be from Pitt, Wayne, and Johnston."

The militia system was also unsatisfactory to the cause served. First, the militiamen were allowed to hire substitutes. It was recognized that continentals were better soldiers than were the militiamen, and it was allowed that any ten men of the militia who had furnished one continental recruit to serve for eighteen months should themselves be exempt from all militia service for a period of eighteen months, except in case of actual invasion or insurrection.⁶⁸ By this means it was hoped to recruit two thousand by July, 1779, but only six hundred were raised, and in July Governor Caswell was obliged to call on the districts for their regular quotas. This system of exempting by substitution had a disastrous disorganizing effect, for some of the officers availed themselves of this opportunity to escape service.⁶⁹ It is easy to see, then, that without the service of the trained officers the military organization suffered severely. Governor Caswell received from Brigadier Allen Jones a letter written August 7, 1779, which read in part as follows: "So many officers have re-

⁶⁷ S. R. XIV, 416-7.

⁶⁸ S. R. XIV, Preface, pp. IX-X.

⁶⁹ S. R. XIV, 188.

signed and bought men in the eighteen month's service that the duty of raising the men is exceedingly difficult, one-half of the companies being without commissioned officers."⁷⁰

Another very unsatisfactory feature was the fact that the term of service was too short. Three months was the usual term. The commanding officer had to discharge the men as soon as the three months expired and fill up as soon as possible with recruits. Men thus serving their terms were disbanded by the governor with the advice of the Board. An example is the following order of Governor Caswell to Commanding Officer Staterget, June 7, 1779: "The commanding officer of the State Regiment is required to discharge the militiamen under his command, as soon as they have respectively served three months, and give the earliest intelligence of such discharge that their places may be supplied." Consequently, by the time the recruit reached the place in his military career where he was most needed and where he could do the best service, frequently his term expired and he went home, leaving the battle to be fought by recruits. Such was the case just before the battle of Guilford Court House. Complaints were made by the officers of the shortness of the term. In a letter to Governor Burke, Brigadier General Allen Jones said, in part: "The short enlistments or drafts are destructive wherever admitted. Heaven grant our Assembly may see the folly of the measure and avoid it for the future even in drawing out the militia."⁷¹ Another evidence of dissatisfaction on this point is the following extract from a letter of Colonel William R. Davie to Governor Caswell, August 29, 1780: "The number of the militia in camp have been so fluctuating that nothing could be done. Last Saturday with some difficulty, a command of one hundred horses was made up. . . . The North Carolina Militia are now reduced to three hundred in number. . . . They talk of reinforcements from town, but God knows whether they are serious or not. The militia in lump are quite inconsiderable; frightened, too, and irresolute—one day in camp, another away to serve their property—so that one half will undoubtedly vanish upon the

⁷⁰ S. R. XIV, 188.

⁷¹ S. R. XV, 515.

approach of the enemy. The counties of Rowan and Mecklenburg are rich in provisions and strong in men, staunch, numerous, and spirited, if they were only managed to take the field by timely assistance."⁷²

For a general summary of the condition of the militia in this period we have the following excerpts from Governor Burke's message to the General Assembly, June 9, 1781: "I perceive the country, everywhere, unprepared for defense, without arms, without discipline, without arrangements, even the habits of civil order, and obedience to laws, changed into a licentious contempt of authority, and a disorderly indulgence of violent propensities. . . . The militia in its present state is very inadequate to defensive or offensive operations, and yet, a burden almost insupportable to the people."⁷³ His recommendation was that a small standing army, with provisions for reinforcements when needed, be organized. Governor Burke's message was based largely, possibly, on reports which came in to him from the different parts of the state. A month later Samuel Strudwick wrote and complained of the licentiousness both of the regulars and the militiamen, and of their ravages and plunders.⁷⁴ Another evidence of their depredations is a letter written from Wilmington December 19, 1781: "A small body of militia is stationed here, under the command of Colonel Young, for what purpose I cannot learn. We are told that it is to protect the inhabitants from being insulted and abused, and some other trifling reasons are given. If we who have been absent have any provender brought to town for our horses, it is seized for the Light Horse."⁷⁵ He also added that negroes, rum, sugar, tea, etc., were being impressed.

⁷² S. R. XXII, 776-7.

⁷³ S. R. XXII, 1033.

⁷⁴ S. R. XV, 503.

⁷⁵ S. R. XXII, 602-3.

Life and Public Services of Hugh Williamson

JOHN WASHINGTON NEAL

I. LIFE AND ACTIVITIES BEFORE ARRIVAL IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1735-1778

Dr. Hugh Williamson was a native of Pennsylvania. He was born December 5, 1735, in West Nottingham Township, Chester County, near Octarara River, which divides Chester from Lancaster County.² His parents were Scotch-Irish. His father was an industrious clothier of Dublin, who came to America and settled in Chester County about the year 1730. The mother of Dr. Williamson was Mary Davidson, a native of Derry. With her father, George Davidson, she came to this country in 1718, when a child about three years of age. On the voyage to America they were captured and plundered on the coast by Theach, popularly known as Blackbeard. Upon being released, they arrived in Philadelphia. The parents of Dr. Williamson were married in 1731, shortly after his father's arrival in this country. There were ten children, six sons and four daughters, of whom Hugh was the eldest son. His parents were notable for their integrity, their habits of industry and frugality, their great moral worth, and their attention to the duties of religion.

Hugh grew up a slender, delicate lad. His father observed that he was not likely to attain to a strength that would enable him to support himself by manual labor and decided to give him a liberal education. The lad received a country school education near his father's home. He was sent at an early age to learn the languages at an academy established at New London Cross Roads under the direction of the Reverend Francis Alison, whose talents, learning, and discipline had gained for him the honor of being entitled the *Busby* of the western hemisphere. Hugh was fitted for college there, and in the pursuit of his studies he distinguished himself by his diligence, his love of order, and his correct moral and religious behavior.³

¹ An essay written in 1917-18 and submitted in competition for the Southern History Prize of the Trinity College Historical Society.

² Hosack, *Memoir of Dr. Hugh Williamson*, 10.

³ *Ibid.* 13.

Upon returning from the seminary of Dr. Alison, he did not go immediately to college, but, at his father's house, he applied himself to the study of Euclid's *Elements*, which he mastered in a short time. For Mathematics he gained an attachment that lasted through his entire life, but he had no poetic talent. The father now proposed to send him to Europe to complete his education, but, an institution at Philadelphia having been chartered, he entered the first class of what was then known as the College of Philadelphia and is now known as the University of Pennsylvania. Four years later the college held its first commencement, on the 17th day of May, 1757, when Hugh Williamson with six others received the degree of Bachelor of Arts. He was so highly regarded while a student that he was successively employed in both the Latin and English schools connected with the institution.⁴

It was Williamson's intention to become a minister.⁵ Before he entered upon the study of divinity and while still a young man, he visited and prayed with the sick in the neighborhood. A little prior to his graduation, his father and family had moved to Shippensburg, Cumberland County. The year of his graduation his father died, leaving him sole executor of the estate. He now took up residence with his mother at Shippensburg and spent two years studying divinity, collecting debts, and administering the affairs of the estate. In 1759 he went to Connecticut, where he pursued his theological studies and was licensed to preach. After returning from Connecticut, he was admitted to membership in the Presbytery of Philadelphia. Although he preached nearly two years, he was never ordained or placed in charge of a congregation. One reason for his non-success in this vocation was a chronic weakness. It was questionable whether his lungs would bear the exertions of public speaking. The fears were verified, for he became much troubled with pains and strictures in his chest. About this time there was a controversy in the Presbyterian Church between the followers of Whitefield, who were called New Lights, and the Old Lights. Williamson became disgusted, left the pulpit, and entered upon the study of

⁴ *Ibid.* 17.

⁵ *Ibid.* 20.

medicine.⁶ It is very probable that this was a favorite study with him while he was engaged in the study of divinity.

In 1760 he received the degree of Master of Arts in the College of Philadelphia and was immediately appointed to the Professorship of Mathematics in that institution.⁷ He accepted without thought of giving up his intention to study medicine. On October 8, 1763, he gave notice of his intended resignation of the professorship, and went to Europe the next year for the purpose of studying medicine at the University of Edinburgh. After taking the desired course at Edinburgh, he toured Northern Scotland and went to London, where he remained twelve months, diligently pursuing his studies, and, as at Edinburgh, his zeal attracted the notice and attention of his instructors. From London he went to Utrecht, where he completed his medical education and received the degree of Doctor of Medicine. After a tour on the continent, he returned to America with his health greatly improved.⁸

He practiced medicine in Philadelphia for some years with success; but his delicate health and love for investigation led him to resolve to give up medicine and enter mercantile pursuits. He did not take up this work at once but remained in Philadelphia, devoted to his favorite literary and philosophical investigations. At a meeting of the American Philosophical Society, held on January 7, 1769, Dr. Williamson was appointed a member of the committee to observe the transit of Venus across the sun's disk.⁹ He wrote the report of that committee and published numerous other papers on kindred subjects in the "Transactions" of the society. He was also interested in a comet of that year, and evolved a comet theory of his own. His work, *Observations on the Climate*, received in Europe very respectful notice and greatly extended the name and fame of the author. The publication of these papers procured for Williamson not only the notice of various institutions of his native country, into which he was shortly afterwards introduced as an honorary member, but also obtained from abroad flattering honors. The Holland Society

⁶ *Ibid.* 21.

⁷ *Ibid.* 21.

⁸ *Ibid.* 23.

⁹ *Ibid.* 25.

of Sciences conferred upon him a membership in that body. From the University of Leyden he received the degree of Doctor of Laws.¹⁰

In 1772 he toured the West India Islands to collect subscriptions for the Academy of Newark, Delaware. He was a member of the board of trustees of this institution. On the way home he came through Charleston, South Carolina, where he received some liberal fees for medical advice. He toured Great Britain in 1773 to secure further support for the Academy. The *literati* and men of letters received him with great attention. Although the King gave him a liberal donation, Williamson did not have the success he expected. The reason was the feeling against the colonies due to the revenue controversy. Williamson remained on his mission until the autumn of 1775.¹¹

While in England Williamson had some interesting and important relations with government officials. The ship on which he had booked passage to England was lying in Boston Harbor on the night of the Boston Tea Party; Williamson was there waiting. He had been in Boston for some time, during which he had attended the noted meeting held in the Old South Meeting House. On the subject Samuel Adams wrote: "We have had great pleasure in his company for a few weeks past; and he favored the meeting with his presence."¹² Upon his arrival in England, he hastened to report the Boston Tea Party occurrence to the government; he was examined on the subject before the Privy Council, the examination taking place on February 19, 1774. Dr. Williamson declared that, if the coercive measures of Parliament were persisted in, nothing short of civil war would be the result.¹³ It appears that the incorrect information on the part of the British ministry, as to the public sentiment in America, was almost incredible. Lord North himself has said that Dr. Williamson was the first person who intimated in his presence the probability of civil revolt.¹⁴

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 32.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 33.

¹² Cushing, Writings of Samuel Adams, III, 76.

¹³ Hosack *Op. Cit.* 35.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 35.

While in England Dr. Williamson gave part of his attention to scientific studies. He spent much time on experiments with electricity, the laws of which had recently been investigated by Dr. Franklin. Frequently he and Dr. Franklin worked together in these experiments. One of his papers, *Experiments and Observations on the Gymnotus Electricus, or Electric Eel*, was first published in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, for the year 1775.¹⁵

It was on this trip that Williamson got hold of the Hutchinson-Oliver letters. These letters were from Governor Hutchinson and Lieutenant-Governor Oliver of Massachusetts to the British ministry, advising hostilities against the people of America. The patriots of Massachusetts believed that these officers, instead of looking out for the interest of the colony as they had sworn to do, were betraying their trust. These letters were desired by Dr. Franklin, and Williamson determined to try to obtain them. He was then in London engaged in scientific investigations, and had observed a chamber or office in which colonial papers were kept for future reference. Concluding that the letters were probably there, he went in the character of a messenger from the head of one of the departments and called for the letters last received from Hutchinson and Oliver. They were handed to him without suspicion and were immediately put by him into the hands of Dr. Franklin. Early next morning, Dr. Williamson crossed over to Holland on his way to America.¹⁶

In these letters the character of the people of Massachusetts was presented in very bad color, and their grievances and proceedings were greatly misrepresented. It is certain that Governor Hutchinson was secretly trying to subvert the chartered rights of the colony, whose interest he had sworn to protect. He was apparently an agent in the passage of the Stamp Act. Franklin transmitted these letters to his constituents at Boston, and the indignation which was aroused greatly widened the breach between the colonies and mother country.¹⁷

Dr. Williamson had scarcely made his tour of the low countries when news of the Declaration of American Inde-

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 51.

¹⁶ State Records of N. C., XXV, 172.

¹⁷ Hosack *Op. Cit.* 39.

pendence reached him. After spending a short time in France in ill health, he crossed from Nantes in December for Philadelphia; but he did not arrive until March 15. The ship was captured off the coast of Delaware, but he and another passenger escaped in an open boat with some important public despatches.¹⁸

It is apparent that he delivered the despatches as soon as he arrived. It is very likely that they were messages from Franklin and Deane on the subject of foreign aid. A few days later John Adams wrote as follows: "This much I may say, that we have letters from Dr. Franklin and Mr. Deane; both agree that everything is as they could wish; but the Doctor had just arrived, and had not been to Paris, and therefore could know nothing of the Cabinet. The noted Dr. Williamson is arrived, full of encouraging matter; but what confidence is to be put in his intelligence, I know not. Franklin, Deane, and Williamson all agree in opinion that a war will take place."¹⁹

When he returned to America Dr. Williamson found the American Army organized and the medical staff filled up. Deciding to return to private life, he undertook a mercantile adventure with a younger brother to Charleston, South Carolina. The brother sailed to the West Indies, and Dr. Williamson, with assistance, purchased a sloop at Charleston, loaded her with suitable cargo for Baltimore, and ordered her to stop at Edenton, which was then a port of considerable importance. In the meantime, General Howe had entered the Chesapeake Bay on his way to Philadelphia, and Dr. Williamson, fearing that his sloop might be captured, determined to remain at Edenton. He now carried on trade with the neutral islands of the West Indies and resumed the practice of medicine.²⁰ On February 11, 1778, he wrote to John Mease, a merchant of Philadelphia: "When I told you that I was engaged in building vessels you hardly expected that I should return suddenly. I am not in haste to return. What have I to do in Pennsylvania? Is it that I may try for some Employ^{mt} that I ought to have been solicited to accept? Is it that I may be pestered by

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 54.

¹⁹ Adams, *Life and Works of John Adams*, IX, 456.

²⁰ Hosack, *Op. Cit.* 55.

answering numberless objections proposed by some insidious Knave who heard the Dreams of some fool who could not tell whether I (am) of the Country that gave me birth? There is not in America a Man who has served it more faithfully or disinterestedly. I am still ready to serve it if an Occasion should offer. I see none at Present. . . . I have bot two small Vessels one of them of about 40 Tons for the Inland Trade, and am building 2 or 3 Boats of about 70 Tons."²¹

II. MILITARY SERVICES

Dr. Williamson soon acquired the confidence of the people of Edenton and was invited to Newbern to try the newly discovered remedy of vaccination. His medical services greatly tended to spread his name and to lay the foundation for the good-will and fame which he later enjoyed in North Carolina.²²

Dr. Williamson did not enter public life in North Carolina until 1780, when the state was preparing to send aid to General Lincoln, who was then besieged at Charleston. In April of that year, the Assembly passed an act to send 4,000 troops, and 800 more if absolutely necessary. Richard Caswell was made major-general of the 4,000. Some time before, when Caswell was governor, Dr. Williamson had offered his services when they could be of use. Caswell now reminded him of his former promise and handed him a commission, appointing him to the head of the medical department as physician and surgeon.²³

Dr. Williamson was at the battle of Camden, and immediately after the battle he requested General Caswell for a flag of truce that he might return to the field to treat the wounded. Caswell wanted to send the regimental surgeons, but the majority of these had disappeared, and the others refused to go, being afraid of the consequences.²⁴ Williamson found 240 men with 700 wounds. He had no help at all for ten days and then only one surgeon assisted him. Supplies of every kind were insufficient. On August 24 he wrote to the British Physician General as follows:

²¹ MSS., Pennsylvania Historical Society.

²² Hosack, *Op. Cit.* 55.

²³ *Ibid.* 56.

²⁴ S. R., XXII, 530-2.

"SIR: The Articles you were so kind to order have not been received. Our Hospital patients are near 250, many of them dangerously Wounded. They are lodged in six small wards, without straw or Covering. In the six Wards they have only four small Kettles and no Canteen, Dish, or Cup, or other Utensil. We have hardly any Medicine, not an ounce of lint, Tow, or Digestine; not a single Bandage or Poultice Cloth, not an ounce of meal to be used for Poultices. In a word nothing is left for us but the painful Circumstances of viewing wretches who must soon perish if not soon relieved."²⁵

One of the worst things that Dr. Williamson had to deal with at Camden was smallpox. He spared no efforts in looking after the wounded and prisoners, but he did not always have the coöperation of the British authorities. Cornwallis showed much displeasure at the inoculation of an officer who had a slight wound and who was quartered apart in a private house. Williamson called to see two natives of South Carolina who were sick in prison. They had the smallpox in a room with seventeen other prisoners. He wrote Cornwallis that "confinement in such room, as putricent as the air was, must be followed by death equally certain as immediate execution."²⁶ The two sick ones were taken out, but the others were detained and not inoculated. Most of them died. About September 22 he obtained permission to vaccinate those who had hitherto avoided treatment. Such as were in health and were treated, suffered very little.

Desiring that some of the surgeons might be permitted to inoculate the prisoners who were sent to Charleston, he applied to Major England as follows:

"I presume that Lord Cornwallis is informed that of the North Carolina prisoners lately sent to Charles Town, who I apprehend are from 300 to 400, hardly a single Man has had the small Pox. There is, I presume, the utmost danger of these Men taking the Disease in the Natural way, unless they are inoculated. Be so kind to inform me whether Lord Cornwallis is willing those Troops should be inoculated, and by whom

²⁵ *Ibid.* XV, 61.

²⁶ *Ibid.* XXII, 530.

he wishes it to be done. You will excuse the mention I have made of the subject, but having the chief Medical Care of the troops of that State, I conceive it is my duty."²⁷ From Major Despond he received the following answer: "I have Lord Cornwallis' order to acquaint you that, with respect to the American prisoners sent to Charles Town being inoculated, his Lordship will give proper orders."²⁸

The abilities of Williamson as a physician were evident and were appreciated. Such was the estimation in which his medical skill was held by the British, that during the illness of one of the general officers his attendance was requested in addition to that of the surgeons constituting their medical department.²⁹ He not only treated the prisoners at Camden, but also looked after the sick in Caswell's camp at the same time. On July 31, 1780, General Caswell wrote to Governor Nash that "many of the men were very ill; but Dr. Williamson is arrived, and I flatter myself he will soon put them on their legs again."³⁰ Dr. Williamson continued to treat the prisoners until they were well. About the middle of October the convalescents had no warm clothing, and he purchased clothing for them with his own money.³¹ After having the experience with smallpox and other diseases at Camden, he drew a conclusion with which all doctors now agree. The idea is rigorously applied in the construction of all modern armies. He said: "From a transient view of our Misfortunes, it is clear that we would save many lives by any kind of Military establishment that would admit of the Troops being inoculated before they took the Field."³²

In the fall of 1780 a camp of American troops under the command of General Isaac Gregory, who had done good work at Camden with the raw militia, was established on the borders of the Dismal Swamp. By special request Williamson was permitted to serve with him, and as a winter campaign was expected, he was anxious to see how far attention to diet, dress, and lodging would preserve the health of the troops. He picked out the places for the huts and planned

²⁷ *Ibid.* XV, 62.

²⁸ *Ibid.* XV, 62.

²⁹ Hosack, *Op. Cit.* 56.

³⁰ S. R. XV, 11.

³¹ Hosack, *Op. Cit.* 56.

³² S. R. XXII, 532.

their drainage system. One hut was constructed under his particular direction, and the others were patterned after it. He had the soldiers to gather great quantities of dry moss for bedding, and directed them to place their bunks some distance from the ground that they might not become moist from dampness. He selected their food and superintended the cooking. Soups were the main food, for they aided respiration. He furnished medicines, instruments, linen and other necessities for a hospital at his private expense. He so far overcame the silent foe of armies that in six months, with from 500 to 1,200 men in camp, only two died from disease and none were furloughed on account of sickness.³³

III. IN THE LEGISLATURE

On April 16, 1782, Dr. Williamson took his seat in the House of Commons for Edenton. He became at once a working member and took high rank. Apparently the legislature did not proceed in as business-like manner as he thought it should, for he wrote to James Iredell on May 1, as follows:

"Hitherto we have not passed one law of extensive public import; but the committee on ways and means have several bills ready for the Assembly. The want of punctuality among the members in attending committees has called for the exercise of more philosophy than I possess. The Chancery Bill, not mine but the one I introduced, has been the subject of much debate. General Parsons and Governor Nash were at me hard; you see that I was unequally matched. . . . Tomorrow is fixed for the return of the bill and I think we shall carry it with considerable odds, nor shall we admit of the nominal amendments. So much trouble have I had with my Academy Bill, which has not yet passed, that I am almost resolved not to attempt any other public measure. The generous, public, and comprehensive spirit of legislation is wanting among our other wants.

"Last night we lost sleep; a horseman, we suppose one of Fanning's party, was fired on by one of our Pickets and attempted returning the fire, the gun flashed. We were called to arms and paraded; for you are to note that we are all Soldiers,

³³ Hosack, *Op. Cit.* 59.

at least Armigere. Some of the Members horses that were billited in the Neighborhood are missing this morning. You see we are not without employments of different kinds.”³⁴

While in the legislature, he served as a member of the committees on privileges and elections, propositions and grievances, on depreciation of the currency, on the North Carolina line, on claims, and on many special committees. He was active in the introduction of proposed legislation. In 1782 he introduced and secured the passage of eight bills, while there were only forty-seven passed during the entire session, and none of those he introduced failed. An act for the promotion of learning provided for the incorporation of Smith's Academy, with Williamson as a trustee.³⁵ The act for the security of the Bank of North America validified the bank as far as the state was concerned. Counterfeiting and the misuse of property by officer or servant was to be punished as felony without benefit of clergy.³⁶ A bill for the relief of the officers and soldiers on the Continental Line authorized the settling of claims of the officers, soldiers, or their heirs by grants of land.³⁷ The eighth article of the bill for levying and collecting taxes decreed, “That the Moravians, Quakers, Menonist, and Dunkards shall pay a three fold tax, and all others who refuse to take an oath of allegiance as the law directs, shall also pay a three fold tax.”³⁸ These religious sects were trebly taxed because they would not serve in the army, but probably the main purpose was to strike at the loyalists. Many times legislators had tried to get a chancery bill through the Assembly of North Carolina, but they had always failed to succeed. Williamson introduced and secured the passage of this measure. He was also the author of bills for the regulation of Edenton, for building a prison and jailor's house in that town, and for raising revenue for the support of the government. Dr. Williamson so impressed his fellow legislators that, before the Assembly adjourned, they elected him as a delegate to the Continental Congress.³⁹

³⁴ S. R. XVI, 613.

³⁵ *Ibid.* XXIV, 454.

³⁶ *Ibid.* XXIV, 446.

³⁷ *Ibid.* XXIV, 419.

³⁸ *Ibid.* XXIV, 434.

³⁹ *Ibid.* XVI, 173.

After spending three years, which was as long as one could serve consecutively in the Continental Congress, Williamson again appeared in the House of Commons in 1785 for the County of Chowan. He proposed for Speaker Hon. Richard Dobbs Spaight, who was unanimously chosen.⁴⁰ He served on several important committees and brought in and secured the passage of bills for enabling the comptroller to settle claims against the state for services performed during the war, for the recovery of the state's artillery, which was thrown into a river to keep it out of the possession of the British,⁴¹ for the relief of widows and children of officers, for the regulation of commerce,⁴² and for securing literary property—an early instance of a copyright law.⁴³ One bill he introduced did not pass; it provided for the incorporation of the Episcopal Church, and was withdrawn.

IV. IN THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

After being elected by the legislature for a term in the Continental Congress, Dr. Williamson immediately began to settle his affairs to serve the state in that capacity. On June 18, Governor Martin wrote to him: "I am much pleased with your intention of going so early to Congress, where a representation from this state is so greatly wanted, as by late accounts received from Governor Rutledge."⁴⁴

Dr. Williamson took his seat on July 19, 1782. The other members of the delegation were Hawkins, Nash, and Blount. Dr. Williamson took high rank and served the first year on the following committees: the Week, Public Credit, Fisheries, Ceremonial, Quotas, Interest, Army Reduction, Indians, Thanksgiving and Prayer, Information for Foreign Ministers, Disclosure of Loans, Secrecy in Congress, and Salaries of Ministers,⁴⁵ and also minor committees to which were referred petitions and memorials.

Williamson and Blount were very determined that the part North Carolina was taking in the war should not continue to

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* XVII, 268.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* XXIV, 737.

⁴² *Ibid.* XXIV, 718.

⁴³ *Ibid.* XXIV, 747.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* XVI, 338.

⁴⁵ Journal of Continental Congress, XXIII, *passim*.

be misrepresented. On August 3, 1782, they wrote to Governor Martin on the subject as follows:

"We have now to inform you that North Carolina has been viewed in an unfavorable light. It is our Resolution that if she suffers for the future in the voice of Fame, it shall not be from the want of a friend to advocate her cause. As a contrast to the Monthly Publications of money received for the public use from different states, we drew up and caused to be published in the *Pennsylvania Journal and Packet* of this date and the first Instant a Summary account of what our State has done for the present year, in which we hope you will admit that, while we strictly adhered to truth, we have given no unpleasing picture of our Country, or rather of our fellow Citizens."⁴⁶

On August 8, they also wrote: "With the desire of placing the State in a favorable light, we thought it our duty to publish an abstract of the late Acts of the General Assembly in favor of Troops and Revenue. The publication was very well received here. For a similar reason, we presented an Apology or address to the Minister of France."⁴⁷

They wrote again on October 22: "Lest from the silence of the newspapers on that subject, it should be conjectured that we had done nothing towards the public Service, we caused a short account to be published of what was done by our Assembly for the current year; the number of Troops raised and clothed, the public wagons, the provision Tax and the Tax for public Revenue, all of which we attempted to place in the most favorable point of light."⁴⁸

In regard to the finances, Williamson and Blount wrote to Martin at the same time: "And never was an army worse paid than they have been and are, to say nothing of the clooths and rations.

"Congress have agreed for the next year to attempt to borrow on France or Holland Five Millions of Dollars. Some say to levy taxes. We are in favor of borrowing. The peculiar quality of our staples and the scarcity of money in North Carolina, we think, will justify our conduct. Tar,

⁴⁶ S. R., XVI, 388.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* XVI, 398.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* XVI, 439.

Pitch, Turpentine, Lumber, and Indian Corn are too bulky to bear transportation in time of War. We can pay with these in time of peace."⁴⁹

Williamson believed in paying off the national debt on the conclusion of the war, for he wrote to Martin in the following tenor: "In whatever light and habit we may view a large nation in debt, it is certainly a chain of slavery. It will be constantly found that '*the borrower is a servant to the lender,*' and these debts, which are the necessary cause of taxation, must prove the necessary source of grief. For these reasons, I presume it is our duty to leave no honest measure unattempted by which we may pay off the national debt."⁵⁰

In the year 1782 the controversy over the cession of the western lands was in progress. In October, Williamson and Blount wrote to Martin on this subject:

"If North Carolina should be induced to give up any of her Western Territory, we presume she will at least require the following preliminary:

"1st. That the whole expense of our Indian expeditions shall pass to acct. in our quotas of the Continental expenses.

"2nd. That an actual valuation shall be made of all lands and their improvements claimed by any State before the Cessions shall be confirmed.

"3rd. That the Sundry Accounts of every state shall be liquidated and its claim established so that their several Quotas may be fixed of the debt already contracted or to be contracted.

"4th. That the Lands thus ceded shall be disposed of to the best advantage by the consent of at least nine States for the payment of public Debts.

"5th. That if any separate State should ever be erected on any of these lands, part of the public debt shall be transferred to such State according to the value of the land it contains.

It may be inferred from these hints that some of the States may prove an overmatch for some of ours in the art of rendering accounts. Craft is on some occasions an overmatch for

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* XVI, 435.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* XVII, 26.

honesty, and we confess that when we observe the studied caution with which some of the States seem to elude any attempts to fix a Federal Quota; when we observe the manner in which some of them have laid Continental money and are now claiming to pay it in at 40 for one, as a part of their Quota, and when we attend to the steps that have been attempted of less consequence, but in the same spirit, we are induced to think that caution is necessary; and our State will certainly require that our people should be honest if they are generous.”⁵¹

On November 18, Williamson wrote to Martin concerning the problem of the west: “The Spirit of making new States is become epidemic. Small States—or at least the inhabitants—encourage this spirit. They are envious of large states and wish to make us all of the same Pigmy breed. The Assembly of this State (Pennsylvania) has just received accounts that the Inhabitants in General over the Alleghany Mountains are disposed to declare themselves Independent. A petition was handed to Congress, which was said to have been from the back people in Virginia praying to be erected into a State. We found much reason to think the Petition did not originate in the Western Country. I am at least convinced that our Subjects will be among the last to revolt as the State has shown and I am persuaded, ever will show the utmost intention to gratify their wishes and provide for the regular administration of Justice among them.”⁵²

During the session of 1782 the North Carolina delegation generally voted together. There was no conspicuous disagreement.

Dr. Williamson was grieved at the slowness of the legislative business and at the difficulties under which Congress worked. In February, 1783, he wrote to James Iredell: “For more than four weeks have we been constantly engaged in attempting to establish public funds, or fix a scale for settling the Quotas of the different states. To-day we have agreed in one resolution, which the Southern States have carried with great difficulty; it is not so good as we wished, but the

⁵¹ *Ibid.* XVI, 438.

⁵² *Ibid.* XVI, 459-60.

best we could get, for valuing the lands and their improvements, according to the Confederation. I believe we failed in twenty different plans before we fixed on one. I shall show you the Journal on the next month, which will explain some part of this business.

"The framers of our Confederation, with reverence be it said, were not infallible. Congress have reserved the power of making treaties and yet Congress has not reserved any power over Commerce. Those treaties include the relations of Commerce. We borrow money, and have not the means of paying sixpence. There is no measure, however wise or necessary, that may not be defeated by any single state, however small or wrong-headed. The cloud of public creditors, including the army, are gathering about us; the prospect thickens. Believe me, that I would rather take the field in the hardest military service I every saw, than face the difficulties that await us in Congress within a few months. I have fervently desired peace. Whoever my successor may be in the delegation, I shall not envy his station. I shall wish him as much diligence, a little more patience and a great deal more political knowledge."⁵³

In the summer of 1782 the British were apparently trying to sow seeds of discord between the American and French governments. Williamson and Blount gave their opinions of the matter in two letters written to Governor Martin on August 18 and 19:

"Congress had just received the letter which the British General seemed to circulate with avidity. It seemed to point at some desire to separate America from her Union with France. At this season we apprehend that we cannot be too attentive to obviate every probable cause of Jealousy in the breast of our Ally, who doubtless has served us faithfully."⁵⁴

"There is certainly a disposition in the present English Ministry to excite among the people of America some desire of a Separate peace, and we apprehend that nothing but vigorous and persevering exertions on our part to convince the enemy of our ability to continue the *leaden* argument will

⁵³ McRee, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, II, 38.

⁵⁴ S. R. XVI, 398.

compell them to make those offers of peace seriously which 'tis probable they are now making insidiously."⁵⁵

Owing to the uncertain methods of communication and probably to the carelessness of the state officials, the representatives in Congress were frequently in bad straits financially. Not only was there no great desire for these positions on the part of the patriots of the state, but also it was very hard to get competent men to attend regularly. In 1783 Williamson and Hawkins wrote to Governor Martin on the subject: "Our situation begins to be very disagreeable, we are now, and have been for sometime, without one Shilling of money, and the prospects formerly held out to us have vanished; our Colleagues have not yet arrived, and we know not when to expect them. The Treasurers of all the states in the Union except North Carolina, regularly send forward monthly the Salary of their Delegates; we depend on borrowing for our decent support, and fear very shortly that our credit will be like the remittances from our state. How far this will comport with the dignity of a Sovereign State, we leave to the Chief Magistrate to judge."⁵⁶

Attendance at Congress in the winter of 1783-4 was very irregular. Several states were not represented; the business was greatly delayed by the lack of a quorum. As long as Williamson had been away from home, and as much as he wished to return, he did not feel himself free to leave, lest he should retard the business of the government or leave the interests of the state unprotected. In March he wrote to Governor Martin as follows:

"There has been important business lately which cannot be done without nine states. There have been nine states only three or four days during the winter. I had fully expected to come home by the first of April, but there is no prospect of it now. It would be cruel to withdraw a state 'til the business is finished and it might happen that in the absence of the representation of our state the most important national concerns would not only be postponed and deferred for a considerable time, but some of the opportunities must be forever lost. I

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* XVI, 863.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* XVI, 905.

flatter myself that any national misfortune will never pass to the acct. of the Delegates from our State. . . . If several Gentlemen had not shrank from such inconvenience, we should have had a larger representation for the last eight months and our business might have now been finished, by which our finances would be in better shape and our national honor in better light."⁵⁷

Later he wrote: "You observe that there are three measures which we are greatly interested in promoting, viz.: that Rhode Island and Georgia should agree to the 5 per Cent. Impost; that Georgia should cede part of her territory; and that the expenses of our Indian Expedition should be paid by the United States. Can the Western territory belonging to our state be so managed as to promote those several interests? The last we may doubtless secure. If we should immediately complete the Cession, we shall give up the power of making advantageous terms and shall lose the argument which may bring others to adopt federal measures. On the other hand, should we sell out what remains of this territory to the Western Inhabitants, whatever inconvenience they may suffer, they will lose the prospect* of becoming a Separate State; the quota of our state will be doubled though we shall hardly have the means of paying half our present quota. In that case too we should give up the means of making terms, or the power of adopting better measures if better should present themselves. The situation is critical. Perhaps it is most consistent with prudence and sound policy to make a pause. Whatever shall finally appear to be for the honor and true interest of the State may be done twelve months hence as well as now. But we may do wrong things which may not be undone."⁵⁸

The legislature had already passed an act of cession, but it was repealed on November 20, on account of the views expressed in this letter.

Dr. Williamson continued at the head of the delegation for three years—until 1785, the longest time that any member was eligible to serve consecutively. During the next three

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* XVII, 27.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* XVII, 100.

years he served the state in different capacities. He was elected to the Assembly in 1785 and later was sent by the state to the Annapolis Trade Convention and to the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia. Then in 1788 he was again returned to the Continental Congress by the legislature, which was radically Anti-Federalist, although he was greatly in favor of and supported the Constitution. It was not easy to get competent men to serve in Congress. Spaight wrote to Governor Caswell on June 5, 1785: "North Carolina has not been represented since Dr. Williamson's time expired nor do I hear of any account of other delegates coming. I shall leave this city in a few days to return home."⁵⁹

V. THE ANNAPOLIS CONVENTION, THE FEDERAL CONVENTION AND THE CONSTITUTION

The year 1786 is memorable as being the date when the defects of the old confederation became so apparent that the movement for a change began to bear fruit. When the call for the Annapolis Convention came, Governor Caswell, on the recommendation of the Council of State, addressed letters to Abner Nash, Alfred Moore, Hugh Williamson, John Gray Blount, and Philemon Hawkins, offering to commission any two or three of them that would attend the convention.⁶⁰ Dr. Williamson accepted in the following words:

"I have ever had the Commercial Interest of this State much at heart, and shall never Shun any Opportunity on which it may seem probable that my services may be of use to the State. I am obliged to the Council for rating my Abilities perhaps at more than they deserve. My diligence, however, shall be equal to that of my Compatriots. I shall endeavor to attend the meetings of the Commissioners at the time and place appointed, if you are pleased to forward me a warrant with the Commission."⁶¹

Blount, Nash, and Williamson received commissions. Dr. Williamson was the only one to go, and he did not arrive at Annapolis until after the convention adjourned. In explanation to Governor Caswell, he wrote: "On receiving the Com-

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* XVII, 464.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* XVIII, 111.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* XVIII, 655.

mission which your Excellency was pleased to forward I held myself in readiness to proceed towards Annapolis so as to be there on Monday on the fourth day of September, but as a single member had no Vote I waited until I should hear that some other of the Commissioners were on the way; having reason to fear that Mr. Nash would not find it convenient to Attend I wrote to Mr. Blount proposing that we should forthwith set out a full week before the Time mentioned; but received for answer from one of his Clerks that Mr. Blount was so ill of a Fever as not to be able to write. After some time Mr. Blount informed me that he was recovering, but he wished me in the meantime to proceed to Annapolis, with such papers and other information respecting the State of our Commerce as I had been able to Collect, for I had, with some trouble, to Collect a full account of our Exports by which the relative Importance of our Commerce might in some measure be ascertained; such information might be of use in the Deliberation of the Commission, though I could have no Vote before the Arrival of my Colleague. On the Seventh of September I arrived at Norfolk, from whence the Baltimore Packet was ready to Sail, but stormy weather came on by which she was detained for some Days and once put back after she had sailed; hence, I did not arrive at Annapolis till after the fourteenth, on which the Convention arose. Had they proceeded to Business, I should have been in Time. It was known that other States were on the Road for Annapolis but the Commissioners first Assembled have given sufficient reasons for not sitting longer.

“ . . . As I accepted this appointment from a Zealous desire to promote the Mercantile interest of this State, I should on the same principles have attempted faithfully to discharge the Duties of the Appointment without the expectation of Reward. With those Sentiments you will do me the justice that I sincerely regret nothing has been done at the proposed meeting, and while the United States are wasting by the most destructive Commerce no progress is made towards safety or system.”⁶²

⁶² *Ibid.* XVIII, 772.

Of the five men originally delegated to the Federal Convention from North Carolina, Davie and Spaight were conservatives, while Willie Jones, Alexander Martin, and Governor Caswell were more or less radical. Probably Jones was like Patrick Henry in that he "smelt a rat." He and Governor Caswell declined to serve.⁶³ Blount and Williamson, both conservatives, were appointed to take their places. Concerning this appointment, Caswell wrote to Williamson: "I have done myself the honor of naming you to fill the vacancy. The members of the Council who are now sitting here as a board are unanimous in their approbation of that choice and sincerely hope you will accept the same."⁶⁴ Dr. Williamson had the work very much at heart; he was the only delegate from North Carolina to attend the Convention from start to finish.

In studying the part that Dr. Williamson took in the Convention, we should always keep in view the three great forces or purposes that guided his action throughout. These were: to protect the interest of North Carolina, to establish as perfect a form of government as possible, and to secure the adoption of that form by all the states. He soon learned, if he did not already know, that no one of these purposes could be carried to the extreme without a corresponding defeat of the others. Compromises therefore had to be made; he had to do things that were apparently inconsistent. People began to speculate as to his character, and the French Charge d'Affairs surmised that he did not have one.

Dr. Williamson was very active in the Convention. He made more speeches and took a larger part than all the other delegates from North Carolina. He served on the committees on assumption of state debts by the United States, on navigation and slave trade, on duties and imposts and methods and places for collecting them, and on unfinished parts of the constitution.

William Pierce of Georgia, a delegate who wrote character sketches of the members of the Federal Convention, said: "Mr. Williamson is a gentleman of education and talents. He enters freely into public debates from his close at-

⁶³ *Ibid.* XVIII, iii.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* XX, 637.

tention to most subjects, but he is no orator. There is a great degree of good humor and pleasantry in his character; and in his manners there is a strong trait of the gentleman."⁶⁵

The French Charge d'Affairs, Otto, in a report to his government termed Williamson as "very odd, magnetic in speech, always speaking with spirit. It is very difficult to picture his character, it is even possible that he does not have one. But his activity has for a long time given him a very great influence in congress."⁶⁶

Williamson believed in a plural executive. Supported by Randolph he spoke strongly in favor of this plan. He pointed out that there were sections whose interests were entirely different. He wished the executive power to be lodged in three men taken from three districts into which the states should be divided. As there was to be a veto in the hands of the executive, a section of the country from which the single executive did not come, would be in a bad plight.⁶⁷ This view was endorsed by the New Jersey resolutions which were supported by Connecticut, New York, Delaware, and at least Martin of Maryland.⁶⁸

In settling on the term of the executive, the delegates were at a loss. Four, six, seven, eight, eleven, and fifteen years were the more serious proposals. Williamson advocated seven years and ineligibility for re-election. With such a precaution, he had no objection to a longer term than seven years. Without this precaution, he feared that there would soon be a king. Once elected, an executive might spare no effort in attempting to perpetuate himself and his sons in office.⁶⁹ In the Convention, the term of seven years was agreed upon until the method of election by electors was accepted, and even then the delegates from North Carolina voted for its retention.

Williamson thought that election by the national legislature was the best plan for choosing an executive.⁷⁰ "He could see no advantage in the introduction of electors chosen

⁶⁵ Farrand, *The Records of the Fed. Conv.*, III, 95.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* III, 237.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* II, 100.

⁶⁸ Farrand, *The Framing of the Constitution*, 85.

⁶⁹ Farrand, *Records*, II, 100.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* II, 32.

by the people who would stand in the same relation to them as the state legislatures, while the expedient would be attended with great trouble and expense."⁷¹ "He had no great confidence in the electors to be chosen for the special purpose. They would not be the most respectable citizens; but persons not occupied in the highest offices of government. They would be liable to undue influence, which might the more rapidly be practiced as some of them will probably be in appointment six or eight months before the object of the commission."⁷² He opposed popular election of the president.⁷³ On July 23, after election by electors had been accepted, Williamson moved "that in the future elections of the national executive, the number of electors to be appointed by the several states shall be regulated by their respective numbers of representatives in the first branch pursuing as nearly as may be the present proportions." This motion was agreed to; six states voted for it and four against it. He moved that the electors should be paid by the national government. This was accepted unanimously.⁷⁴

In case the electors should not give any one man the majority, Williamson was not in favor of referring the election to the Senate. He thought this would lay "a certain foundation for corruption and aristocracy."⁷⁵ He went on to say, "there are seven states which do not contain one-third of the people. If the senate is to appoint, less than one-sixth of the people will have the power."⁷⁶ He suggested that better than an eventual choice by the Senate, "that this choice should be made by the Legislature, voting *by states* and not *per capita*." Mr. Sherman thought the House of Representatives better than the Legislature and moved accordingly. This motion was carried by a vote of ten to one.⁷⁷

Dr. Williamson made a motion that the national legislature should provide for the succession to the presidency in case the president should die or otherwise be incapacitated; the conven-

⁷¹ *Ibid.* I, 81.

⁷² *Ibid.* II, 59.

⁷³ *Ibid.* II, 32.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* II, 73.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* II, 512.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* II, 514.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* II, 527.

tion agreed.⁷⁸ Seconded by Mr. Davie, Williamson moved to add the following words to the last clause of the resolution respecting the executive: "and to be removable on impeachment and conviction of mal-practice or neglect of duty." The impeachment clause was carried in the affirmative."⁷⁹

There were many long debates over the composition of Congress. At first, as did the delegates of all the large states, Williamson took the view that proportional representation was the only fair basis. He illustrated the case by a comparison of the different states to counties of different sizes within the same state; observing that proportional representation was admitted to be just in the latter case, and could not therefore be fairly contested in the former.⁸⁰ It did not appear to him that the small states would be swallowed up.⁸¹ "He thought that if any political truth could be grounded on mathematical demonstration, it was that if the states were equally sovereign now, and parted with equal proportions of sovereignty, that they would remain equally sovereign. He could not comprehend how the smaller states would be injured in the case, and wished some gentleman would vouchsafe a solution of it. He observed that the small states, if they had a plurality of votes would have an interest in throwing the burdens off their own shoulders on those of the large ones. He begged that the new addition of states from the west might be kept in view. They would be small states, they would be poor states, they would be unable to pay in proportion to their numbers; their distance from market rendering the produce of their labor less valuable. They would consequently be tempted to combine for the purpose of laying burdens on commerce and consumption which would fall with greatest weight on the old states."⁸²

The preceding speech was made on June 28. It was one of the critical times of the convention; it appeared that the large and small states would not come to an agreement and all the work of the convention would be of no value. On July 2, the question came up of submitting the matter to a

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* II, 401.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* I, 78.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* I, 180.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* I, 191.

⁸² *Ibid.* I, 445.

committee. Williamson spoke on the subject, and Madison's resume of it was as follows: "If we do not concede on both sides, our business must soon be at an end." He approved of the commitment, supposing that as the committee would be a smaller body, a compromise would be pursued with more coolness.⁸³

The committee to which the matter was submitted reported on the fifth of July. Furious debate broke out again and persuasion by the sword was hinted at. Williamson spoke in a conciliatory attitude and said that he hoped that the expressions of individuals would not be taken for the sense of their colleagues, much less of their states, which was not and could not be known. Although the report contained the most objectionable propositions he had heard, he was ready to hear it discussed.⁸⁴ The report of the Compromise Committee in its amended form came before the convention on the sixteenth of July. It embodied the famous "great compromise," by which equality of representation was given in the Senate and proportional representation in the House. The North Carolina delegation, thoughtless for its private interests as a large state, voted with the small states for the compromise and saved the work of the Convention. Later, to conciliate the small states further, Williamson moved to reconsider the numbers fixed for the first House of Representatives in order to make an addition of one-half generally to the number allotted to the respective states and to allow two to the smallest states.⁸⁵ This motion was defeated by one vote.

Williamson did not intend that the congressional districts should ever be in the condition that the electoral districts are in Germany today; he was determined that a re-apportionment should be made at regular intervals, based on the growth of population. There was a motion before the Convention according to which it should be the duty of Congress to redistribute the districts. Williamson was for requiring Congress to do what was right about it and not leaving it at liberty to act or not to act. He moved, "That in order to ascertain the alterations that may happen in the population

⁸³ *Ibid.* I, 515.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* I, 532.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* II, 612.

and wealth of the several states, a census *shall* be taken of the free white inhabitants and three-fifths of those of other descriptions on the first year (after the government shall have been adopted) and every year thereafter; and that the representation be regulated accordingly.”⁸⁶ Although the principle was adopted later, the motion was amended and lost.

Williamson preferred a small number of senators and suggested twenty-five as a convenient body.⁸⁷ He also thought there ought to be more care taken about the composition of the Senate than of the House. He said: “It is more necessary to guard the Senate in this case than the other house. Bribery and cabal can be more easily practiced in the choice of the Senate which is to be elected by the legislatures composed of few men, than of the House of Representatives who will be chosen by the people.”⁸⁸ He moved to insert nine years instead of seven as a minimum of citizenship for members. He “wished this country to acquire as fast as possible national habits. Wealthy emigrants do more harm by their luxurious example, than good by the money they bring with them.”⁸⁹ He suggested a term of office of six years as more convenient for rotation than seven.⁹⁰ He opposed the requirement of previous residence for Representatives, for “new residents, if elected, would be most zealous to conform to the will of their constituents. Their conduct will be watched with a more zealous eye.”⁹¹

Many of the delegates, probably a majority of them, wished to place some kind of property qualifications on the voters. Some advocated that only freeholders be allowed to vote. They could not come to an agreement and in a spirit of compromise allowed the qualifications to be the same “as those of the electors in the several states, of the most numerous branch of their own legislatures.”⁹² It is notable that Williamson opposed any qualifications whatever.

The general powers of Congress, the relative power of the Senate, the relative power of the House, and also of the

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* I, 579.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* I, 150.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* II, 239.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* I, 268.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* I, 409.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* II, 218.

⁹² *Ibid.* II, 201, 250.

executive, gave Williamson much trouble. His mind occasionally changed on these matters, and each time he proceeded to try to change the opinion of the Convention. Sometimes he was successful. On June 6, he was for substituting a clause requiring two-thirds for every effective act of the legislature, instead of giving the President the veto power.⁹³ On August 15, he moved to change "two-thirds of each house" into three-fourths as requisite to over-rule the dissent of the president. He saw no danger in this, and preferred giving the power of veto to the president alone, to admitting the judges to act with him, as Madison had proposed. Just one month later, he moved to reconsider this provision in order to strike out "three-fourths" and insert "two-thirds." He remarked that he himself had proposed the previous change, but had since been convinced that the latter was preferable. The former, he thought, puts too much in the power of the president.⁹⁵

In respect to the division of power between the states and the national government, Williamson was moderate in his opinion. He was against giving a power that might restrain the states from regulating their internal police. He thought the state ought to be independent in cases which were purely local and which applied to their internal affairs. Yet he thought the national legislature ought to have power to negative all laws that encroach on the national government.⁹⁶

There had passed the Convention a provision requiring a two-thirds majority for the ratification of all treaties except treaties of peace. Williamson thought that such treaties should be guarded, at least by requiring the same majorities as in other treaties. Seconded by Mr. Spaight, he moved accordingly. He remarked "that treaties are to be made in the branch of government where there may be a majority of the states without a majority of the people. Eight men might be a majority of a quorum, and ought not to have the power to decide the conditions of peace." The motion was carried in the affirmative by a vote of eight to three. He and Mr. Gerry

⁹³ *Ibid.* I, 140.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* II, 301.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* II, 585.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* I, 165, (169, 171).

moved: "That no treaty should be made without previous notice to members, and a reasonable time for their attending." This motion was rejected.⁹⁷

Williamson was in favor of the restriction of money bills to the House. It would be less respected than the Senate and more liable to criticism. Some member would have to move, and the people could watch him. He told them that "the State of North Carolina had agreed to an equality in the Senate merely in consideration that money bills should be confined to the other house; and he was surprised to see the smaller states forsaking the condition on which they received their equality."⁹⁸ He said that some thought this restriction on the Senate essential to liberty—others thought it of no importance. Why could they not indulge the former? He was for an efficient and stable government, but many would not strengthen the Senate if it was not restricted as to appropriations. He frankly told the friends of the Senate that they would lose more than they would gain by refusing to gratify the other side.⁹⁹

Williamson used all his influence to rid the constitution of clauses that would prohibit its adoption. He recognized that if the states did not accept it, the work of the Convention would be of no value. To this end, he favored a compromise on the importation of slaves. As a suggestion, he explained that North Carolina did not directly prohibit the importation, but imposed a duty on each one brought in. He thought the southern states could not be members of the Union if prohibition of importation was insisted upon, and that it was wrong to force anything down that was not absolutely necessary and which any state must disagree to.¹⁰⁰ He said "that both in opinion and practice he was against slavery; but thought it more in favor of humanity from a view of all circumstances, to let South Carolina and Georgia in on those terms than to exclude them from the Union."¹⁰¹

Williamson "considered the clause proposed against taxes on exports as reasonable and necessary."¹⁰² He said he would

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* II, 541, 3, 8, 9.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* I, 234.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* II, 233.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* II, 373.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* II, 415.

¹⁰² *Ibid.* II, 307, 360.

never agree to this power, for "it would destroy the last hope of an adoption of the plan."¹⁰³ He seconded Madison's motion to prohibit state import duties.¹⁰⁴ He was in favor of making two-thirds instead of a majority requisite for navigation acts, as it would be more satisfactory to the South. He did not think the motion necessary in itself, but the southern people were apprehensive on the subject and would be pleased with the precaution. There was a motion before the Convention to separate the national capital from that of a state. Williamson liked the idea, but the people were aroused over the matter, and he feared that a provision to this effect would turn many people against the system. Several cities were hoping to become the seat of government. He thought it better to leave the matter unsettled.¹⁰⁵ On the subject of cession of western lands, he said that North Carolina was well disposed to give up her western lands, but attempts at compulsion should not be the policy of the United States. He was for leaving the whole matter in *status quo*.¹⁰⁶

Williamson continued to be active during the last days of the Convention. He favored the prohibition of *ex post facto* laws. He pointed out that there was such a clause in the constitution of North Carolina, and although it had been violated, it had done good, since the courts could take cognizance.¹⁰⁷ He wanted to leave Congress free in admitting new states.¹⁰⁸ Williamson had been a member of the committee on the unfinished parts of the constitution. It is probable that he could not induce the committee to report changes that he wanted, and now he appealed to the Convention. He obtained a change in the clause concerning the veto and called attention to the fact that there were no provisions for juries in civil cases. The members were in a hurry to go home, and nothing was done.¹⁰⁹ The absence of this latter provision gave rise to one of the most popular objections against the constitution. One of the first ten amendments covers the subject.

When the time came for signing the constitution, several

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* II, 441.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* II, 450.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* II, 127.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* II, 462.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* II, 376.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* II, 454.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.* II, 587.

members did not wish to put their names to it. Williamson suggested that the signing should be confined to a letter accompanying the constitution to Congress. He himself did not think a better plan was to be expected and he had no scruples against putting his name to it.¹¹⁰

It is very clear that Williamson kept before himself in the Convention the purpose of securing the adoption of a constitution, although it should call for the desertion of his own personal ideas and the private interest of his adopted state. Before the Convention adjourned, he made plans for the ratification of the constitution. It was the policy of the Federalists to get as many as possible of their strong leaders into the Assembly. Samuel Johnston, who was one of the most valuable of these, had been defeated in the preceding election, and Williamson now concerned himself with the task of securing him a place in the Assembly. On July 8, eight days before the great compromise, he wrote to James Iredell:

"I think it more than likely that we shall not leave this place before the first of August. The diverse and almost opposite interests that are to be reconciled, occasion us to progress very slowly. . . .

"If the good citizens of Chowan should think fit on the present year to dispense with the abilities and labor of Squire Jordin, and should submit to such services as Mr. Samuel Johnston can render, I hope that he will not refuse to serve. My reason, as you may readily believe, is that some men of understanding may be in the House, who are capable of explaining and promoting such measures as may be recommended by the Convention."¹¹¹

On July 23 he wrote: "After much labor the Convention have nearly agreed on the principles and outline of a system, which we hope may fairly be called an *amendment* of the Federal Government. This system we expect will, in three or four days, be referred to a small committee, to be properly dressed; and if we like it when clothed and equipped, we shall submit it to Congress; and advise them to recommend it to the hospitable reception of the states. I expect that some time

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.* II, 645.

¹¹¹ McRee, *Op. Cit.* II, 163.

in September we may put the last hand to this work. And as Congress can have nothing to do with it but put the question—pass or not pass,—I am in hopes that the subject may be matured in such time as to be laid before our Assembly at its next session. This being my expectation, I hope that our friend, Samuel Johnston, if asked, may not refuse to succeed Mr. Jordin, for surely there will be much need of abilities in the Senate as well as in the Commons. I also think that if he shall be in the Assembly he will, in all probability, be our next governor, which certainly is a particular object to the town of Edenton, as well as a general one to the state.”¹¹²

Williamson also wrote in favor of the new constitution. On August 20 he addressed Governor Caswell as follows: “On Monday last Col. Davie set out from this place [Philadelphia]. I regret his departure very much as his conduct here has induced me to think highly of his abilities and political principles. On Monday next Col. Martin also proposes to leave us when we shall be reduced to a mere representation; of the five Gentlemen who were appointed by the Assembly only one will remain. I wish you in the meantime to believe that Col. Blount and myself are determined to persevere while there are Six other States on the floor or until the business is finished, tho’ it should take months. We have two reasons for this resolution, either of which will be conclusive. We owe this duty to the state whose interest seems deeply concerned, and we owe it to the feelings of your Excellency, for we would not have it alleged that Gentlemen whom you have been pleased to honor with a Public trust had failed in a single Iota of their duty to the Public. We shall on some future occasion be at liberty to explain to your Excellency how difficult a part has fallen to the share of our State in the course of this business and I flatter myself greatly if we have not sustained it with a Principle and firmness that will entitle us to what we will never ask for, the thanks of the public. It will be sufficient for us if we have the satisfaction of believing that we have contributed to the happiness of Millions.”¹¹³

¹¹² *Ibid.* II, 167.

¹¹³ S. R. XX, 765.

Again he wrote: "It seems to be generally admitted, that the system of government which has been proposed by the late Convention, is well calculated to relieve us from many of the grievances under which we have been laboring. If I might express my particular sentiment on this subject, I should describe it as more free and more perfect than any form of government that has ever been adopted by any nation; but I would not say it had no faults. Imperfection is inseparable from every device. Several objections were made to this system by two or three very respectable characters in the convention. . . .

"When you refer the proposed system to the particular circumstances of North Carolina, and consider how she is to be affected by this plan, you must find the utmost reason to rejoice in the prospect of better times. There is a sentiment that I have ventured with a greater confidence, because it is the general opinion of my late honorable comrades, and I have the utmost reliance in their superior abilities. But if our constituents shall not see any—or if they shall suppose that a plan is formed for abridging their liberties, when we imagined that we had been securing both liberty and property on a more stable foundation—if they perceive that they are to suffer a loss, when we thought they must rise from a misfortune—they will, at least do us the justice to charge those errors to the head, and not to the heart."¹¹⁴

After the Convention adjourned, Williamson was again elected a member of the Continental Congress, along with John B. Ashe, Robert Burton and John Swann. When he took his seat he was the only representative of North Carolina present. He kept the leaders of the Federalist party in the state posted as to the latest problems and developments in Congress. His love for hard work would not let him remain idle, but forced him to give his entire attention to the affairs of the state. On May 30, 1788, he wrote to Governor Johnston:

"On the day before yesterday Mr. Swann arrived here by water from Norfolk. Yesterday he took his Seat in Congress

¹¹⁴ Farrand, Records, III, 238-9.

which for the first time since October last gave the state a Vote.

"To-day Congress had received a very serious Complaint from the Minister of France concerning the conduct of the Magistracy in one of the States protecting a French Pirate, another mournful proof that unless we have a Federal Government we shall not long escape the depredations of some foreign power."¹¹⁵

He wrote to Iredell: "Congress have before them sundry matters of considerable import, which have been depending some months, for there have been nine states on the floor for a few days past only. Having come on here with a resolution to indulge myself in as much leisure as any others of my fellow-laborers, the start I have been somehow constrained to take has not fully accorded with my plan; but I shall try to mend after a few land questions are determined. These questions are extremely weighty, as the national funds are concerned. At present I have not leisure even to return visits."¹¹⁶

Much attention was centered on the ratification of the constitution by the different states. As might be expected, Williamson was very much interested in this subject. On June 11, 1788, he wrote to Iredell: "All expectation is turned towards Virginia in adopting or rejecting. I confess that my hopes are not sanguine; but of this I do not consider myself bound to say all I think."¹¹⁷

About a month later he wrote: "Virginia having confederated, North Carolina, in opposition, should she be disposed to stand out, can only expect countenance from Rhode Island or New York. . . . It is thought that Rhode Island will pretty soon be ready to confederate; but I was told by a leader of the Know Ye men a few days since that the good people in that state have two capital objections against the new constitution: first, they think that every slave should be taxed according as a white man, and not represented; second, they think that the ratio for taxing is not proper; and that the states should not be taxed according to the number of

¹¹⁵ S. R. XXI, 476.

¹¹⁶ McRee, *Op. Cit.* II, 226.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* II, 226.

inhabitants, but according to the amount of produce exported from each state, or grown in it and exported from any other state. I asked him what Rhode Island grew and exported; he answered nothing except a little cheese and potash. You see how reasonable a plan his would be; Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina would be delighted with it.

"The politics of New York are not so villainous in their face, but not much more honorable, considering them as a part of one nation. They, during the war, agreed to give Congress power to collect the five per cent. impost; as soon as they got possession of the city they refused to let Congress have such power, because they found the selfish advantage of imposing a duty on imports for their own use. Half the goods consumed in Vermont; and no small part of those consumed in the western parts of Massachusetts are bought in New York, and pay an impost of five per cent. for the use of this state. I say nothing of what the good citizens of North Carolina import from New York, wherein they pay a part of the New Yorker's taxes. 'Tis easy to discover why New York does not like the new government. But this very argument must be a very good one with the citizens of North Carolina why they should like that government. Consequently, it is to be hoped they will neither copy New York, nor Rhode Island."¹¹⁸

On July 26 he wrote: "You may be assured that the delegates from North Carolina have not been inattentive to the respect they owe the state, whatever may be their private sentiments respecting the new Constitution. When a committee had reported, and the question was taken up for putting the new government into motion, and a time was proposed for choosing electors and representatives, and for members entering on business, we stated fully the situation of our state and it was immediately agreed that time should be put off as far as we should allege was absolutely necessary. But no final question is yet taken; and we believe we shall be able to obtain such delay, that North Carolina may in the interim take her measures. Everything on this head is at the present stationary.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.* II, 227.

"Some days ago there was a large procession here on ten States having confederated. Congress were invited to dine with the company, some thousands, under a particular pavillion in the fields. The other States attended, but the North Carolina delegates stayed at home. We conceived it was a respect we owed the State not to celebrate an event in our public characters, which the state we represented has not hitherto sanctioned by her approbation."¹¹⁹

In the meantime the convention at Hillsboro had refused to ratify the constitution by a majority of one hundred. Owing to the faulty means of communication, Williamson did not hear of it until later. He wrote to Iredell on the 23rd of August: "By letters from sundry correspondents, it appears that North Carolina has at length thrown herself out of the Union, but she happily is not alone; the large, upright, and respectable state of Rhode Island is her associate. This circumstance, however, does not, I hope, render it necessary that the delegates from North Carolina should profess a particular affection for the delegates from Rhode Island. That state was some days ago represented by a Mr. Arnold, who keeps a little tavern ten miles out of Providence; and a Mr. Hazard, the illiterate 'quondam' skipper of a small coasting vessel, who now, the very leader of Know Ye justices, officiates at county courts, and receives small fees, not as a lawyer, but as *agent for suitors*. . . .

"The 22nd Amendment, so called, was certainly a very important one for North Carolina. If an East India Company or a Mediterranean Company should be created, it would greatly interfere with her trade to those regions. What could have put foreign troops into their heads? They should have excepted particularly against the Japanese, who are *heathen*. The 12th amendment I take for an *original*. Others have talked about *a rebellion in a State*, but the North Carolina Convention speaks of *a State being in a rebellion*. Are these the same things according to the conception of Tom Person, and Tim Bloodworth, not forgetting the learned Judge Spencer? It is like the various expressions of *an old turned hat*, and *a turned old hat*. Perhaps they conceive that

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* II, 235.

the federal Congress might undertake to declare a State out of the Union was in rebellion. To obviate this, it would have been safer to have required thirteen-elevenths. The other amendment, or Pejorations, I fully understand; but this I do not."¹²⁰

VI. LAST YEAR OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

In September, 1788, Dr. Williamson was delegated to serve another term in Congress.¹²¹ Five others were delegated at the same time, but Williamson alone accepted. There came up the following year many things that were of interest to the state. Of these, the status of the state and the settlement of the state accounts with the federal government were the most important. The policy of North Carolina was to stay out of the Union and force certain amendments. Although Williamson used his influence to obtain these concessions, personally he did not think that to be the best way in which to secure them. On September 22, 1788, he wrote to Iredell:

"Before this time you must have heard that the new Government is to originate in March next, before which time Virginia could not have made all her elections, with time for the Kentucky members to attend. The new Congress is to meet in New York, a place very eccentric. Eastern members will be able to attend with too much ease; this will give them a legislative advantage, an improper one. Had North Carolina been in the Union, her five members in the House of Representatives could have easily turned the scale in favor of a more southern position. My patience and temper have been tried by this question; and the more so, perhaps, because for some time past I have not considered it proper to vote on the subject. I think that all attempts to induce our Assembly to call another convention immediately will be to little purpose, for, whatever we may publicly say, I do think that a want of honesty is at the bottom with many of our oppositionists. If they seriously have alterations at heart, I think they had best adopt, in order to secure them by legal compulsion. Be pleased to calculate—New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York,

¹²⁰ *Ibid.* II, 238.

¹²¹ S. R. XXI, 533-4.

Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina call for amendments, and a strong body in Maryland and Pennsylvania. The representatives from the six states requiring amendments will be 37, while those from the other states are only 28, to say nothing of the help the amending corps may get from Pennsylvania and Maryland. They may compel amendments by refusing to vote supplies except for a very limited time.

"That our State might not be universally abused abroad, I have written the best apology I could make for it, which you will see in the *New York Daily Advertiser* for the 17th instant."¹²²

Later he wrote: "I am so often asked what I think our State will do, that I have let off answering, except that we will probably do right, if Congress set us the example."¹²³

On March 9, 1789, he wrote to Governor Johnston: "On the fourth Instant according to appointment, sundry members of the new Congress, viz: eight Senators and fourteen of the House of Representatives met at the public buildings in this City; since that time the Members of the Old Congress have not attempted to form a house; some of them are in the New Congress, the Remainder are Chiefly gone home.

"You will observe by the printed Journal that we have not during the winter been able to form a Congress of seven States."¹²⁴

In case the government under the constitution should be organized Johnston did not want to lose the services of Dr. Williamson, but wished him to continue as a special representative to look after the interests of the state. On February 19 he wrote to Dr. Williamson as follows: "Before this reaches you, you will probably no longer have a seat in Congress. I shall notwithstanding hope that you will consider yourself a Confidential Servant of the State, and that you will occasionally communicate to me every matter of a Public Nature in which you may consider this State to be interested, which may come to your knowledge."¹²⁵

On March 22, Dr. Williamson wrote to Governor John-

¹²² McRee, *op. Cit.* II, 241.

¹²³ *Ibid.* II, 265.

¹²⁴ S. R., XXI, 533.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, XXI, 526.

ston: "Hitherto I considered myself in the service of the state as a member of Congress and shall continue to do so until the new government is in operation.

"There is a report in town that the King of Spain is dead. . . . If the king is dead, we shall soon find other measures pursued respecting the Mississippi. On this Subject I have some information that I cannot venture to commit to paper without a Cypher. It is a subject that so doubly concerns our State or many of its Citizens that I shall never lose sight of it, and hope on the same occasions to be able to show that on this head I have done the State some Service."¹²⁶

Near the last of April, he wrote: "On Thursday next the President of the United States, George Washington, is to take the Oath and enter upon the Duties of his Office. The new form of government will then have commenced and my privilege of Franking Letters as a Member of Congress will probably be disputed.

"It is obvious that the Revenue System now before Congress must inevitably press with much weight on the Commerce of North Carolina. The Duty of One Dollar per hog-head is calculated for the meridian of Rhode Island and that on Spermaceti Candles, Cheese, and Malt will have the like Operation. Hitherto North Carolina has been treated with more respect; they have only talked of duties on Naval Stores and Corn. I will try if possible to beg the Indulgence of another year.

"The Foreign Tonnage of half a dollar per Ton must nip our trade. . . . By such a Tax the value of our produce must be reduced, for we have not the monopoly in the meantime."¹²⁷

It was not until this law went into effect that Williamson hit upon a plan to except the commerce of his state from the application of this law. The collector of the customs at the port of New York began to collect foreign tonnage from the ships from North Carolina. Dr. Williamson drew up and presented to Congress a memorial on the subject and urged the argument that North Carolina had not foreited her claim

¹²⁶ *Ibid.* XXI, 539.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.* XXI, 552.

to be considered one of the United States. In twenty-four hours this protest caused a law to be passed by which the vessels of North Carolina were allowed to enter on paying the domestic tonnage.¹²⁸

Dr. Williamson sat in the ratifying convention at Fayetteville in November, 1789, as a delegate from Tyrrell County. Samuel Johnston was made chairman. When the convention had organized, Dr. Williamson moved that the constitution be read. He then moved that it be adopted, but the motion was referred to the committee of the whole. After a few days of deliberation, the convention ratified the constitution by a vote of 195 to 77.¹²⁹

In conjunction with his work in Congress both previous and subsequent to this time, Dr. Williamson served with Colonel Thomas on the agency for settling the public accounts with the United States. They were chosen for this service by the Assembly. Williamson's popularity in both houses is shown by the fact that he and Benjamin Williams were nominated by the Senate, and Williamson, Hawkins, and Thomas were nominated by the Commons.¹³⁰ Williamson was already in Congress and in accepting the appointment, he wrote: "I feel myself flattered by the additional proof our State has given of their confidence in my disposition to serve them. Certainly the Duties of an Agent in settling old and intricate Accounts are not so agreeable to my feelings, as some other commissions with which I have been honored by the State, but I conceive that the State is deeply interested in the faithful discharge of those duties, and in cases when the publick may be profited by any service of mine, I shall never shun an Office merely because it is laborious. I shall therefore accept the appointment and in discharge of the same shall endeavor to deserve the approbation of the State."¹³¹

Williamson had been interested in this work for several years. As far back as 1783, he and his colleague in Congress wrote to Governor Martin: "We only wish to recommend a diligent attention to the settlement of public accounts and the

¹²⁸ Hosack, *Op. Cit.*, 64, S. R. XXI, 563.

¹²⁹ S. R. XXII, 39 *et seq.*

¹³⁰ *Ibid.* XXI, 117, 150, 160.

¹³¹ *Ibid.* XXI, 519.

interest of our own citizens so far as it may consist with strict justice and good faith."¹³²

He gave much of his time and attention to this task. He made several trips to the state to collect documents and used his position in Congress to facilitate the work with favorable legislation.¹³³ He did not think that North Carolina would be able to get a square deal in the matter. He wrote: "It is curious but not very pleasing to observe that while some of the northern states never turned out a sergeant's guard of militia without obtaining the sanction of Congress or of some continental officer, our state in the true spirit of a patriot but not of an accountant has been expending militia and raising state troops without taking any heed concerning the day of retribution."¹³⁴ After two years of hard work, Williamson resigned in the late fall of 1790. He was kept busy by legislative work in Congress.¹³⁵

VII. MEMBER OF THE FEDERAL CONGRESS

Dr. Williamson was elected to the first Congress under the constitution and took his seat March 19, 1790.¹³⁶ The question of assumption of state debts was then under discussion. The delegates from North Carolina were against assumption, but they had not all yet arrived. Williamson wished the House of Representatives to defer the matter a few days in order that North Carolina might be represented in full. His motion to this effect was defeated by a vote of 27 to 24.¹³⁷ He remarked that he had papers at home he would like to present to the House.¹³⁸ He thought the different states could levy taxes to suit their citizens better than could the central government.¹³⁹ He thought that assumption was very unfair to North Carolina; it would defraud the state of half a million dollars.¹⁴⁰ He said further: "Other states, since the peace, have laid taxes to raise money for paying interest, and that interest has been paid into the hands of

¹³² *Ibid.* XVI, 757.

¹³³ *Ibid.* XXI, 126, 263, 265, 313, 348, 319, 354, 356, 533-4, 538-9, 552-3; 560, 566, 620, 621, 669, 670, 685. *Annals of Congress*, 1789-91, 1700.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.* XVII, 97.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.* XXI, 950.

¹³⁶ *Annals*, 1789-91, 1514.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.* 1528.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.* 1530.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.* 1538.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 1531.

their own citizens. North Carolina has imposed heavy taxes for sinking certificates, being part of the principle of the public debt; the citizen has drawn no relief from those taxes, and to crown his misfortune, he is not to get any credit for the certificates sunk. The state has also issued paper money to the amount of two hundred thousand pounds: that is to say, half a million of dollars; some of this money has been applied towards paying the late Continental Line of the army, and some of it has been used in buying public securities. The securities are in the treasury but the paper money is in circulation; our citizens are to be taxed for sinking this money, and we are not allowed a discount for the certificates which we purchased with the money. Will this not be a double tax? We are required to pay one proportion towards the interest of other peoples' certificates, we must at the same time pay taxes towards sinking our paper money, which is another species of certificates. North Carolina has assumed to herself more than her proportion of the continental debt. Let settlement first be made. There is a design to prevent a settlement."¹⁴¹

The delegation from North Carolina blocked the movement for assumption, but its advocates did not cease their endeavors to this end. On the twenty-fourth of April, Williamson wrote to Governor Martin: "The New England members, aided by those of New York, part of New Jersey, part of Pennsylvania and South Carolina, are perseveringly determined to adopt the State debts if possible. Hitherto they have been unsuccessful in their general attempt. I have been obliged, in order to show our willingness to do justice to move that a committee prepare a bill for making speedy settlement of the public accounts. I am on the committee, and shall not fail to endeavor to have such measures adopted as may put our State on a very respectable footing."¹⁴²

May 13 he wrote: "You were long since informed of the part I had taken on the question of assuming State debts. Hitherto we have opposed successfully, but we have been obliged to support our opposition by the necessity of settling

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.* 1789-91, 1538.

¹⁴² S. R. XXII, 795.

accounts first and assuming afterwards, if we then should be so minded. Uniformity requires that we should promote proper measures for the settlement, the interest of the State certainly requires it. The committee of which I am a member has a rule prepared a bill for making a final settlement and fixing a rule for the quotas. . . .

"The scheme, you see, if adopted, will oblige us to restate the whole of our accounts. A painful business, but the play will be worth the candle."¹⁴³

Dr. Williamson took a stand in favor of encouraging American commerce. He said: "The exports from some states consist of bulky articles; and the transportation of lumber to the West Indies, in foreign bottoms, consumes 50 per cent. of the cargo. It is usual for a man to fill a vessel with lumber, and then give one-half to the ship-master for the carrying of the other. It is to the carrying trade that nations owe their wealth."¹⁴⁴

He wished American goods to be carried in American bottoms, but he was not in favor of a navy. He thought it would be very unwise for the United States to be burdened with the expense of a navy, for it would be a long time before the nation would contend with European powers on the sea.¹⁴⁵ The bill for the encouragement of commerce passed.

On the question of establishing a militia, he thought from 16 to 18 years too early a period in which to require service; he was in favor of substituting 45 for 50 as the high-age limit. He contended that the public lands should be opened up to actual settlers only, and that land grabbers and speculators should be kept out.¹⁴⁷ He opposed the establishment of a national bank, as being condemned by the apparent intention of the parties which ratified the constitution and by the exposition of friends of the constitution while defending it before the public.¹⁴⁸

Dr. Williamson was again returned to Congress in 1791. One of the first things that attracted his attention was a bill

¹⁴³ *Ibid.* XXII, 796.

¹⁴⁴ *Annals*, 1789-91, 1614.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 1614.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 1851.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 1878.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 1942.

for giving a bounty for the encouragement of codfisheries. He made several speeches on the subject and argued that it was not in the power of Congress to give bounties, for it was in the nature of an unequal tax imposed on the South. He said in part: "The operations of the funding system has transplanted at least two millions of dollars from the southern states, that is to say, from Georgia, the Carolinas, and Virginia to the northern states. The interest on that sum, when it shall be six per cent., will be \$120,000; but the quota of those states is at least one-third of the whole; whence it follows that they must pay \$40,000 every year in the form of interest to the northern states.

"You will suffer me to say, that the southern states have much to fear from the progress of this government, unless your strength is favored by prudence. We shall not hear of a bounty for raising rice or preparing naval stores.

"Perhaps I have viewed this project in too serious a light; but if I am particularly solicitous on the subject of finance, that we do not seem to depart from the spirit of the constitution, it is because I wish that the Union may be perpetual. The several states are now pretty well relieved from their debts, and our fellow-citizens in the southern states have very little interest in the national funds; press them a little with unequal taxes, and the remedy is plain."

He said further: "If the theory of bounties is to be established, by which the southern states must suffer while others gain, the bill informs us what we are to expect."¹⁴⁹

Washington, in his message to Congress, advocated the reduction of the public debt. Dr. Williamson defended the President's action; and when some of the members complained of the lack of information, he suggested that the President was no doubt acquainted with the situation of the revenue. Williamson "declared it as his opinion that our public debt was our most dangerous enemy; he wished it could be reduced twice as fast; the irredeemable quality of most of it he much disliked."¹⁵⁰

He moved that a committee be appointed to bring in a bill for the encouragement of American commerce. He pointed

¹⁴⁹ *Annals*, 1791-3, 378-81.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 696.

out that appropriate measures had been taken to encourage shipping but that an increase in the number of native American seamen was not fostered. He gave several examples of impressments which left American ship-masters short of help far from home. Naturalized sailors willingly left the trading vessels for jobs on board a British warship. Goods were taken from the hold to pay pretended debts or wages. Dr. Williamson showed that a remedy was of interest to the merchants and planters. He said, in part: "A powerful body of seamen, at some future day may serve to save us from the vast expense and danger of a standing army, to furnish the merchant with seamen, of which he cannot be robbed, except by open declaration of war, and to furnish the nation with a safe and strong bulwark against foreign tyranny and invasion. We can extend agriculture by extending foreign commerce, and by no other means whatsoever."¹⁵¹

He advocated a law which, in principle, applied to sailors the present German industrial insurance legislation. According to the proposed law, hospitals were to be built for the sick and infirm sailors. A small deduction from their wages, which was to be paid over at the port of entry, and a small tax on tonnage, were to furnish the necessary money. The whole matter was referred to a committee of five, of which Williamson was a member.¹⁵²

One of the most striking things evident in the writing of Dr. Williamson is that he believed radically in restriction on, or prohibition of, the sale of spirituous liquors. In speaking of the people who used spirits to excess, he said: "Weary of decent deportment, and fatigued with the trouble of thinking, they deliberately sit down to deprive themselves of reason."¹⁵³ At another time he called attention to the havoc that whiskey had played with the Indians. He said further: "One day's labor in New York will buy six times the quantity of ardent spirits that it will buy in London. Our citizens will destroy themselves with ardent spirits in proportion to the ease with which they may be purchased. Thus it is that our

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.* 691.

¹⁵² *Ibid.* 695.

¹⁵³ Observations on the Climate, etc., 91.

fellow-citizens are tempted to destroy the energy of body and mind; to sink themselves into idleness, poverty, and death.

"The national legislature, the legislatures of the several states, and civil magistrates will answer to their consciences, their country, and their God for the manner in which they guard the morals, the health, and the lives of their fellow-citizens."¹⁵⁴

When we understand that this was his conviction on the subject, we are not surprised that he worked for measures to tax whiskey, although his constituents were directly in opposition to such a course. When the excise bill came up, Williamson gave it his support and, knowing the feeling of his constituents, told a friend that he would not be re-elected to Congress.¹⁵⁵ It was not long before a similar bill came up to be discussed and acted upon. Williamson remained absent from one roll call, but next day, when the other delegates from North Carolina became unanimous, he voted with them against the bill.¹⁵⁶ He served one more term in Congress, after which he retired from public life and went to New York to live.

Dr. Williamson always took an active part in legislative work. He cannot be called an orator, for his elocution was, as one said, "remarkable but somewhat peculiar." Yet he was a good reasoner; he possessed the ability to overthrow his opponent's argument and to advance his own in its stead. He was quick to detect the weak and defenseless points in his adversary's reasoning. He did not usually make long speeches, but in his desultory observations frequently appeared a knowledge of legislation which could only be furnished by a mind enriched by experience and deeply learned in history.¹⁵⁷ He was frequently honored with votes of thanks by the legislature of North Carolina, and when the University of North Carolina was established he was made a member of the board of trustees.¹⁵⁸ Jefferson said of him: "We served together in Congress during the winter of 1783-4; there I found him a

¹⁵⁴ Williamson, *History of N. C.*, II, 155.

¹⁵⁵ Hosack, *op. cit.*, 84.

¹⁵⁶ *Annals*, 1789-91, 1700, 1932.

¹⁵⁷ Hosack: *op. cit.*, 67.

¹⁵⁸ S. R., XXV, 22.

very useful member, of an acute mind, attentive to business, and of an high degree of erudition."¹⁵⁹

VIII. MARRIAGE AND LITERARY WORK

Dr. Williamson lived the larger part of his life as a bachelor. From his letters written in 1782-3, we find that the fairer sex was becoming more attractive to him than before that time.¹⁶⁰ In 1789 at the age of 54, he married Miss Maria Apthorpe, the daughter of Hon. Charles Ward Apthorpe, of New York. He was at this time serving in the first Congress of the United States under the federal constitution. By his wife he had two sons, and her death followed close on the birth of the second. It is probable that this event hastened his decision to retire from public life to devote his time to study.

After his service in Congress, Dr. Williamson gave much of his time to the education of his children. He published many essays in the *Medical and Philosophical Register*. The first was entitled, "Remarks upon the incorrect manner in which Iron Rods are sometimes set up for defending houses from lightning." His other papers were "Conjectures respecting the Native Climate of Pestilence", "Observations on Navigable Canals", "Observations on the means of preserving the Commerce of New York", and "Additional Observations on Navigable Canals." He was among the first of the citizens of New York who entertained correct views as to the practicability of building the Erie Canal, which meant so much to that city. The importance of the work so impressed him that he published an essay on the subject of canal navigation, another series of essays which were well received through the newspapers, and which have been several times reprinted.¹⁶¹

Dr. Williamson published the *Letters of Sylvius* serially in the *American Museum* in 1787. In explanation of his not putting his name to the letters he said: "The reader is not interested in knowing who the writer of these letters may be. A bad argument is not mended by the supposed abilities of

¹⁵⁹ Hosack: *op. cit.*, 67.

¹⁶⁰ McRee: *op. cit.*, 30.

¹⁶¹ Hosack: *op. cit.*, 76.

its author: and a good argument does not require parental support. In the meantime, he counts it his duty to declare, and he does it with humble gratitude, that his complaints are not occasioned by personal misfortunes; but he finds himself a member of a great family; he interests himself as a brother in the happiness of his fellow-citizens; and he suffers where they are grieved."¹⁶² In discussing the importance of his general subject, he said: "Paper money is the most important subject since the Declaration of Independence. We are going to consider whether the administration of government, in these infant states, is to be a system of patchwork, and a series of expedients—whether a youthful empire is to be supported, like the walls of a tottering ancient palace, by shores and temporary props, or by measures which may prove effectual and lasting—measures which may improve by use, and strengthen by age. We are going to consider whether we shall deserve to be a branch of the most poor, dishonest, and contemptible, or of the most flourishing, independent, and happy nation on the face of the earth."¹⁶³

The purpose of these letters was to prove: "That paper money must prove hurtful to this country; that we cannot be relieved from our debts except by promoting domestic manufactures; and that, during the prevailing scarcity of money, the burdens of the poor may be relieved by altering the mode of taxation."¹⁶⁴ The *Letters of Sylvius* set forth the evils of paper money, the advantage of domestic manufactures, the advisability of levying an excise rather than land and poll taxes. They also give an insight into the commercial and economic conditions in North Carolina at that time.

After he went to New York, Dr. Williamson did not appear in public life again but one time. In 1805 he was a member of a medical committee to examine into the origin of the yellow fever which was then raging in that city. In 1810 he was appointed by the New York Historical Society to deliver the anniversary discourse commemorative of the objects of that institution. He willingly complied with the

¹⁶² *Letters of Sylvius*, Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society, Series XI, p. 6.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.* p. 7.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.* p. 7.

request and chose for his subject, "The Benefits of Civil History."¹⁶⁵

In 1811 Dr. Williamson published his *Observations on Climate*. He had been working on this subject for a number of years; some of the material that he had gathered together fell into the hands of the British during the Revolutionary War.¹⁶⁶ In explanation of his tardiness in publication, he said: "Thirteen or fourteen years service on the Congress or other employments under the state left little time for other attentions, to a man who always was desirous that his want of talent might be compensated by a greater diligence in public service."¹⁶⁷

Certain writers in Europe had described America "as a world lately risen from the ocean; as a country in which the frigid temperature of atmosphere seems to be imposed upon its animal productions; as a country, in which some vice of climate, or combination of elements, prevents the expansion of animated nature, and causes man and beast to degenerate; a country for which a new and inferior race of men has been created."¹⁶⁸ It was to disprove this that the book was written. The *Observations* is even now highly interesting and instructive reading.

Dr. Williamson's *History of North Carolina* was published in two volumes at Philadelphia in 1812. A copy of the book had been prepared several years before, but for various reasons he had wished to leave its publication in the care of his eldest son. The son died, and the history was sent to press without further delay.

The *History of North Carolina* was not a success. There were several impediments, the most important of which was that Dr. Williamson was no historian. Of the history Dr. Weeks says:

"In the preparation of this work Williamson labored under many and great disadvantages. The material was inaccessible. The result was that, while the history shows evidence of honest and faithful work, it is a lamentable failure. William-

¹⁶⁵ Hosack: *op. Cit.*, 76.

¹⁶⁶ *Observations on Climate*, p. v.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, vi.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 1.

son was no more a historian than he was an orator and poet. His book presents few facts, and these are of slight importance; it is lacking in historical perspective; it is without imagination or the graces of style, and the blunders in the mere statement of facts are innumerable, while that period of the state's history where he could have spoken with the might of an original authority—the Revolution and after—is untouched. Never did an earnest and conscientious man miss his calling more completely than did Williamson when he undertook this work, but his high standing and reputation in other fields gave his history a rank which it could not otherwise have commanded.”¹⁶⁹

IX. PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

Dr. Williamson's health declined gradually after the death of his eldest son. He died on the 22nd of May, 1819, in the 84th year of his age. His death came in the sudden manner he had anticipated. While taking his daily ride a short distance from New York City with his favorite niece, the excessive heat overcame him, and he suddenly sank into unconsciousness. Medical aid was summoned immediately, but it was too late; he was dead.¹⁷⁰

In person, Dr. Williamson was considerably taller than the general standard; he was of a large, well proportioned frame, but was not fleshy. He carried himself erect even in the decline of life. His forehead was high and open; his cheek bones were elevated. His eyes were dark gray, penetrating, and steady. His nose was aquiline; his chin was long and prominent.¹⁷¹

Dr. Hosack, a personal friend of Williamson, says: “In his conversation, Dr. Williamson was pleasant, facetious, and animated; occasionally indulging in wit and satire; always remarkable for the strength of his expression, and an emphatic manner of utterance, accompanied with a peculiarity of gesticulation, originality in part ascribable to the impulse of an active mind, but early in life had become an established habit.

¹⁶⁹ Weeks: *Biographical History of N. C.*, vol. V, 466.

¹⁷⁰ Hosack: *op. cit.*, 80.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.* p. 81.

"As might be expected because of his trade and education his manners, though in some respects eccentric, were generally those of a polite gentleman. Occoasionally, however, when he met with persons who either displayed great ignorance, want of moral character, or a disregard to religious truth, he expressed his feelings in such a manner, as distinctly to show that they had no claim to his respect. To such, both his language and manners might be considered abrupt, if not possessing a degree of what might be denominated Johnsonian rudeness."¹⁷²

Further, Dr. Hosack says: "The steadiness of his private attachments ought not to be passed over in silence. Dr. Williamson was slow in forming his friendships, but when formed, as the writer of this memorial of his worth can testify, it was immovable, and not to be changed by time or distance."¹⁷³

During his long life, Dr. Williamson's restless activity carried him into many fields of service. He was greatly successful in the majority of them. As a physician, he was one of the best to be found in the United States. As an army surgeon, he succeeded in practice and suggested the inoculation of troops before they entered active service. This idea is now rigorously carried out in the construction of all modern armies. As an investigator, he gained the admiration both of America and Europe. As a commercial man, he was active in the building up of the carrying trade and was one of the first to have a correct idea of the practicability of the Erie Canal. He endeavored to establish a plan of social insurance for the sailors. As a legislator, he was active in the interest of his state and nation. As a philanthropist, he gave generously to worthy causes. As an educator, he took much time in establishing and maintaining schools. As a statesman, he endeavored to guide the nation in safe channels. He warned against the possible division of the states and did his best to defeat legislation that tended to this end. As a servant of the people, he gained their confidence and thanks. In view of Dr. Williamson's constructive ideas and unselfish service, we may well say that he was no ordinary man.

¹⁷² *Ibid.* 82.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.* 88.

Unpublished Letters of Hugh Williamson¹

To Mr. John Mease, a merchant of Philadelphia, later near Lancaster.

Edenton Feb^y 11th 1778

DEAR SIR:

Your's of Jan^y 11th came to hand on the 20th Feb^y. The Linden has been long detain'd through the want of a good Conveyance. I intended sending it by Land if any goods should offer worth sending in a Wagon, none offer'd and about 3 Weeks ago I ordered it from S. Key to Suffolk under the Care of M^r Rob^t Johnson of Baltimore to be conveyed across James's River to Williamsburg and thence by land to the mouth of York River & thence by Water to Baltimore with other dry goods of M^r Johnson's which I expect he will accompany in Person. Enquire of him or his Brother in Baltimore of M^r John McHenry there whether they are arrived. My Brother I wrote you arrived in Cha^s Town long since to receive Pay for his Vessels Cargo from the underwriters haven fallen into the hands of Robbers. He since got the command of an armed Sloop and has been detained some months by an Embargo. When I told you that I was engaged in building Vessels you hardly expected that I should return suddenly. I am not in haste to return. What have I to do in Pennsylvania? Is it that I may try for some Employ^{mt} that I ought to have been solicited to accept? Is it that I may be pestered by answering numberless objections proposed by some insidious Knave who heard the dreams of some fool who could not tell whether I (am) of the Country that gave me birth? There is not in America a Man who has served it more faithfully or disinterestedly. I am still ready to serve it if an Occasion should offer. I see none at Present. I have some time ago been informed that no Bill has been drawn on me for your Acceptance nor will be drawn. The Negotiation had been sufficiently explain'd. The Letter must have miss'd its Passage. M^r Wallace himself has once and again requested me to interest him in one or more Boats and get the Money from M^r

¹ The originals of the two letters here printed are in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. They are published with the kind permission of its librarian, Dr. John W. Jordan.—J. W. Neal.

Purfield. I saw Mr P. lately who desired me to draw on him in Baltimore for what Money I wanted. I might as well draw on the Bank of Venice. He chuses I suppose to lay it out for himself. The inclosed contains my Ideas of a Trade that might be carry'd on here by help of a considerable Capital six or Eight Thousand Pounds would do a great deal. I have bo^t two small Vessels, one of them of about 40 Tons for the Inland Trade, and am building 2 or 3 Boats of about 70 Tons. I wish you would be so good as to give me the amo^t both of the Sales of the Medicines and of the dry goods sent by Coll. Cowperthwait that I may be enabled to make proper Entries in my Books.

Be so good as assure Mr^s Mease of my highest Esteem and believe me to be with great sincerity

D^r sir

Your most obed^t hble Serv^t

Hu Williamson

A very profitable Trade has been carry'd on in what is call'd Virginia Boats, but in the general scramble a single Carp^r is hardly to be got and building Boats is thence very tedious. A very profitable trade may be carry'd on without adventuring at Sea. Foreign Vessels either French or Bermudians frequently arrive with valuable Cargos. They must load with Tobacco or wth Corn Pork &c they want dispatch. Tobacco is bro^t here from Virginia with much Trouble. People here in general are occupy'd in bringing for their own Vessels. Whoever can buy the Tobacco in Virginia & bring it here is sure of a decent Profit and the Refusal of a profitable Cargo of West India or European goods, a very good profit is even made by purchasing such goods here for Cash and transporting them to the Northward. Two or three People must necessarily be employd at diff^t Stations in giving dispatch to any such Business. I have made above 60 P C^t by buying & selling within 8 Weeks. But the Trade from Cha^s Town w^{ch} flourished for some Months is now quite over and some Disaster or unsuspected Incident may also demolish the Trade of this State. But as we have not the Spirit of Divination we must attend to what at present gives the fairest Promises of Success.

Princeton 23rd Aug:^t 1783

DEAR SIR

Lignum vitae and other hard words apart, I am ready to admit that it is possible and not very improbable that M^{rs} Mease may be afflicted with Schirrus Uteri but I have not yet considered this as certain, and have as I admit shund Conversation which tended towards giving any opinion on that particular Sympton. You must certainly know what is meant by any Part being schirrous. The Part so affected is generally considerably enlarged and hard & is often unattended by any Pain. It is a particular kind of swelling very distinct from inflamitory swellings. Thus you have seen the Breast of a woman giving suck greatly inflamed and swell'd with much Pain. Such swellings are being inflamitory tend to suppuration & soon terminate. You may also have seen one of the Breasts of a Lady who formerly had given suck having no Milk in it at present but hard and greatly enlarged continuing in that form during Life, this is generally of that kind which are called schirrous swellings. Such swellings often affect the Uterus, and perhaps they are more hurtful there than in any other Part of the Body because they generally affect or prevent the Regular System of a womans good Health meerly by their Situation. But I have frequently known strong appearances of that Complaint when it did not exist. There are also instances of the Parts adjacent to the Uterus being schirrous while it was free. Now on a supposition, of what by the way, is very true, that there is not any person living, my own sisters not excepted, for whose Health I am more solicitous than for M^{rs} Mease's: you may wonder why I have (blurred) appear'd more inquisitive on this Subject; But you are to observe it is one of the Things which like fate you need not be very solicitous about; for Enquiries do not prevent & I presume that medicine did never remove it. There are however Instances, many of them, of its being attended for Years together with a considerable Degree of good Health. Such Health is only to be expected from, what I do earnestly recommend, Good Air and Exercise. I hope she may recover be-

fore Winter such a degree of Strength as not to be in danger of sinking into that low State we saw her last Spring.

Be pleased to present Mrs Mease with my Respects and be assured that I am with the utmost Esteem.

Your obed^t Hble Serv^t
Hu Williamson

HISTORICAL PAPERS

Published by the Trinity
College Historical Society



SERIES XIV

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

1922

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THE SEEMAN PRINTERY
Durham, N. C.
1922

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PREFATORY NOTE

The two essays here published are by students in Trinity College, having been submitted in competition for the Southern History Prize of the Trinity College Historical Society in the year 1918. The *News, Letters and Documents Concerning North Carolina and the Constitution* (pp. 75-95) were collected by the undersigned while Harrison Research Fellow in the University of Pennsylvania during the year 1921-22.

WILLIAM K. BOYD,
For Committee on Publication.

December 4, 1922.

HISTORICAL PAPERS

SERIES XIV

CONSCRIPTION AND THE WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS IN NORTH CAROLINA DURING THE CIVIL WAR*

CLARENCE D. DOUGLAS

I

CONSCRIPTION AND EXEMPTION LAWS

When war between the United States of America and the Confederate States of America began, the armies of the Confederacy were composed of volunteers. Since the first few months of the war were in favor of the South, recruiting in the North increased. Along with the increase of soldiers, victories were won by the Union armies: Forts Henry and Donelson fell in the early part of 1862 and a larger Union army was placed in Virginia. The one-year enlistments in the South—and there was a slowness in re-enlisting—were to expire in May of that year.

In order to meet the ever-multiplying foes from the North, it was necessary for the Confederate government to find some method other than the volunteer to recruit its armies. President Davis, therefore, proposed in his message to the Confederate Congress on March 28, 1862, a system of conscription, which was enacted into a law by Congress on April 16, 1862, requiring military service for three years on the part of all white men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five who were not legally exempt.¹ In a letter to President Davis on August 12, 1862, Secretary of War Seddon says that increased efficiency and strength were at once seen, for many victories

* This essay was written in the academic year 1917-'18, when the author was a member of the Junior Class in Trinity College. That year he entered military service in the World War, and later returned to college graduating in June, 1920, with the degree of Bachelor of Arts.—WM. K. BOYD.

¹ *Public and Private Laws of the Confederate States, 1862-1864*, pp. 29-32.

were soon won.² On the 17th of September, however, a check came to Lee at Antietam, and this was the signal for the extension of the age-limit to forty-five, which was effected by the law of September 27, 1862.³ Those between the ages of forty and forty-five were not called out at that time, but after the fall of Vicksburg and the losses at Gettysburg, the act was put into full force. Later the Confederate Congress, on February 17, 1864, passed a new act which extended the age limit to include all between seventeen and fifty years of age. Those between seventeen and eighteen and those between forty-five and fifty were to be placed in the Reserve, provided they volunteered for that service; otherwise, they would be sent to the field.⁴

In the conscription acts which have just been outlined, all men of designated ages were called into military service "who were not exempt by law." As a result of this provision, various exemption acts were passed during the period from 1862 to 1865.

On April 21, 1862, in compliance with the conscription act which had been passed five days before, Congress enacted an exemption law. It provided that the following principal classes be exempt from military service in the army of the Confederate States: (1) the physically and mentally unfit; (2) all judicial and executive officers, members of both Houses of Congress and the legislatures of the several states, and clerks in the offices of the state and Confederate governments; (3) mail carriers, ferrymen on post routes, pilots and mariners, employees of common carriers, and telegraph operators; (4) ministers of religion, college and academy faculties, and teachers having as many as twenty pupils; (5) journeymen printers, workers in iron mines, furnaces, foundries, and superintendents and operatives in woollen and cotton factories.⁵

This law of April 21, 1862, evidently did not grant sufficient exemptions, for as the summer of 1862 went by, a clamor for increased exemption was made by many classes. Therefore

² *War of the Rebellion, Official Records*, Series IV, Vol. II, p. 43.

³ *Public and Private Laws of the Confederate States of America*, 1862-64, pp. 61-62.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 211-215.

⁵ *Public and Private Laws of the Confederate States of America*, 1862-1864, p. 51-52.

on October 11 of the same year, Congress increased the number of exemptions. To those of the previous act were added: (1) postmasters, their assistants and clerks; (2) one editor of each newspaper and certain employees; (3) members of the society of Friends and the association of Dunkards, Nazarenes, and Mennonists, provided they furnish substitutes or pay a tax of \$500 each into the public treasury; (4) physicians; (5) skillful workmen in vocations (farmers not exempted); (6) government contractors and employees; (7) persons engaged exclusively in raising stock, being allowed one exempt for every 500 head of cattle, one for every 250 head of horses or mules, and one for every 500 head of sheep; (8) one agent, owner, or overseer on a plantation of twenty negroes, on which there was no white male adult not liable to military service.⁶

Congress made no further exemptions until the spring of 1863, when a series of acts were passed in order to make the system more satisfactory. During the rough winter months mail contractors had doubtless found it difficult to get carriers, both because of climatic conditions and a lack of laborers. Congress saw that some provision must be made if the mails of the Confederacy remained in operation. Therefore, on April 14, 1863, Congress enacted another law which provided for the exemption of (1) mail contractors on routes which were ten miles in length and on which the mails were carried in coaches and (2) drivers of post coaches and hacks carrying the mails.⁷

For the purpose of calling a halt to the abuse of the section exempting overseers, Congress, on May 1, 1863, repealed that part of the act of October 11, 1862, which referred to overseers. The substitute act required that the owner make an affidavit that it was impossible to secure a substitute overseer; and, in addition, he was to pay \$500 annually into the public treasury. Another provision was that the President had the power to exempt persons in districts where neither slave nor white labor could be had for the "production of grain or pro-

⁶ *Public and Private Laws of the Confederate States of America, 1862-64*, pp. 77-79.

⁷ *Public and Private Laws of the Confederate States of America*, p. 107.

visions necessary for the support of the population remaining at home."

In addition to these two provisions a section still more important was included, especially when considered in its relation to North Carolina. The governors of North Carolina and Georgia desired the right to exempt state officers; hence section 4 of this act provided that "there shall be exempted all State officers whom the Governor of any State may claim to have exempted for the due administration of the government and laws thereof; but this exemption shall not continue in any State after the adjournment of the next regular session of its Legislature, unless such Legislature shall, by law, exempt them from military duty in the provisional army of the Confederate States."⁸

As the war went on, it was found that the substitutes in the army were annoying and troublesome, for thousands of them were escaping service. For the purpose of checking this evasion of service, Congress enacted on December 28, 1863, that persons liable to military service were not allowed to furnish substitutes. There was an extreme need for men at the opening of the new year; therefore, on January 5, 1864, it was enacted that no person who was liable to render military service should be exempted from such duty by reason of having furnished a substitute.⁹

The final touch on the matter of exemption was made on February 17, 1864; then Congress declared that exempted overseers should furnish one hundred pounds of bacon to the central government for each slave.¹⁰ According to Professor Brooks this act was passed because of the cheapness of Confederate money and because it would make it more difficult to secure exemption.¹¹

⁸ *Public and Private Laws*, pp. 158-159.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 213-214.

¹¹ Brooks, R. P., *Conscription in the Confederate States*, p. 423.

II

CRITICISM OF CONSCRIPTION AND EXEMPTION

After this brief review of the conscription and exemption acts, it is next in order to consider the criticism of them in North Carolina.

First, the opposing sentiment before the passage of the conscription act will be considered. In discussing this subject, it must be remembered that conscription was new and that it seemed to violate the principle of states rights, which was the prevailing theory at that time; thus the attitude of North Carolina toward the central government can be better understood. From different sections of the state individuals wrote concerning their opinions of the first conscription act and most of the communications which have been found express disapproval of it. However, a volunteer in the army, who doubtless was becoming tired of army life, wrote as early as January, 1862, approving conscription provided the men would not come willingly to the army. In part, he says: "We have thousands of men in North Carolina who ought to step forward and fill our places—if they will not come, let them be drafted and well organized by May 1, and then everything will be right. . . . We are willing to fight for our country. . . . but we do think that all ought to bear their part in the contest."¹² In an editorial of the same day, the editor of the *Standard*, Mr. W. W. Holden, said that in his opinion at least one-half of the twelve-months volunteers would return. Expressing his views on the inexpediency of this step, he continues: "This is a war of the people against arbitrary power—let it be fought by volunteers. . . . Standing armies, raised by the draft, are the adjuncts and supporters of despotism."

In the discussion of the possibility of a conscription bill coming up at the meeting of Congress, the states rights theory began to come into play. Holden opposed the proposed bill because it was an act of bad faith and because it encroached on the rights of the state. He argued

¹² *North Carolina Standard*, January 22, 1862.

that it had been agreed that the volunteers from North Carolina should serve twelve months, but the Confederate government was going to break the contract by forcing part of the men to serve for the duration of the war. The outcome of this contract idea will be seen when the discussion of the writ of *habeas corpus* is reached. "We protest not only against the bad faith involved in the proposition," says Holden, "but against the blow aimed at the rights of the states by this attempt to reach out the arm of the Confederate government and take our citizens for the war, without the intervention or aid of the State authorities, or without consulting those authorities. . . . The Confederate government, it is true, possesses the power to "raise and support" armies, but it was never supposed for a moment that this power included the right to call *en masse* for men for the war, without regard to the co-operation or authority of the states themselves. Such a power was never before exercised or claimed in the country. If claimed and exercised now, it will be done in violation of the spirit of the constitution and in derogation of the rights of states. . . . If the people will not volunteer in sufficient numbers to carry it on and to repel the invader, then let them bear the consequences. They have *volunteered* and they will volunteer in greater numbers than can be armed and managed."¹³

Opposition to conscription before the enactment of the law is also seen in a quotation from the *Wilmington Journal*: "Is it not enough that they rush voluntarily in any desired number and for any required time, but must authority exert itself by virtually saying 'we prefer *taking* you to accepting you?' "¹⁴

The feeling that more men were volunteering than the government needed and the fact that conscription had never been tried in the United States had an overwhelming influence on the attitude of some of the leading men of North Carolina, as well as the people in general, toward conscription. In an editorial of April 16, 1862, written before the passage of the bill, Holden said that North Carolina had furnished fifty regiments, forty of which were in the field, and that if the Presi-

¹³ *North Carolina Standard*, April 9, 1862.

¹⁴ Quoted in *Standard*, April 9, 1862.

dent wanted forty more, he could get them; but the state must insist on volunteers and not on conscripts. He cited his readers to the War of 1812, which the people generally opposed, yet they supported it enough so that conscription was not resorted to. In contrast, the people of the Confederacy were generally for the war and the states were vying with each other for arming men for state and Confederate defense, and he concluded by saying that there was no necessity for such a method. The editorial ended with the following pointed remark: "Our liberties *might not*, in the end, be destroyed by such a course; but we are not willing to trust any man or any government of delegated powers, under any circumstances, with the exercise of such a power."

In the early part of April, 1862, the *Fayetteville Observer* summed up its objections to the recommendation of President Davis in regard to the defense of the country as follows:

1. That more men have already volunteered than the government can use;
2. That it is in strict violation of the obligation that the twelve-months soldiers should have a right to be discharged; and
3. That it does not give the state any "say-so" in the matter, but calls in the name of "military necessity."¹⁵

The same sentiments which have been mentioned above are expressed in a more positive style under the caption of "Watch as Well as Wait", an article dated April 4, 1862, in the *Standard*, signed by "Sekto," of Roxboro. In his reference to conscription, he says that "it is at utter variance with the genius of our government and the spirit of our people. It contains the germ of European despotism. It proposes to coerce the people to do what they are ready to do willingly. It is an unwarranted resort to the arbitrary power of the government—not from necessity, but from choice. . . . Wherein is volunteering a failure and when did it fail? What State has refused its quota of Confederate troops? If one has, that is no argument for a system of general conscription in those

¹⁵ *North Carolina Standard*, April 16, 1862, quoted in editorial.

states which do not refuse." Continuing, he asked what was to become of "our states rights." In assuming the right to raise the troops by conscription, the Confederate government took control over all state privileges, and if the people were not going to put the states rights theory into practice, it was no good to claim it merely for the sake of theory. "The armies must be raised through the medium of state government, and not directly by the Confederate government. To raise them otherwise, if constitutional, (which I deny), is not expedient."¹⁶

Before taking up the criticism of conscription after the passage of the Act of April 16, 1862, it is interesting to note the vote of the North Carolina senators and representatives on the conscription act. The two senators from North Carolina in the First Confederate Congress, First Session, were George Davis, of New Hanover County, and William T. Dortch, of Wayne County, and both of these men voted "yea" on the question.¹⁷ The votes of the North Carolina representatives were as follows: those voting "yea," Owen R. Kenan (Duplin County), Thomas D. McDowell (Bladen County), J. R. McLean and William Lander (counties unknown); those voting "nay," B. S. Gaither (Burke County) and A. T. Davidson (Macon County); and those not voting, R. R. Bridges (Edgecombe County), Thomas S. Ashe (Anson County), and William H. Smith (Hertford County).¹⁸ This shows that two senators and four representatives voted for the measure and that two representatives voted against it. It is interesting to note, also, that the two gentlemen who opposed it were from the western part of the state.

The Act of April 16, 1862, was received in North Carolina with adverse criticism. The first edition of the *North Carolina Standard* after the passage of the bill carried an editorial which doubtless expressed the sentiment of many who were afraid of the increasing power of the central government. After an interpretation of the Act was given, the editor exclaims: "Let the people have the names of those who voted for it! . . . It is an extraordinary fact that this act, which ignores the

¹⁶ *North Carolina Standard*, April 16, 1862.

¹⁷ *Journal of Confederate States Congress*, Vol. II, p. 154.

¹⁸ *Journals of Confederate Congress*, Vol. V, p. 228.

rights of the States, and assumes the absolute control over some six thousand militia, was debated and passed in secret session." The bad faith of the law was stressed, resentment concerning the appointment of officers was expressed, and the section allowing substitutes was bitterly objected to. Finally, Holden says, "we regard it as inexpedient, unnecessary, oppressive, and unconstitutional. It places the rights of states and the liberties of the people at the feet of the president."¹⁹ The *Wilmington Journal* of the same date characterizes the law as having no more justification than the killing of one man by another. An article signed "Independence" argued that it was by this method that Bonaparte built up his system of tyranny, and that conscription was not a necessity. "The plea of necessity," he continues, "urged for its adoption, is falsified by the enthusiasm with which volunteers were rushing in every state to the standard of the country."

Another prominent North Carolinian, Mr. Jonathan Worth, wrote on May 1, 1862, to Mr. A. G. Foster that, "with all our men from 18 to 35 called to camps of instruction at this season, famine is inevitable." The writer favored the volunteer method.²⁰

Though no accurate statistics have been found as to the number of North Carolina volunteers between the opening of the war and the time of the passage of the first conscription act, some opinion as to the state of affairs at that time may be had by comparing the military reports which appeared during the first year of the war. According to a report of September 30, 1861, North Carolina had mustered twenty-six regiments or between ten and fifteen thousand men, allowing about 800 to the regiment, into the service of the government of the Confederate States. The entire Confederate States had mustered in approximately 203,000 men.²¹ A similar but fuller report in February, 1862, from the Secretary of War to President Davis, shows that North Carolina had a grand total of 34,150 in the service. Of this number, 8,450 had enlisted "for the war" and 25,700 "for twelve months." Excepting Virginia

¹⁹ *North Carolina Standard*, April 23, 1862.

²⁰ Hamilton, *Correspondence of Jonathan Worth*, Vol. I, p. 168.

²¹ O. R., Series IV, Vol. I, pp. 626-630.

and Tennessee, North Carolina had the largest showing. The statement shows that the number enlisted from all the states "for the war" was 92,775 and the number for "twelve months" was 240,475, making a grand total of 333,250.²² Comparing this report with that of September, it is seen that the enlistment had increased approximately 130,000. The question as to how many of the "twelve-months" men would have re-enlisted cannot be estimated. In his recommendations to the February report just cited, Secretary Benjamin says: "enough, however, is known by the Department in its payments of bounty to re-enlisted men and in its voluminous correspondence to justify the statement that more than four-fifths of the volunteers for twelve months will re-enlist for the war."²³ When Secretary of War Randolph was writing to President Davis in August, of the same year, he took the opposite view from his predecessor,—that the men did not re-enlist because large numbers of them were "yearning for home, weary of the discomfort of camp life, and deceived by apparent inactivity of the enemy into the belief that their services were no longer necessary, declined to re-enlist, and prepared to turn over the burden of the war to those who had as yet borne no part of it. Efforts to procure re-enlistments and the expectation of change relaxed the discipline of the army, impaired its efficiency, and rendered it incapable of accomplishing what otherwise would have been achieved." He then compared the situation with the renewed and recruited army of the North.²⁴

It seems that under the exigency of the situation that it was necessary for the South to secure forces in some way. The report of the Secretary of War in February, 1862, which has just been referred to, shows that at least the Confederacy could not be at all sure that the North Carolina soldiers would re-enlist, for so few of them had re-enlisted as late as February; therefore, the conscription system which has been outlined was adopted.

The system of exemptions doubtless caused greater dissatisfaction and friction than any other section of the law.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 962.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 960.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 42.

Just as soon as the first exemption act was published, inquiries began to be made as to who was really exempted. Among the first was an inquiry from a subscriber of the *Standard* to the editor asking if justices of the peace were considered "judicial officers." Holden was inclined to believe that they were not in the sense that Congress meant, for their jurisdiction was local and the great body of them did not have regular duties to perform. Also, he estimated that there were from 4000 to 5000 justices in the State, of whom, perhaps, 2000 were conscripts. "It could hardly have been the intention of Congress," he concludes, "to exempt so large a body of men from the operation of the Act."²⁵ By order of May 28, 1862, the Secretary of War authorized that the exemption bill be interpreted to include justices of the peace, sheriffs, deputy sheriffs, etc. In the letter from Mr. Worth to Mr. Foster, which has been referred to, the writer favored the exemption of salt workers and declared he was of the opinion that it would be better to exempt them than judges and petty officers of the state.²⁶

When the recent war between the United States and Germany was declared, college men had a curiosity to know if they too were exempted from military service. The same proposition came up at the institution of the exemption system in North Carolina during the Civil War. A Trinity College student inquired of Holden whether or not students were exempted. He replied that according to the law, students were not exempted. After it became known that college students would be included in the draft, Wake Forest College was expecting to close after the session ending in the spring of 1862.²⁷

The substitute system and the easiness with which the draft could be evaded by entering certain occupations caused dissatisfaction to increase rapidly. During the summer when some of the conscripts were in training at Camp Holmes, near Raleigh, and others were either on their way to the camp or waiting to go, expressions concerning the unfairness of the substitute system and citations of instances of evasion through exemption were numerous in North Carolina. A group of Orange

²⁵ *North Carolina Standard*, May 14, 1862.

²⁶ Hamilton, *Correspondence of Jonathan Worth*, Vol. I, p. 168.

²⁷ *North Carolina Standard*, May 21, 1862.

County conscripts met on July 19, 1862, and adopted resolutions which declared their determination to serve their country well, but at the same time they objected to the substitute feature of the conscription act. The resolutions mentioned public men, who were hottest for secession and who were going to do so much, but now were aiding in the evasion of the draft. The sheriff of Orange County had appointed a deputy who was in the conscript age, in order to have him exempted, "and we look upon it as robbing the army of a good soldier," the resolutions run, "when there is such pressing need for all." Finally, they declared that if these men "will show half the zeal for the fight that they did for secession, the victory will be ours."²⁸

Other instances of evasion of the draft by entering some occupation included in the exemption laws are mentioned in the resolutions which were adopted by a company of conscripts from Surry County, encamped at the Winston Court House, on their way to Raleigh. The substance of these resolutions is as follows:

1. Loyalty to the South; at the same time impartiality in the execution of conscription.

2. Notice of fellow conscripts hiding in old forges, ore pits, wood and coal yards; "and many of them, too, who one year ago could not have been induced to go into any of them."

3. Postmasters, who formerly were able to do all of their work without assistants, appointing one or more assistants and deputies.

4. Expression of astonishment at the number of schools which had sprung up, "which are being taught by stout young men who have little or no experience in teaching. We think that law and justice require that they should march with us to the battlefield, and leave the old men and ladies to teach the children."

5. Finally, a request that the officers compel those in the bounds of their regiment to take their place in the ranks.²⁹

Soon after the passage of the Act of April 21 many com-

²⁸ *Ibid.*, July 23, 1862.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, September 3, 1862.

plaints were made in regard to the unwise exemptions in some occupations and to the lack of exemptions in other vocations. In a letter mailed from Randolph County, July 7, 1862, to the editor of the *Standard*, anxiety was shown concerning the production of food. "Those who are left will not be able to sustain themselves," the writer asserted. He lamented the lack of foresight which was displayed in failing to exempt those who labor for bread, meat, and other provisions for the support of those in active military service and of non-combatants.³⁰

A tone of complaint concerning the injustice of the law is heard in an appeal which was made to the rich people of the state for the support of the poor soldiers who were compelled to leave their crops, resulting in immense hardships for the women who were left at home. The men who had money needed not to worry about the comfort of the people back at home, for their money would care for the family; but the poor man had nothing but his crop, and that could not be cared for.³¹

In the midst of all this confusion and dissatisfaction, the inaugural address of Governor Zebulon Baird Vance was delivered at Raleigh on September 8, 1862. Throughout it rang a spirit of co-operation; and knowing of the dissatisfaction and the attitude of many of the people toward the conscription system, he took this opportunity to set their minds straight. He told the people that that was no time to discuss the constitutionality of the law, but to obey it. After this statement, he eloquently gave the reasons for its adoption. "Within five weeks of the date of its passage," he said, "one hundred and forty-seven of our best trained victorious regiments would have been disbanded and scattered to their homes, and this during the darkest days in the history of the war. Fort Donelson and Nashville had fallen; General Halleck, with an overwhelming and victorious army, followed by a vast fleet of iron clad boats, was pressing into the very heart of the South; the great and magnificently equipped army of McClellan was in the act of springing as a tiger upon Richmond, and to make his success doubly sure, was waiting for this very thing of disbanding our regiments; Roanoke Island and New Bern, with all their de-

³⁰ *Ibid.*, July 16, 1862.

³¹ *Ibid.*, July 23, 1862.

pendencies on our coast were in possession of the enemy, as was much of South Carolina and Georgia—just imagine the result. The Confederate government having failed to provide in time for this terrible emergency, utter ruin was at the door and *must* be averted; the law was passed, and the country was saved.” The Governor continued to praise the manner in which the soldiers accepted the law and to urge the co-operation of the people.³² His words concerning the constitutionality of the conscription law were suggested by Mr. Holden who read the inaugural address in manuscript.³³

In this speech Vance not only gave his views of the conscription law, but he assured the people of North Carolina that he would preserve the civil law, and he insisted that the people themselves safe-guard the civil from the military law; and doubtless the cause of many of the later appeals for writs of *habeas corpus* fell at the door of the inaugural address, for the people of North Carolina felt that they had a champion of their private rights in time of war as well as in time of peace.

Despite the entreaty which Governor Vance made in his inaugural address, he was compelled to give out a proclamation for the repression of disloyalty. According to the proclamation of September 18, ten days after he took the oath of office, certain persons were using their influence to prevent obedience to the conscription law and others were attempting to organize an open resistance to its execution. His strong determination was voiced when he said to his people that armed resistance to the law would be an act of treason and that the violators need not expect to escape the penalty.

III

PROTEST AND CONFLICT

Though the Governor had appealed to the people in expressions of fine sentiment, the discontent which arose in North Carolina, especially in the northwestern part of the state, from economic causes, which have been hinted at above, and from the exemption acts, was given publicity in a number of

³² *Ibid.*, September 10, 1862.

³³ Boyd, *Memoirs of W. W. Holden*, p. 24.

public meetings which were held in 1863 and through letters which were made public through the press of the state. The *Standard* of November 19, 1862, contains several statements and letters that throw light on the economic conditions in North Carolina, which were partly the results of the absence of the laboring men who were then in the army. The editor attributes to "an observing and intelligent friend in one of the upper counties" of the state the following statement in regard to the crops in that section :

" Our people can do little or nothing for the army outside of their own relations. . . . The material to make more cannot be had. Hundreds and thousands are suffering for clothing and shoes, with the worst crops every known in this country. . . . Those left behind after conscription is fully enforced, cannot possibly support the women and children in the country. Remember, we have few negroes in the mountain country, and more destitution in everything to wear and eat than I have ever seen before."

A letter came from a Transylvania County citizen in the same month which was pathetic. The people had no salt with which to salt their hogs ; not one-third had shoes which would keep their feet dry ; there were not enough hogs, and the people were afraid to use their corn to fatten those they did have because of the scarcity of that crop. It was the opinion of the writer that many would perish, and "if this war is to last over another crop season, with all the conscripts in the army, our support must come from somewhere else."³⁴

A letter from Stokes County is perhaps just as distressing. It was a protest against calling men out between thirty-five and forty-five. The county had already enrolled about 1,300 men, and about 1,100 were in the service ; the deprivations which had come to the women and children were almost unbearable. The corn, wheat, rye, and oat crops were short ; corn was \$10 a barrel from the heap ; and the women members of conscripts' families were going about barefooted begging for corn. Few men were left who had corn and they were afraid to let any go,

³⁴ *North Carolina Standard*, November 19, 1862.

for they did not know at what moment they too would have to leave their families to care for themselves. "If all the conscripts from my county are taken off," the letter continued, "it will be impossible for those left behind to make a support for another year." The writer suggested that instead of calling more conscripts that they give more food, clothing. etc., to those already in camp. He added, too, that it seemed impossible to produce more of these necessities "if all the conscripts were in the field."⁸⁵

On December 13, 1862, a large majority of the citizens of the Rockford District met at Rockford in Surry County for the purpose of adopting resolutions against the further call of soldiers from that section. Until all the other counties of this state and until the other states had responded equally, they urged that no other conscripts be sent. The resolutions were adopted because North Carolina had furnished more men according to the population than any other state; the state employed less slave labor in her farming than any other state in the Confederacy; and the productive energies, especially in the western counties, had been so weakened that a further conscription of labor in the section would threaten the land with famine. The remedies which they suggested for such a situation were among the first which called for action by the legislature against further conscription and for a suspension of the law by the Confederate government. The substance of the sections which relate to conscription follow:

1. That through their representative they would petition the legislature then in session to secure the state from a further depletion of population until all other states had furnished as full a quota of men
2. That the clauses of the conscription act which exempted slave owners and allowed the hiring of substitutes were unjust discrimination.
3. That the same resolutions be adopted by the entire 74th Regiment and that one representative from each captain's district should help draw up a petition to the President, asking

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

that the 74th Regiment be relieved from further conscription until all other states had complied as fully.³⁶

Mr. Holden, in an editorial of February 6, 1863, on public sentiment in North Carolina, throws light on the attitude which parts of the state, at least, had toward further conscription. He said that North Carolina had furnished from eighty to ninety thousand men and that the people were opposed to a further drain. It seems that Mississippi had been exempted from the second draft; why then should not North Carolina, or at least portions of it, be exempted? "If Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia can organize and retain a portion of their forces as reserves, why may not North Carolina do the same?" Florida had been allowed to go into the reserves for the defense of the state, "why may North Carolina not enjoy the same privilege?"

A letter from Fort Humbrell, Clay County, July 8, 1863, will give the feeling of the people better than the editorial just summarized above:

"Will you be so kind, Mr. Editor, as to inform Jeff Davis and his Destructives, that after they make the next draw of men from this mountain region, if they please, as an act of *great and special mercy*, be so gracious as to call out a *few, just a few* of their exempted pets from Mississippi, Georgia, and South Carolina to knock the women and children of the mountains in the head, to put them out of their misery."³⁷

A few more extracts will be sufficient to show the widespread dissatisfaction caused by the absence of men from the farms, especially in Western North Carolina. At a public meeting held at Trap Hill, Wilkes County, on July 31, 1863, by the Conservative Party, resolutions were adopted against further conscription. "Owing to the scarcity of labor, as we have but few slaves in this poor mountain country . . . we are opposed to sending any more troops, except such as are in favor of prosecuting the war."³⁸ Resolutions of practically the same import were adopted at public meetings held in Wake,

³⁶ *North Carolina Standard*, January 16, 1863.

³⁷ *North Carolina Standard*, July 24, 1863.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, August 18, 1863.

Davidson, Guilford, Yadkin, Alleghany, and other counties during the months of June, July, and August, 1863.³⁹

When a people are unable to produce the things which go to sustain life and to gratify the wants of themselves, it is not the easiest matter in the world to keep their spirits high and their hearts in a great war. Such a situation had been produced during the first two years of the Civil War.

Along with the economic discontent, which resulted partly from the absence of the soldiers, was coupled the dissatisfaction, which, as has been seen, was breeding before Governor Vance's inaugural address, with the exemption system. Just as soon as the Act of April 21, 1862, was passed the press of the state began its unfavorable criticism, and this difficulty continued until the close of the war. Mr. Holden at once foresaw the difficulty of the substitute and exemption plans. "There ought to have been exemptions," he said, "even under so sweeping a law as this; but they should have been such only as were rendered necessary by mental or bodily infirmity. It is wrong to put wealth in one scale and the compelled and inevitable service of the poor man in the other."⁴⁰ Mr. Holden also sounded the first note of "holy" protestation against the "twenty slave" clause.⁴¹ A few days later the view of the *Standard* was assented to by the *Greensboro Patriot*, which advanced the idea "that the provisions of the exemption law granted special favors to the people of the cotton states and the largely slaveholding communities, is so plain as to need no argument."

Some were dissatisfied because there were too many exempted and some wanted other classes included in the list. North Carolina doubtless had her part in securing the passage of the act in regard to the exemption of mail contractors, carriers, and coach drivers. The *Fayetteville Observer* gave in an issue in March, 1863, the condition of the mail line between Raleigh and Fayetteville, and the paper urged the Secretary of War to take the matter up, for the mail could not be carried by an old man during the dark and cold winter nights. The contractor on the line between Raleigh and Carthage had been

³⁹ *Ibid.*, July 31, August 18, 21, 25, 1863.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, April 23, 1862.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, October 22, 1862.

drafted, and the *Standard* urged the government to guard against the dissatisfaction which would come from a discontinuance of the mails.⁴² To remedy this situation, it will be remembered, the Act of April 14, 1863, was passed.

The opposition of the people of the state to the conscription system doubtless spurred Governor Vance to see that the rights of soldiers and of citizens were upheld. Therefore a conflict arose between the Confederate government and Governor Vance of North Carolina which occupied the attention of both governments immensely during the latter part of the war. Governor Vance in his inaugural address pledged his support to the carrying on of the war, but at the same time he assured the people that he would guard their rights. Therefore, when he began to execute his policy, conflict between the two governments ensued.

The assignment of North Carolina conscripts and other soldiers to regiments which they did not choose and the appointment of officers from other states over North Carolinians were methods in the execution of the system which caused much wrangling between the two governments. According to army regulations, men were to be assigned to their home regiment if they chose, but the central government failed to carry out this promise. Governor Vance on October 10, 1862, wrote to Secretary of War Randolph that the enrollment was increasing rapidly, which he attributed to the assignment of men to the brigades to which they desired to go. He then complained to the Secretary concerning the order that Major Mallett, commandant of conscripts in North Carolina, had received from Richmond to send the "conscripts to certain brigades without regard to their wishes or to the promises made to them by a Confederate general. This has produced the greatest dissatisfaction," he continued, "and rightly, too. What the exigencies of the service are I do not know. They must be great indeed to justify bad faith toward the soldiers on the part of the government. If this is to be the policy, as I do not wish to become a party to such transactions, I shall countermand the orders issued to my militia officers and turn the whole over

⁴² March 6, 1863.

again to Major Mallett and leave him to hunt up the conscripts as best he can. . . . With the management of the army proper, I shall, of course, offer no advice. . . . but in regard to such political movements as secure most effectually the support of the people in the execution of the conscription law, I do claim that I ought to be heard."⁴³

The question of keeping up the morale of the soldiers, as well as that of the people, was coming to an alarming point, according to the Governor. Vance had not received a reply from the communication of October 10, to Secretary Randolph, but in the meantime he had heard of the "consignment" of men to brigades other than their own. Vance, therefore, in a letter to the President on October 25, 1862, cited an instance which, he believed, showed that the desires of the conscripts should be respected. "One hundred men had been brought into camp from one county alone, from a region somewhat lukewarm, who had been got to come cheerfully under the solemn promises made them by my enrolling officer that they should be allowed to join any regiment they desired, according to published orders." But the promise was not kept. The central government attempted to justify its action because the men had come in too late, but Governor Vance said that "indispensable business, large and helpless families, property, and distress in a thousand shapes had combined to keep them at home." He reminded the President that it was absolutely necessary for the Confederate government to have the willing support of North Carolina because she was not any too strong on secession. The union leaders, he said, had to be dealt with fairly. "These conscripts are entitled to consideration. They comprise a number of the best men in their communities." This hint against discrimination by the Confederate government in favor of loyal secessionists and against those who had stood for union came up several times between the two governments, as well as the people and the governor. He gave the President to understand that he would not co-operate willingly in a policy of non-consideration of privates. "A sense of justice and fair treatment will do more than all besides

⁴³ *O. R.*, Series IV, Vol. II, p. 114-115.

in bringing our entire able-bodied population into the field," were the closing words of the communication.⁴⁴ The Secretary's endorsement of the letter gave as the reason for no reply to Vance's letter of October 10 that it imputed "bad faith to the President and Secretary of War."⁴⁵ This method of assigning men haphazardly was condemned by the Governor when messages were delivered to the legislature of the state and at other times.

The appointment of officers of another state over North Carolina conscripts was also protested against. On January 26, 1863, Vance wrote to Secretary of War Seddon, referring to a letter which Vance had written Randolph. Vance protested against the appointment of Colonel August to command North Carolina troops. "I wish to say in all candor, sir, that it smacks of discourtesy toward our people, to say the least of it." The Secretary wrote to Mr. Rains of the Conscription Bureau, asking if there were any available North Carolinians to take the position of commandant of conscripts, but the reply on January 30 was that no suitable North Carolinian had made application.⁴⁶ Vance felt that it was implied that there were no North Carolinians who were able to take such positions; therefore, he took the reply as an insult to the people of North Carolina and to the soldiers who had shown their valor and ability on the battlefield. Remonstrances came, also, from T. S. Ashe and from other North Carolina representatives concerning Colonel August, and Secretary Seddon at last recommended to the Bureau the appointment of a North Carolinian. He reminded the Governor, however, that other states had not shown such susceptibility, and pointed out that it would be advantageous to have one who knew nothing of local conditions to administer conscription. The Bureau did not displace August until about two months later, when Colonel Peter Mallett, who was recovering from a wound, succeeded him on March 25, 1863.⁴⁷ Mr. Vance received a letter from Representative Dortch saying that the Secretary of War had agreed to appoint a North Carolinian and that the former

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 146-147.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 375, 378.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 409, 411, 412, 458.

officer had been appointed without the knowledge of the Secretary.⁴⁸ The State Executive was not alone in his movements. Representative B. S. Gaither wrote the Governor that the delegation in Richmond agreed thoroughly with Vance's attitude toward conscription and the appointment of military officers.⁴⁹

Hon. W. A. Montgomery says, in writing of the breach between Governor Vance and the Confederate government, that "probably the most serious breach between the Confederate government and the State government grew out of the purpose of that government to conscript the State officers appointed by Governor Vance. Such an attempt having been made, the Governor addressed a letter to Colonel T. P. August, commander of conscripts, on the 20th of March, 1863, in which he brought that dispute to a head. He wrote in part as follows: 'Zealous as I have been and continue to be in the enforcement of the law, I cannot permit my own officers to be conscripted. The ground I shall assume is, that all State officers and employees necessary to the operation of this government—of which necessity I must judge—shall not be interfered with by the enrolling officers and any attempt to arrest such men will be resisted.

" 'This I deem not only necessary to the due administration of the government, but due the rights and dignity of the Sovereign State over whose destinies I have the honor to preside.' "

Governor Vance began an interchange of letters with the Confederate government immediately in regard to the conscription of state officers. On March 31 he wrote to Mr. Rains, telling him of the assistance of the state militia in carrying out the law; but he reminded the Bureau of Conscription that he was not quite willing to see the State of North Carolina blotted from the map and the government abolished by the conscription of officers and that he knew what officers were necessary to the execution of the laws of the State and that the Confederacy did not. He said also that the decision to con-

⁴⁸ Letter from Representative Dortch to Governor Vance, January 31, 1863. *Vance Manuscripts*, North Carolina Historical Commission.

⁴⁹ Letter of April 24, 1863. *Vance Manuscripts*.

⁵⁰ Montgomery, W. A., "Relations Between the Confederate States Government and the Government of North Carolina," in *Publications of North Carolina Historical Commission*, Bulletin No. 15, p. 53.

script constables, justices, and policemen was destroying government. He carried his protest further than the Conscription Bureau—to the President of the Confederacy.⁵¹ As a result of these claims on the part of Governors Vance and Brown (the latter of Georgia), the law of May 1, 1863, was enacted. Other difficulties which this law brought about will be discussed under *habeas corpus*. Under this law of May 1 Governor Vance certified petty officers of all kinds: county commissioners, constables, policemen, guards, officers of the militia, justices of the peace, deputies in all these branches, etc. According to a report made by Superintendent Preston on November 23, 1864, it is seen that the total number of officers exempted to that date by the certificate of governors was 18,843. According to states, the report shows:

Virginia	1,422
North Carolina	14,675
South Carolina	233
Georgia	1,012
Alabama	1,223
Florida	109
Mississippi	110
East Tennessee	39
East Louisiana	20

This report, of course, is not for the entire Confederacy, but it does show that so far as reports had come in North Carolina had exempted more than two-thirds of the entire number of officers who were exempted on certificate of the governors.⁵² The 14,675 reported above is evidently an error, for the letters and subsequent reports indicate that the officers certified by Governor Vance were fewer than reported. In a letter to Secretary of War Seddon, on November 29, 1864, Brigadier-General and Superintendent Preston says that the "commandant for North Carolina now reports to me that his returns are inaccurate and greatly exaggerated."⁵³ A subsequent report of the exemptions in all cases made in February, 1865, is

⁵¹ *O. R.*, Series IV, Vol. II, pp. 464-466.

⁵² *O. R.*, Series IV, Vol. III, p. 850.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 866.

probably more nearly accurate than that of November 23, 1864. The report of certified officers for the states follows in part:

Virginia	1,894
North Carolina	5,589
Georgia	8,229
Alabama	1,333 ⁵⁴

These figures regarding these four states give some indication of the manner in which the clause exempting officers on the certification of the state governors worked.

Another difficulty which arose between the two governments was the question of the suspension of conscription in certain sections of North Carolina. In Western North Carolina there were thousands of deserters and conscripts who were evading service. Therefore it seemed as if it would be impossible to enforce the law. Several applications, requests, and memorials were made for the suspension of the law. Among the first was a memorial from the representatives of the people of the Tenth Congressional District, forwarded to President Davis by Governor Vance on December 19, 1862. "I know all the facts set forth to be true," said Vance, "being intimately acquainted with the district, and have no hesitation in saying that if any section of the Confederacy is deserving of the exercise of the discretion vested in you by the exemption act in its favor it is that mountain region of North Carolina." The appeal which the Governor enclosed is as follows:

RALEIGH, N. C., December 11, 1862.

His Excellency, Jefferson Davis,

President of the Confederate States of America:

Dear Sir:

The undersigned, senators and representatives from the Tenth Congressional District of North Carolina, now attending the General Assembly, desire to call your attention to the following statement of facts:

The people living in the counties composing the Tenth Congressional District own comparatively but few slaves, and have, therefore, to rely mainly upon white labor for the cultivation of their lands and their supplies of provisions. In nearly all counties we represent, the number of volunteers and conscripts

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1102.

furnished to the Confederate army is almost equal to our entire voting population. This district is composed of fifteen counties. These counties do not contain as many slaves, all told, as some single counties in the middle and eastern divisions of the State. It is manifest, then, that the levies made by the conscript law upon our section have well-nigh stripped us of our laboring population. We further state that with the aid of the conscripts during the last summer we have been able to produce sufficient supplies for the present winter and the coming spring. We hope, however, by the strictest economy and the abandonment of a portion of our live stock to prevent actual starvation. . . . We could cite hundreds of instances where three or four families of women, numbering from ten to fifteen children, have been thrown together into one house, not having so much as a boy large enough to go to mill. These noble women are now aided by the few scattering men who remain at home. But if the remaining conscripts, from thirty-five to forty-five, are enrolled and ordered into camp, it can result in nothing short of actual starvation among some of these helpless women and children. Moreover, it will be impossible for the few old men and boys remaining at home to cultivate one-half the amount of land that was cultivated last summer in that section, and hence danger of a general famine through that entire district. This section of the State which we represent is very mountainous and remote from railroad facilities, and cannot, therefore, procure provisions from abroad.

We are free, though the task is an unpleasant one, to state another fact. Most of the cases of desertion among the soldiers from that section have been produced by sufferings of their families and parents at home. We challenge the Confederacy to produce a more loyal and brave people than ours, and instance as an example the glorious Sixteenth North Carolina Regiment. Yet with all their loyalty, if the law be enforced and the remaining conscripts be taken, it will produce the deepest discontent and dissatisfaction among the soldiers already in the field from that section. We had reason to expect that you would have exempted this section from another call.

In view of the foregoing facts we respectfully ask that you will suspend the enforcement of the conscript law in the Tenth Congressional District of North Carolina. . . .

C. D. Smith, Senator;

W. M. Shipp, Senator;

M. O. Dickerson, Senator;

S. J. Neal, Senator;

(And Twelve Representatives).⁵⁵

⁵⁵ O. R., Series IV, Vol. II, pp. 246-248.

Soon General Edney made an application, endorsed by Governor Vance, to Secretary Seddon to suspend the conscript law in the "counties west of the Blue Ridge" and to use the state militia along with the available conscripts to repress the marauding deserters. The Secretary on March 26, 1863, advised against such a step, and suggested that the conscripts be sent away from home and that the reserves assist General Donelson, who was commander of the district, in searching through the mountains for deserters and conscripts.⁵⁶

Turning to the eastern part of the state, it is notable that on account of the occupation of land east of the Chowan River by the enemy, the Secretary of War suspended conscription on July 31, 1863, until the enemy could be forced out.⁵⁷ On November 3, after several letters were exchanged, Secretary Seddon wrote Governor Vance that he approved the idea of calling the young men and allowing the heads of families to remain at home, though in strict accordance with the law he could not follow this suggestion which Vance made. Nevertheless, appreciating the condition, Secretary Seddon allowed the request.⁵⁸

The greatest difficulty in the enforcement of conscription, however, was in the western part of the state. A group of men went from Tennessee for the purpose of bringing absentees to camp, but they found that the hostility was so great that they suggested that a larger group of men would have to go before the law could be enforced. They reported that one Captain Perry, who was attempting to collect his company, had been shot at several times. Another report made to Colonel Mallett on August 13, 1863, from Camp Vance by Captain McRae, said that "all the counties on the Tennessee border are infested with deserters, renegade conscripts, etc." The enrolling officer was to begin his work on August 20th, but McRae advised that detachments of troops be sent from Tennessee and that a guard accompany him to see that the law was enforced. "The impunity with which deserters remain at home has produced the worst effect upon the conscripts, who generally re-

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 460-461.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 686.

⁵⁸ *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XXIX, Part II, p. 818.

fuse to obey the law, and join the deserters in the mountains upon any attempt being made to arrest them. I have two companies of about 125 men at this camp. There are from 50 to 100 deserters in this county (Burke) within twenty-five miles, and the same proportion in the adjoining counties, while the counties of Wilkes and Yadkin have many more than this proportion.⁵⁹

As the summer of 1863 went by, the opposition to conscription was getting beyond the control of the officers. A letter dated September 2, 1863, from the inspector of conscription, whose office was located at Salisbury, stated that in Cherokee County a large body of deserters and those who were resisting conscription "had assumed a sort of military occupation, taking a town, and that in Wilkes County they had organized, drilling regularly, and were intrenched in a camp to the number of 500." Also the report indicated that 300 or 400 were organized in Randolph County and that there were large numbers in Catawba, Yadkin, and Iredell. The difficulty seemed to be that those who were disloyal fed the evaders and that those who were loyal had to feed them; they also were "afraid to aid the conscript service lest they draw revenge upon themselves and their property." Those who were liable to conscription lagged behind in proportion to those deserting.⁶⁰ These armed troops in Wilkes County threatened to raise the Union flag at the courthouse on the next court day.⁶¹ As a result of such a situation the enrollment officers set about their tasks with the only hope that they would reach their goal by means of military force.

In the midst of all these efforts to secure the enforcement of the conscript law, a veritable dispute came up between Vance and the Richmond government. On May 23, 1863, Secretary Seddon called on the Governor to do something more to prevent desertion. The Secretary felt that the causes of opposition were the general belief over the state that the conscript law was unconstitutional because of certain decisions of the courts, that there was "too ready interposition of

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 731-733.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 783-785.

⁶¹ Jones, *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary*, II, 28 (August 31, 1863.)

the judicial authority in these questions of military obligation," and, also, that protection would be afforded in Western North Carolina to all who deserted and to all who would not enroll. On May 25 the Governor wrote the Secretary he felt that he had done all he could to enforce conscription and that it was the business of the courts to grant writs, and, therefore, he would sustain the courts;⁶² and according to Schwab, he continued this attitude toward the courts.⁶³

This method of military enforcement of conscription did not successfully replenish the armies, for the people protected those who would not enroll. With a population more than half of which was in sympathy with the evaders, it was really impossible to carry out the law. This policy of force did not work, for Vance wrote to President Davis on March 9, 1864, that a group of cavalymen who were sent to Cherokee County by Colonel Lee, of Atlanta, seized men above the conscript age and drove them to Atlanta, and after a long time they were freed through his constant protest. Another case was that of the 56th Regiment North Carolina Troops, which was sent to Wilkes County for the same purpose. On Vance's visit to that county, reports of outrageous conduct were made to him: cattle, food, and other necessities had been destroyed; and to retaliate, organized forces had opposed the enrollment officers.⁶⁴

Governor Vance continued in his efforts to have the law suspended in Western North Carolina. On April 11, 1864, he wrote the following letter to Secretary Seddon:

RALEIGH, N. C., April 11, 1864.

Hon. J. A. Seddon,
Secretary of War:
Sir:

I beg again to call your earnest attention to the importance of suspending the execution of the conscription law in the mountain counties of North Carolina. They are filled with tories and deserters, burning, robbing, and murdering. They have been robbed and eaten out by Longstreet's command, and have lost their crops by being in the field nearly all the time trying

⁶² O. R., Series I, Vol. LI, pp. 714-716.

⁶³ *The Confederate States of America*, p. 201.

⁶⁴ O. R., Series I, Vol. LI, Part II, pp. 831-833.

to drive back the enemy. Now that Longstreet's command is removed, their condition will be altogether wretched, and hundreds will go to the enemy for protection and bread. Please consider these conditions and relieve them if possible.

Yours, &c.,

Z. B. VANCE.

On April 23, however, the Secretary replied that "the Department doubts the expediency of such apparent yielding to the disaffected classes . . . and in this view the President concurs." Seddon expressed hopes that the formation of homeguards would settle the matter.⁶⁵

Another special privilege which was asked for North Carolina was the suspension of the law calling principals back into service after their substitutes were brought into service by the law of January 4, 1864.⁶⁶

As the war went on, the sense of desperation was shown by a case reported from Mars Hill College, headquarters of the home guard, on April 12, 1864. Several guns had been taken by a band of "tories" at Burnsville, Yancey County. In addition, meat, etc., was taken. Few men were with the home guard because "swarms of men liable to conscription are gone to the tories or to the Yankees—some men that you would have no idea of—while many others are fleeing east of the Blue Ridge for refuge. . . . This discourages those left behind, and on the back of that conscription is going on, and a very tyrannical course pursued by officials charged with the business."⁶⁷

From these illustrations, it can be seen that the enforcement of conscription in North Carolina was a vexing and an annoying problem, probably more so than in other states.

After this review of the difficulties and extremely unpleasant parts of conscription, we wonder how many conscripts North Carolina did furnish. According to the final report of the Superintendent of Conscription on February 20, 1865, the total number of conscripts enrolled in the Confederacy, (according to reports sent in by state enrolling officers) after the

⁶⁵ O. R., Series I, Vol. LIII, pp. 324-329.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 176.

⁶⁷ O. R., Series I, Vol. LIII, pp. 325-326.

Act of Congress of April 16, 1862, was 81,993, of which North Carolina enrolled 21,348, or about 7,000 more than any other state in the Confederacy.⁶⁸

IV

HABEAS CORPUS

In addition to the difficulties and problems which have been discussed in connection with the system of conscription and exemption was the problem of granting writs of *habeas corpus*. As a result of the applications by conscripts for writs of *habeas corpus*, many interesting decisions were rendered by the North Carolina Supreme Court concerning the conscription system and the rights of soldiers and citizens. The problem of the writ of *habeas corpus* in North Carolina was one of vast importance because of the attitude which the Supreme Court of North Carolina took toward it. It is well to note also that Chief Justice Pearson, as a rule, favored the applicant, and the other two judges gave the military power wider range. In this brief discussion of *habeas corpus*, only a few of the principal cases which arose in North Carolina during the Civil War from the laws passed by the Confederate Congress will be mentioned.

At the June Term, 1863, of the North Carolina Supreme Court, the right of state judges to release prisoners by means of the writ of *habeas corpus* was decided.⁶⁹ J. C. Bryan of Franklin County had procured a substitute, who was received by Colonel Mallett, and thereupon Bryan was discharged. However, he had been taken into custody as a conscript. The Confederate Government sent Attorney Strong to Raleigh, who argued that the state court did not have a right "to interfere with and thwart officers of the Confederate States acting in the exercise of authority under the law of that government." On the other hand, the state's counsel claimed that application for a writ of *habeas corpus* was the only way in which the states could appeal to the central government. On these grounds the court held that it had the right "to put a construction upon the acts of Congress, so far as they involve the

⁶⁸ O. R., Series IV, Vol. III, pp. 1100-1110.

⁶⁹ Bryan, *ex parte*, 60 N. C., 32.

rights of the citizen" and that it had jurisdiction in the matter of *habeas corpus*. Bryan was released and the cost of the proceedings was placed on the officer making the arrest.

Was a soldier who was in the service on October 12, 1862, (date of second exemption act) exempted from service under conscription laws? The court decided that if he had been sent to the field, he was not entitled to exemption; but in case of a blacksmith who had been detailed to a government position, he was entitled to exemption.⁷⁰

Appeals were made for writs of *habeas corpus* by principals who had furnished substitutes. Judge Pearson granted the writs because he felt that calling principals into service was unconstitutional. His decision was based on the theory that the principal and the government had entered into a contract.⁷¹ However, the decision was reversed at the regular session by a vote of two to one.⁷² The Secretary of War ordered that the decision of Judge Pearson should be disregarded. He declared that a substitute's becoming eighteen, automatically placed the principal in military service.^{73*}

In the matter of Long, who had procured a substitute, but had been enrolled under the new act of 1864, Judge Battle refused the writ because Congress had the right to pass the law making all principals liable to conscription for the purpose of increasing the military forces.⁷⁴ In the case of Gatlin and Walton, referred to above, Judge Pearson had argued that a principal could not be inducted into service through the Act of January, 1864, on the ground that the constitution did not give Congress the power to violate its own contract.

Was a substitute, who was never within the conscription limits, discharged from service when his principal went into service in 1864? Judge Manly decided that he was not, because

⁷⁰ *In re Guyer*, 60 N. C., 77. (1863)

⁷¹ *Gatlin vs. Walton*, 60 N. C., 331. (1864)

⁷² Brummer, "Interpretation of Confederate Constitution" in *Southern History and Politics*, p. 114.

⁷³ Letter from Secretary of War Seddon to Governor Vance, May 11, 1863. Vance's *Manuscripts*, Vol. II.

* He held that since the published regulations as stated above were within the scope of power confided by Congress and since the conscription act went on the principle that the state may call all men into service, it naturally followed that when a substitute had passed from that status to the status of one who was liable to military service in his own behalf the principal again became liable for military duty.

⁷⁴ *In re Long*, 60 N. C., 523. (1864)

it was plain from the law that the status of McDaniel, the substitute, was the same as before the passage of the act. If a substitute were taken out every time a principal was brought in, the act of January, 1864, would be a nullity.⁷⁵

There were numerous decisions made by the State Supreme Court, but the most interesting seem to be in regard to the exemption of state officers. After enrollment in the Confederate Army, did election and qualification as a state official exempt a man? The North Carolina court decided in the case of *Bridgman versus Mallett* that the man was in military service. Bridgman was a private, and had been elected Register of Deeds of Hyde County. Judge Battle refused to discharge him because his services were not "essential to the government" and, if they were, it would be easier for Hyde County to get another man than it would be for the Confederate Government. He urged that the states should allow the government to exercise its lawful "war powers." Chief Justice Pearson took the point of view that the Richmond government got its powers from the states and that its powers were subservient to the rights of the states; therefore, the states could elect any man they wished to fill an office.⁷⁶

The Confederate Government felt that conditions had reached such a climax in North Carolina that it was necessary to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*. Through an unofficial source, Governor Vance heard of the plans of Congress; then he wrote to President Davis February 9, 1864, urging him not to permit the passage of such a bill, because the people would lose respect for the government when they were thrown in prison without any sort of trial. He pointed out, also, that leading conservatives were planning a convention to oppose the bill.⁷⁷ Mr. Davis replied by refuting the accusations that Vance had made and by promising that the law would be applied only where it was necessary.⁷⁸ Not only was the Governor opposing the proposed measure; other state officers were willing to defeat it. Among those who supported reso-

⁷⁵ *McDaniel vs. Trull*, 60 N. C., 399. (1864)

⁷⁶ *Bridgman vs. Mallett*, 60 N. C., 492. (1864)

⁷⁷ *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. LI. Pt. II. pp. 818-819.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 824-27.

lutions against the suspension of *habeas corpus* were Mr. Fowle and Mr. Warren of the State Legislature.⁷⁹

The writ of *habeas corpus* was suspended by the Confederate Government on February 15, 1864. Chief Justice Pearson held that any conscript petitioner was entitled to a writ because the suspension applied only to those who were criminals.⁸⁰ His two colleagues decided otherwise in the cases of Long and Rafter.⁸¹ The applicant for a writ, M. Long, alleged that he had put a substitute in the army of the Confederate States to serve in his stead for three years, or the war, and that he had been again enrolled and taken into custody; Long contended, therefore, that the law which called principals into service was unconstitutional. Judge Battle in deciding the appeal for a writ said that he could not issue writs, according to the law, asked for by any one who was being held as a conscript, for this was an indication of an "attempt to avoid military service." For this reason he declined the writ. Battle said, also, that the writ could not be issued, for Congress had express powers to give the President or Secretary of War the right to arrest persons without *habeas corpus* proceedings, because "public safety may require it."

The people and the Governor sought at all times to uphold the civil law. The Governor's and the President's correspondence showed that each was determined to stand by his respective government. However, the Confederate Government allowed the writs which had been granted to stand and the state courts won only half a victory. Through Vance's ceaseless efforts, North Carolina was the only state in the Confederacy in which the writ of *habeas corpus* was not suspended.⁸² The people of the state in the meetings of 1863 and 1864, which have been mentioned in connection with conscription, passed resolutions against the suspension of the writ. Though it was not suspended throughout the state, Salisbury, for instance, at one time was deprived of the writ of *habeas corpus*; but sentiment was aroused against such suspension, and several inter-

⁷⁹ Fayetteville *Observer*, February 6, 1865.

⁸⁰ Brummer, "Interpretation of Confederate Constitution" in *Southern History and Politics*, p. 130.

⁸¹ *In re Long*; *in re Rafter*, 60 N. C., 523, 526.

⁸² Dowd, *Life of Vance*, p. 81.

esting cases arose, in which Captain McCoy, head of the prison there, was the chief figure, having refused to honor the writs issued by Chief Justice Pearson. The Legislature of North Carolina which met on May 17, 1864, enacted by the introduction of Mr. Boyden, of Rowan, that any one attempting to prevent the issuing of a writ of *habeas corpus* should be fined \$1,000, and imprisoned not less than one year; that if any person carried a person beyond the state boundary (in civil life), such offending person should be fined \$2,000 and imprisoned for not less than one year; and that the governor should demand the return of said person by the Confederate Government.⁸³ It is interesting to note that when the matter of suspension came up in the Confederate Congress, Mr. Gaither of the minority argued against the suspension of the writ.⁸⁴ The Legislature of North Carolina pronounced the act suspending the writ of *habeas corpus* unconstitutional.⁸⁵ Resolutions ratified the 6th day of February, 1865, declared that the Confederate States were bound by the Constitutional provision that no person should be "deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law." Another section of the resolution was as follows: "*Resolved*, That Congress has no Constitutional power to impair the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, by authorizing arrests otherwise than under warrants returnable before regularly established, constitutional tribunal of the country, 'except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger'."

CONCLUSION

From this consideration of conscription and *habeas corpus*, it is seen that North Carolina was not in sympathy with the method which was adopted by the Confederacy for raising an army and that the state used its bill of rights to protect its citizens. In many instances it seems that the state did not have the slightest idea that the war power had to exceed the

⁸³ *N. C. Public Laws*, 1864, Ch. 28; *Fayetteville Observer*, June 6, 1864.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ *Public Laws of North Carolina*, 1865, p. 41.

civil authority in time of war. But it must be remembered that the state was particularistic in its theories concerning the relation of the central and the state governments. The value of conscription in North Carolina does not rise very high if figures are at all indicative of what its value was. The principal thing to be noted in the working of this system in North Carolina is that in the state's attempt to give full military support of the central government, it was also able to maintain its supremacy as a state. The constant wrangle between the two governments over conscription and *habeas corpus* make the subject very interesting. It seems that conscription in North Carolina, as well as in other states, was not of supreme value, but the data which has been given above indicates that conscription was an advantage to the Confederacy in one respect at least—it retained the twelve-months men in 1862.

THE POPULIST PARTY IN NORTH CAROLINA*

SIMEON ALEXANDER DELAP

I. ANTECEDENTS

In order to understand thoroughly the origin of the Populist Party in North Carolina, it is necessary first to trace briefly its origin and organization in the United States. Three stages of advancement in farmers' organizations appear in the Grange, the Farmers' Alliance, and the Populist Party. The causes and discontents giving rise to each were practically the same. In the case of the first two, it may be said that they exerted a great influence in politics, but were not political organizations; as to the latter it was a real political party. Around the year 1890 occurred a series of conventions out of which finally developed the Populist Party. The first of these conventions in which the third party idea appeared was held at St. Louis, December 6, 1889, and was composed of not only the delegates from farmers' organizations, but also delegates from the Knights of Labor. At this meeting these societies united under the name of the Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union and passed resolutions regarding the free coinage of silver, sub-treasuries, paper money, abolition of national banks, government ownership of railroads, non-ownership of land by foreigners, prohibition of futures in grain, and the reduction of the nation's income to expenses. On December 7, 1890 another convention was held at Ocala, Florida, but no political organization was effected.

The launching of the third party was effected at the Cincinnati convention, of 1891.¹ It included in its platform, besides such measures as those adopted by the St. Louis convention, certain measures to conciliate the laboring men, as an eight-hour day law, but the real platform of the Populist Party was adopted at the Omaha convention of July 4, 1892, and was immediately called the second Declaration of Independence, a name due more probably to the day on which it was held than

* This essay was awarded the Southern History Prize of the Trinity College Historical Society in 1918. The author entered Trinity in 1914 and graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1918.—W. K. B.

¹ McVey: *The Populist Party* (Economic Studies, Vol I, p. 138.)

to any measures advocated. Free coinage of silver, a minor clause on the abolition of national banks, a sub-treasury scheme, a graduated income tax, government ownership of railroads, non-ownership of land by foreigners, plenty of paper money, revenue of state and nation limited to expenses, election of United States Senators by popular vote, an eight-hour-day law, postal savings bank, pensions and restriction of immigration—these measures were all advocated. It can easily be seen that some of these measures, as the restriction of immigration and the eight-hour-day law, were primarily for the benefit of the laborer, while the rest were either for both classes in common or primarily for the farmer.

The organization of the Populist Party in North Carolina was by no means a sudden occurrence, arising from needs which had sprung up only shortly before the organization of the party. The conditions which preceded it, and the various stages leading up to political organization, may be traced back for many years before. The organization of the farmers into one band for their mutual protection and welfare was first effected by the organization of the Grange in 1873.² The first Grange was organized early in the year, for by May 19, 1873, there were in the state twenty Grange organizations, or six Granges to every 100,000 of the agricultural population. The growth of the movement was rapid, for by October, 1873, the number of Granges had increased to 110, or thirty-seven to every 100,000 of the agricultural population. The increase in the establishment of these Granges still continued, as shown by the fact that on March 1, 1874, there were 243 Granges, or seventy-nine to every 100,000 of the agricultural population, and by September 1 of the same year there were 430, or 141 to every 100,000 of the agricultural population. The high water mark in the spread of the movement was reached by January, 1875, at which time the number of Granges in the state was 477, or 151 for every 100,000 of the agricultural population. The membership of the organization totalled over 10,000. By the next year the Granger movement began gradually to decline, both in regard to membership and in regard to the number of Granges, and by July, 1876, only 240

² Buck, *The Granger Movement*, p. 58.

Granges with a membership of 7,563 were in existence. This decline, however, was manifested elsewhere, Georgia, Florida, and the North-Central States experiencing an equal or worse decline.³

Since the Granger organization was not a political organization, it took no direct part in the politics of North Carolina; however, many of its undertakings so influenced and directly bear upon the Farmers' Alliance, established later, and out of which came the Populist Party, that some discussion of its work is necessary.

The activities of the Grange in North Carolina were not as far-reaching and extensive as in other states. Here as well as in Virginia and Florida little was accomplished in the way of distributive coöperation, beyond making arrangements for purchasing fertilizer at reduced prices.⁴ Few coöperative stores were established in the South by the Grange during the early days of its career, but along about 1875 after the promulgation of rules by the National Grange favoring the establishment of coöperative enterprises, they began to make their appearance. By 1882 Grange coöperative stores had been formed in North Carolina and were reported successful.⁵

Another undertaking of the Grange in North Carolina was the establishment of mutual aid societies which served as insurance companies for the protection of its members. This undertaking, however, proved unsuccessful. However, the Grange became interested in the question of schools and educational institutions soon after its establishment and accomplished some effective work in regard to them.⁶ The State Grange adopted a resolution calling for instruction on a variety of subjects "necessary to the intelligent regulation and management of the farm . . . and the household."⁷ It recommended that the subordinate Granges in the state interest themselves in the establishment of good local schools and that they make appropriations for their support. The establishment of primary and even high schools in connection with local

³ *Ibid*, p. 69.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 253.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 265.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 290-291.

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 290.

Granges was recommended, if practicable. As a result of this agitation, several Granger schools were established throughout the state.

As before mentioned, the activities of the Grange itself were not very important, but as will be seen later, especially in the matter of education, the Grange was the forerunner of the Farmers' Alliance and also the Populist Party.

The next step which must be mentioned in leading up to the organization of the Populist Party in North Carolina is the formation and development of the Farmers' Alliance. It was organized October 4, 1887, and soon was composed of 132 subordinate alliances scattered over eight counties.⁸ Its increase from the start was rapid, and by August 14, 1888, there were 1,018 sub-alliances, with a total membership of nearly 42,000 scattered over fifty-two counties. The mountain counties were yet untouched by the Alliance, while those counties leading in sub-alliances were Wake, Chatham, Sampson, Robeson, Moore, Union, Cumberland, and others. At the first annual meeting of the State Alliance in 1888 several resolutions were brought up which are worth noting.⁹ The first was a resolution in regard to the use of the products of the Cotton Bagging Trust. The farmers denounced the trust as a stupendous fraud and called upon Congress to take the necessary steps to unmask it and give relief to the suffering people. They resolved to use a substitute of their own manufacture rather than submit to the extortionate prices of the trust. The second resolution was one demanding of the representatives in Congress that they use all their influence in repealing the tax on tobacco, and another demanded such a "revision of the tariff as will lay the heaviest burdens on the luxuries and lightest on the necessities of life and as will reduce the incomes from imports to a strictly revenue basis."¹⁰ A resolution was passed demanding the establishment of a railroad commission by the next legislature, "clothed with ample powers to equitably control and regulate in the interest of the people the freight charges and tariffs on our railroads."¹¹ Another resolution was adopted

⁸ Proceedings of First Annual Session of N. C. Farmers' State Alliance, 1888, p. 3.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 15, 16.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

which protested against the policy of giving away the labor of convicts and which demanded laws to prevent "this outrage." A change in the existing laws which would reduce the cost of litigation in minor causes and for the enlargement of the powers of the justices of the peace was also demanded. Another resolution demanded laws preventing the receiving or using of free passes on railroads by public officials. All of these, as is easily seen, were on questions vitally affecting the farmer.

One thing in particular which gave the farmer a great deal of trouble was the Cotton Bagging Trust. An article in the *Progressive Farmer*, state organ for the Alliance, attributes the triumph of the farmers over the trust solely to their pluck and grit in not buying its products.¹² The article raises the question as to why such acts as were perpetrated on the farmer by the trust in an attempt to amass great profits are allowed. It says: "It is because the great mass of the American people, blinded by party spirit and bowing to the mandates of self-constituted partisan bosses, have surrendered their manhood and are victims of designing, corrupt men." Legislatures, it says, should be composed of patriotic, courageous, honest men, not unscrupulous partisans and it rests with the individual voter to put them there.

The annual session of the State Alliance in 1889 was held at Fayetteville, August 13th.¹³ This convention was composed of representatives from eighty-nine county alliances and 1,818 sub-alliances, with a total membership of approximately 72,000 men. In his speech President Alexander said in regard to Alliance demands: "The demands made at our last meeting for certain legislation having not been granted, I earnestly recommend that you determine at this meeting to either abandon making political demands or take such action as will insure your demands being complied with."¹⁴ Resolutions were passed at the convention declaring the unqualified disapproval by the members of the defeat of the Railroad Commission Bill at the last session of the legislature and condemning such action as unwise and unjust. A resolution was passed demanding again of the General Assembly the enactment of a law providing

¹² *Progressive Farmer*, Aug. 6, 1889.

¹³ *Ibid*, Aug. 20, 1889.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, Aug. 20, 1889.

for a railroad commission with full powers to regulate freight and passenger rates upon a fair basis and concluding "that it is the deliberate sense of this State Alliance that the farmers of the state should go into the primary meetings and if possible secure the nomination of such men for seats in the General Assembly as will use their best efforts to enact a railroad commission bill."¹⁵ It can be easily detected from the tone of these resolutions and of President Alexander's speech that there was gradually dawning upon the alliancemen the fact that it might soon be necessary for the Alliance as an organization to enter politics in North Carolina. However, the time was not yet ripe, and this convention left it merely with the individual as to his choice of party and candidates.

An article in the *Progressive Farmer* for October 1, 1889, says: "We are not seeking to aid in upbuilding the Democratic or Republican parties, nor do we desire to form a third party. We stand pledged to vote for no man who will not in public print pledge himself to support our interests." And a few weeks later, on October 15, the same paper under the caption, "The Farmer as a Politician," says that the farmer should be not only an independent voter, but "an aggressive politician." However, it says that there was still no need of a third party.

II. THE ALLIANCE ENTERS POLITICS AS THE POPULIST PARTY

As time went on and the accompanying grievances continued to exist, the trend toward a third party organization became more apparent. With the great educational campaign carried on by means of the *Progressive Farmer*, edited by L. L. Polk, President of the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union, the farmers throughout the state gradually began to awaken and realize that action as a political organization would be necessary before any relief for their grievances could be secured. In an issue of the *Progressive Farmer* of February 18, 1890, the aim of the Farmers' Alliance in entering politics is expressed. The purpose of the Alliance, it says, is not to break either the Democratic or Republican parties, but to reform and control them, to take the control of the parties "out of the hand of the bosses." Boss control, in fact, seemed to account

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

for the indifference and carelessness of the old parties, especially the one in power, the Democratic party, in handling or rather in failing to handle live issues. In order to rid themselves of "bossism" and corruption in politics, the farmers later at their annual session in 1891 came out strongly for a secret ballot law to be passed by the next legislature. Failing to obtain it, naturally they turned more and more to the third party idea. As a result, as will be seen later, the Populist Party appeared in 1892.

The railroad question, one of the most vital with which the farmers had to deal, continued to harass them. An article in the *Progressive Farmer*, February 25, 1890, sets forth the view of the farmers in regard to the railroads. The railroads were built at a great cost to the taxpayers; they were built by the "private means of the farmers of North Carolina." The amount paid yearly in taxation for the benefit of the railroad companies, according to the article, amounted to more than the entire expense of the United State Government in any one year prior to 1860. It says: "Today the railroads and banks control the country." In another article of the same issue the writer pleads for a law to be passed regulating the railroads which would make their rates reasonable and just, the same for one person as for another; prevent the giving of any undue preference as between persons, localities, or kinds of traffic, forbid discriminating rates and charges as between connected lines and contracts and agreements for pooling the freights of different roads. It will be remembered that prior to this time throughout the country railroads had been indulging in a cut-throat competition. Freight and passenger rates were high in some parts of the country and low in others. Discrimination in favor of some and against others was practiced by nearly all roads. Such high rates were charged in North Carolina as to prevent the farmer from shipping and making a profit on his shipment, and his products had to go to waste. The Eastern North Carolina trucking industry especially suffered from exorbitant freight rates, and what should have been a profitable business was not able to thrive on account of the railroad tariffs.

Besides, the railroad service was by no means as efficient as people desired. One instance will serve to show its in-

efficiency.¹⁶ A lady who lived at a station next to Durham desiring to go to a certain station between Durham and Henderson boarded the R. & D. cars at her station at 6:00 P.M. and as she was entering Durham at 6:30 P.M. she met coming out of Durham the Henderson and Durham train on its way to Henderson. Consequently, the lady was obliged to remain in Durham twenty-four hours before she could again get a train to her desired destination. The railroads were indifferent, says an article in the *Progressive Farmer*, and ran their trains not for the good of the public, but for their own private gain.

At the annual meeting of the North Carolina State Alliance, held at Asheville in August, 1890, another demand was made for a law providing for a railroad commission. The campaign of 1890 was fought with the establishment of the railroad commission as one of the main issues. The farmers' attitude was expressed in this manner.¹⁷ "We want a commission and intend to have on. We want a commission that will compel the railroads to haul a barrel of apples from Lenoir to Salisbury for less than it will haul a barrel from New York City to Salisbury. We want a commission that will prevent the roads from charging as much for a hundred pounds of freight hauled ten miles as they charge for the same hauled 150 miles. We want a commission that will put the freight charges low and the passenger rates so low that all can take advantage of it."

As a result of the many demands made by the Farmers' Alliance for the establishment of a railroad commission, Governor Fowle at the opening of the legislature, in 1891, recommended and urged the passage of a law which would provide for a railroad commission.¹⁸ After much discussion a bill was passed providing for three commissioners, who were to be elected by the General Assembly. Their duties were to fix reasonable and just rates and to investigate complaints regarding inter-state as well as intra-state freight rates and to bring them to the attention of the Inter-State Commerce Commission. Appeals from the decisions of the railroad commission could be made in the state courts. Although this law was passed before the Populist Party was organized, nevertheless the rail-

¹⁶ *Ibid*, Mar. 4, 1890.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, Oct. 28, 1890.

¹⁸ Ferguson: *State Regulation of Railroads in the South*, p. 167.

road question continued to bother the farmers and must be regarded as one of the causes of the organization of the party.

The financial conditions of the farmer must be carefully studied in order to reach a real understanding of the entrance of the Farmers' Alliance into politics. In a carefully prepared article Colonel L. L. Polk presented the condition of the farmers in the United States in a clear, convincing manner.¹⁹ The figures as he gave them are as follows:

Crop	Wheat (Bushels)	Price	Value
1885	421,086,160	\$1.10	\$463,194,776
1889	490,560,000	.86	421,881,600
Crop	Corn (Bushels)	Price	Value
1888	1,987,790,000	....	\$677,561,580
1889	2,112,892,000	....	597,918,820

The average price for corn for year 1890 was 37 cents per bushel.

Crop	Cotton (No. bales)	Price	Value
1871	4,352,317	.20	\$391,708,649
1887	6,513,623	.10	293,093,035

The average price of cotton for year 1890 was 11 cents per pound.

These figures show not only that the price of staple products was decreasing, but the total value of a greatly increased crop was less than in previous years. The increase in mortgage indebtedness on land for loans from 1880 to 1887 was twenty-three per cent. The total mortgage debt on property was \$21,471,428. The debt per capita for North Carolina was \$13.00.²⁰

With this decrease in the value of the property of the farmers, the burden of taxation imposed upon them increased. In 1850 the total wealth of the United States was \$7,135,780,-228. The total amount assessed for taxation was \$6,024,666,-909. The farming class owned \$5,016,123,000 of the wealth, which was eighty-four per cent of the taxed property and seventy per cent of the total wealth of our country. By 1890 a change had taken place. The total wealth of the country was

¹⁹ *Progressive Farmer*, Apr. 29, 1890.

²⁰ Senate Report, 1894-95, Vol. I, report 787, p. 80.

\$64,000,000,000. Of this \$24,000,000,000 was assessed for taxation. The farmers wealth was \$15,000,000,000, or less than twenty-four per cent of the total wealth of the country, and yet it was sixty-two per cent of all the taxed wealth of the country.²¹ Thus the total wealth of the farming class was decreasing, while its share of the taxation was rapidly increasing. In such a condition the farmers felt the need of radical changes in legislation. They sought to avoid politics as long as they could; they suggested, and begged, and argued. One measure which they demanded in order to emerge from their terrible financial status was a change in the monetary system. The fault of such depression as the farmers were experiencing was not theirs, they said, nor was it the fault of God. "It is the fault of the terrible financial system of the Government, a system that has placed on agriculture an undue, unjust proportion of the burden of taxation. Our currency has been contracted to a volume inadequate to the necessities of our people and trade, the result being high priced money and low priced articles."²² A remedy suggested and urged by the Farmers' Alliance was the sub-treasury plan, by which the people might secure a flexible volume of currency, sufficient in amount to accommodate the demands of trade and business of the country. About this time the condition of the currency system was such that, had all the currency been in circulation, there would have been only \$21.75 per capita, and the farmers demanded \$50 per capita as a reasonable basis. The sentiment of the farmers in North Carolina was voiced in the address of L. L. Polk, President of the National Farmers' Alliance, delivered before the defeat of the sub-treasury plan in the Senate. He spoke in part as follows: "We do not claim it (sub-treasury plan) as the only measure through which relief may be brought to our suffering and distressed people We would be only too happy to receive at your hands a wiser and better measure, but these suffering millions must have relief. They ask for bread and will not be content with a stone."²³

Such were the fundamental conditions which preceded and caused the organization of a third political party in North Caro-

²¹ *Progressive Farmer*, Mar. 11, 1890.

²² *Ibid.*, Apr. 29, 1890.

²³ *Ibid.*, June 10, 1890.

lina, composed in the main of farmers educated in the Grange and Farmers' Alliance, and known by the name of the Populist Party. The oppression of the farmers by the railroads and the trusts, such as the Cotton Bagging Trust, the poor and exhausted condition of the farmer, loaded down with debt, the currency inadequate for the business of the country, the old parties under the control of the bosses to such an extent that any proposed legislation favoring the farmer was defeated in the legislature—these were the fundamental causes of the farmers' appearance in the politics of North Carolina as a distinct party. And all these problems, together with others which arose from time to time, played a great part in the history of that party's career.

III. ORGANIZATION AND HISTORY UNTIL 1896

Late in 1891 the *Progressive Farmer*, state organ for the Farmers' Alliance, began to come out openly with the fact that the Alliance had decided to enter politics. It said that the farmers had kept out of politics too long; that they had too long trusted their legislative interests to the care of those not in sympathy with them.

As the election year of 1892 approached both parties looked with doubt at the probable course the Farmers' Alliance would pursue and its effect upon the state elections. But the Democratic Party soon began to show more signs of worry than did the Republican. The Democratic press was violent in its opposition to the entrance of the farmer into politics and, as was said later, it set out to "make Populism odious in North Carolina." The Republican press, on the other hand, was mild, and seemed to foresee a probable fusion of the two parties. In regard to the Democratic press, the *Progressive Farmer* for March 1, 1892, says: "It is well known that two years ago the Alliance together with its friends was the Democratic Party in North Carolina; yet now there is not one Democratic paper in the state which champions the cause of the farmer." Although men originally from both parties made up the Farmers' Alliance, it was evident from the first that there were more former Democrats in its ranks than former Republicans, and it was easily detected that for the past year or two the Demo-

cratic Party had suffered more criticism at the hands of the Alliancemen than had the Republicans. Besides, out in the West where the Democrats were in the minority, the Populist Party had united with them and defeated the Republicans in several states, notably Kansas, Nebraska, and South Dakota. The Democrats in North Carolina feared the farmers would profit by the example of their fellow members in the West and unite with the minority party of the state, the Republican Party, in order to obtain representation themselves. The *Wilmington Morning Star* of April 3, 1892, looked with dread at the fusion of the Populists and the Republicans, and referred to a meeting of the Alliancemen in Chatham County as a meeting of the "Party of False Pretenses."

Soon after his return from St. Louis, where a platform had been adopted by the National Farmers' Alliance, Marion Butler, President of the North Carolina Farmers' State Alliance, issued a call for delegates to a state conference to be held at Raleigh, May 18, 1892, the meeting day, also, of the Democratic State Convention. The meeting was attended by delegates from seventy counties.²⁴ The Democratic Convention, hoping in some way to prevent the disruption of the party, tried to conciliate the Alliancemen by nominating Elias Carr, former President of the State Alliance, for Governor, and by including in its platform planks advocating the free-coinage of silver and a graduated income tax. However, the Alliancemen were not satisfied. They felt that they had trusted their interests to the Democratic Party too long and they were anxious to try their wings. They determined to steer clear of both old parties and to put out a separate ticket in the approaching election. Both old parties, they believed, were controlled by "gold-bugs." The *Progressive Farmer* for May 31, 1892, said: "Cling to Wall Street, old party leaders, if you will, but the people will walk off and leave you."

The State Convention of the Peoples' Party was held in Raleigh August 16, 1892. "It was about equally composed of Republican whites and negroes and disappointed Democrats," said the *Wilmington Star* for August 16, which paper, however, seemed to bear such grudge against the party that we can

²⁴ *Raleigh News and Observer*, May 19, 1892.

hardly accept its statement as correct. The convention was attended by 495 delegates, representing seventy-two different counties.²⁵

Marion Butler, of Sampson County, was made temporary and permanent chairman. Harry Skinner, of Pitt County, was placed in nomination for Governor, but he asked the privilege of withdrawing from the race if during the campaign it appeared that the Republican candidate for Governor would carry the state. Much opposition arose at once to this request and he withdrew his name. Then Wyatt P. Exum and J. H. Mewborne were presented to the convention; Exum was nominated. The remainder of the ticket was as follows: Lieutenant Governor, R. A. Cobb; Secretary of State, L. N. Durham; Treasurer, W. H. Worth, Auditor, T. B. Long (later succeeded by E. G. Butler); Attorney-General, R. H. Lyon; Superintendent of Public Education, J. W. Woody.²⁶

The platform adopted favored strict economy in the administration of the State Government, fullest development of educational institutions, and the encouragement of great agricultural, mechanical, and manufacturing industries. The convention also adopted the following declarations:²⁷ "We demand of our General Assembly at its next session to pass a bill reducing the legal rate of interest to six per cent. We demand of the General Assembly of North Carolina to force, as far as is in its power, all railroad property and interests that are now escaping taxation, in whole or in part, to pay its full and equal share of taxes for the support of the Government of North Carolina, as the property of the farmers, laborers, and other citizens are now taxed." The platform also favored the sustaining of the railroad commission bill passed in 1891. A resolution was passed favoring a ten-hour day system in mines, factories and public works.

The Populist Party went into the campaign in earnest. Public speakings were conducted throughout the state to arouse the farmers. Joint debates with the Democrats were held occasionally and a goodly array of newspapers began to

²⁵ *Progressive Farmer*, Aug. 23, 1892.

²⁶ Appleton's *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1892, p. 527.

²⁷ *Progressive Farmer*, Aug. 23, 1892.

champion the cause of the People's Party and Farmers' Alliance. The following papers may be mentioned as belonging to the North Carolina Reform Press Association, which pledged itself to advocate the principles of the Ocala platform:^{27a} *The Progressive Farmer*, state organ, Raleigh; *The Caucasian*, Clinton; *The Workingman's Helper*, Pinnacle; *The Watchman*, Salisbury; *Farmer's Advocate*, Tarboro; *Country Life*, Trinity College; *Mercury*, Hickory; *Rattler*, Whitakers; *Agricultural Bee*, Goldsboro; *Alliance Echo*, Moncure; *Special Informer*, Raleigh; *Carolina Dispatch*, Hertford.

In the election the Populists made a very creditable showing. The Democratic vote for President was 132,951, the Republican vote was 100,746, and the Populist vote was 44,723. Exum received a vote of 47,840; Carr, Democrat, received 135,519 votes; and Furches, Republican, received 94,684 votes. In the State Senate were forty-seven Democrats and three Populists. In the lower House were ninety-three Democrats, sixteen Republicans, and eleven Populists. The counties which polled the largest Populist vote were: Chatham, 2,240; Nash, 1,348; and Sampson, 1,585. In the mountain counties the movement seems to have gained very little ground. The following counties polled very few Populist votes: Alleghany, Buncombe, Cherokee, Graham, McDowell, Mitchell, Transylvania, Madison, Polk, and Surry.²⁸

With just a small representation in the legislature of 1893 the Populist Party was unable to get through any legislation for the interest of its members. However, its influence on the other two parties can easily be detected in the policy towards the railroads. The Populists were sorely discontented on account of the provisions of the charters of several railroads which made them free, or partially free, from taxation. A gradual surrender of charters began to take place. The Raleigh and Gaston Railroad was induced to surrender its chartered right to exemption from taxation. Later the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad surrendered its claim to exemption from taxation and from regulation of its tariff rates by the railroad commission. Last of all, the only remaining exempted road,

^{27a} *Ibid*, Aug. 30, 1892.

²⁸ Connor, *North Carolina Manual*, 1913.

the North Carolina Railroad, through the efforts of the Governor, surrendered its rights and in 1894 became subject to taxation.²⁹

Between the election of 1892 and the year 1894 the Populist Party gradually gained ground and added new members to its ranks. The repeal by Congress of the Silver-Purchase Act and the severe panic of 1893 added more causes for discontent. The tariff, also, had been tampered with by the Democratic Party, thus giving the Populists more cause for complaint.

One event in the state also had given new impetus to the Populist Party and made it more determined to win out in the election of 1894. That was the action of the legislature in 1893 in amending the charter of the State Alliance so as to annul it when the least excuse for such action might arise.³⁰ The amendment in fact was aimed at the very life of the Alliance, and was so worked out as to make the organization cumbersome and powerless. It prevented any increase in the salaries of the Alliance officers and the penalty for any violation of this act was the forfeiture of its charter. It prevented any member of the Alliance from calling upon any representatives of the legislature to urge them to pass or not to pass certain laws. Other insignificant things were prohibited, upon violation of which the charter was to be forfeited. Marion Butler, in his speech at the Alliance State Convention held at Greensboro about the middle of August, defended the entrance of the Alliance into politics and appealed to its members to elect fair men to the next legislature, men who would not only repeal the law amending the state charter of the Alliance, but who would "repeal the force bill election law on our statute books, which makes it possible for a corrupt machine in a party to defeat the will of the majority, even of that party, much less the majority of the people."^{30a} In other words, the Populists were convinced, whether justly so or not, that in the election of 1892 they had been "stolen out," and in the coming election they resolved to summon all their strength in order to gain control of the legislature and enact some badly needed reform laws.

²⁹ Annual Cyclopedica, 1893, p. 533.

³⁰ *Progressive Farmer*, Aug. 22, 1893.

^{30a} *Ibid.*

In the election of 1894, therefore, the Populist Party again made preparations to put candidates into the field. The *News and Observer* for July 31, 1894, stated that a conference was held in Raleigh on the day before between Republican and Populist leaders regarding the ticket to be nominated and the platform to be adopted by the Populists. The Republicans, it stated, were then to ratify the Populist nominations at their convention, which was to meet on August 3. The Populist Party held its convention in Raleigh, July 31. A Chief Justice, three Associate Justices, six judges of the Superior Court, and a State Treasurer were to be nominated. For Treasurer, W. H. Worth, Populist, was nominated; for Chief Justice, W. T. Faircloth, Republican, was nominated. Walter Clark, Democrat; D. M. Furches, Republican; H. G. Connor, Democrat (later succeeded by W. A. Montgomery, Populist), were nominated for Associate Justices. These nominations by the Populists were in accordance with the resolutions which they had passed declaring that the Party held it as a principle that the office of a Judge should be filled irrespective of party affiliations.³¹

The platform³² declared in favor of free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, denounced the Democratic and Republican parties for their action in regard to silver, denounced both the McKinley and the Wilson tariffs, favored a graduated tax on incomes, prohibition of the practice of dealing in futures, favored restricted immigration, and the election of United States Senators by popular vote. "We demand the abolition of National Banks and the substitution of legal tender Treasury notes to supplement the use of gold and silver money, issued in sufficient volume to do the business of the country on a cash system." "We denounce both the Republican and Democratic parties for contracting the currency of the country while population and business increases, and also for the further crime of issuing interest-bearing bonds in time of peace."

The platform urged the use of the ballot as the remedy for bettering labor conditions and it also opposed strikes. It said:

³¹ Annual Cyclopedica, 1892, p. 552.

³² *Progressive Farmer*, Aug. 7, 1894.

"the present administration, the present Senate and Congress, seem to be composed largely of men who are outstripping their predecessors. Some of them are old-timers, and their new associates have caught the infection. The money power, whiskey, sugar, and other monopolies, are represented in the cabinet and in both houses of Congress. At present we have a Government of, for, and by trusts and monopolies. In striking contrast to the above we point with pride to the clean record made by our little band of People's Party Senators and Congressmen, always at the post of their duty, never arrested to make a quorum, unselfish, fearless, incorruptible, like true Spartans, they have stood by their pledges to a man."

Concerning the affairs of the state, the platform favored four months schools as a minimum for both the white and colored races. It condemned the Democratic party for its failure to carry out the anti-trust laws which were on the statute books, and for failure to prosecute officers of broken banks. It favored establishing a reformatory school for young criminals. It condemned the General Assembly for its extravagance and accused the Democratic Party with fraud in the election of 1892, "by which thousands of citizens who had voted for years under the same registration were deprived of their suffrage, by which, ballots of the People's Party, after being delivered to the poll holders to be properly deposited, were destroyed in 'bull-pens' and other dark hole voting places, and Democratic ballots substituted."

The candidates nominated by the Populist Party were endorsed by the Republican Party at its convention. The two parties having some interest in common, as for example the desire for new election laws, considered a policy of fusion as beneficial to them both. Neither could hope to win alone; but by fusion both might get into power. Throughout the counties of the state the Republicans and Populists fused.

The result³³ of the election shows the growth of the Party during the period from 1892 to 1894. The Populist vote in this election was 70,000, an increase of 22,160 votes over the vote in 1892. The number of Populists elected to the legislature gives us a fair estimate of the Party's strength. In the

³³ Annual Cyclopaedia, 1894, p. 553.

Senate there were nine Democrats, fifteen Republicans, and twenty-six Populists. In the lower House were forty-six Democrats, thirty-six Republicans, and thirty-three Populists. The vote for Chief Justice Faircloth, the fusion candidate, was 148,344 against 127,593 for Shepherd, Democratic candidate. The following 31 counties were either carried by the Populists separately or by a fusion of the Populists and Republicans: Pamlico, Iredell, Sampson, Warren, Rockingham, Surry, Pitt, Chatham, Randolph, Alexander, Richmond, Catawba, Forsyth, Davidson, Lincoln, Mitchell, Henderson, Wake, Ashe, Wilkes, Cabarrus, Buncombe, Duplin, Caswell (all the ticket except sheriff), Alamance, Montgomery, Pasquotank, Columbus, Tyrrell, Carteret, and Stokes.³⁴

With the fusion parties controlling a majority in both houses of the Legislature and the Populists separately having a majority in the Senate, new legislation was begun when the General Assembly met in 1895. After the organization of the two houses, the election of United States Senators came up. One Senator was to be elected to fill out the term of Senator Vance who had lately died, and another was to be elected for a full term. J. C. Pritchard, Republican, was elected to fill out the unexpired term, and Marion Butler, a leader of the Populists, was elected for the full term by a vote of 117 to 45.

Both parties, the Republican and Populist, having incorporated in their platforms in the past campaigns demands for new election laws, it was very natural that one of the first bills passed was the bill revising, amending, and consolidating the election laws of the state.³⁵ The law aimed at regulating elections in such minute details that corruption at the polls would be done away with. It provided for the appointment of the registrars of elections by the Clerk of the Superior Court upon recommendation of the chairman of each political party in the county. Each party was to have one registrar at each precinct. The judges of election were appointed in the same way. The registration books were to be revised in such a manner that they showed an accurate list of electors previously registered in each precinct and were to be open to the inspection of elec-

³⁴ *Progressive Farmer*, Nov. 13, 1894.

³⁵ Public Laws of North Carolina, 1895, Chap. 159.

tors on a day preceding election. One means adopted to prevent fraud and vote buying and selling at the polls was the section of the law which made it a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine not exceeding \$500, to receive any money, gift, loan or inducement of any kind, for voting or refraining from voting for any particular person at any election. Another one of the principal features of the bill was that which gave the judges of the higher courts a supervisory power over election officers and gave summary remedies to compel the execution of the laws.

The next subject acted upon by the legislature was local self-government. The whole system was changed by a bill passed by this legislature.³⁶ Prior to this time the county commissioners were elected by the magistrates of the county. The magistrates, on the other hand, were appointed by the legislature. This method afforded ample opportunity for the control of the county government by one political party. The new law provided for the election of three county commissioners by popular vote. Two additional commissioners, of a different political party from the first three elected, were to be appointed by the judge of the district, if five electors of the county would make affidavit that they believed the affairs of the county would be mismanaged if left in the hands of the three elected commissioners, and if 200 voters, half of whom were free holders, would sign a petition to that effect. This law marks a great step forward in local self-government.

The desire of the farmers for a reduction in the legal rate of interest was satisfied by the passage of a bill fixing the legal rate of interest at six per cent.³⁷ Any violation of this act would mean the forfeiture of the entire interest charged, and in case a higher rate had already been paid, the person suffering such charge for interest could recover twice the amount of interest already paid.

The subject of education and public schools was also taken up by this legislature.³⁸ The Populists had been from the first in favor of good schools. Before the Farmers' Alliance became a political party, it had favored better and higher educa-

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 1895, Chap. 135.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 1895, p. 75.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, Chap. 439.

tion. At the annual session of the State Alliance in 1890 resolutions were passed favoring the increase of the public school tax then in existence by at least twenty-five per cent and favoring ample appropriation by the state for the education of females. The platform of the People's Party in 1892 and in 1894 had favored better educational advantages. In order to satisfy these desires for better education, the public school fund was increased from sixteen to eighteen cents on the \$100 worth of property. However, in attempting to remedy the school system a backward step was taken by the legislature. The county boards of education were abolished and their powers devolved upon the county commissioners. The office of the county superintendent was also abolished and his duties fell partly upon the clerk of the board of county commissioners, partly upon the chairman of the county board of commissioners, and partly upon the county examiner, whose office was provided for in this act and whose duties were to examine teachers for the public schools. The aim of the law seems to have been to concentrate in the hands of the county commissioners, elected by the people, the final power in regard to the county schools; and to further provide for this centralization of power, the choice of school books for the county schools was put into the hands of the county commissioners. The Populists must have had good intentions in regard to this law, but their knowledge of school administration was limited. They lacked at this time sufficiently intelligent leaders who were able to draw up a really efficient public school law.

An increase in appropriations for public institutions was made over the preceding legislature: for Insane Asylums an increase of \$29,529.41; for Deaf, Blind, and Orphan institutions an increase of \$34,850; for educational establishments an increase of \$10,500; for the penitentiary an increase of \$49,158.71; for the soldiers' home \$2,000; for the Normal and Industrial School \$4000.³⁹

A new revenue act was passed increasing the state levy four cents on the \$100 worth of property, thus making the total ad valorem tax forty-three cents on the \$100 worth of property. All exemptions of corporations from taxation were repealed,

³⁹ Annual Cyclopaedia, 1895, p. 556.

and investments by railroads or other corporations in stocks, bonds, etc., were made taxable upon the amount of the value of such investments. License taxes were imposed upon hotels, boarding houses, etc., and the sum of \$10 was levied on every practicing lawyer, dentist, and physician. Such was the work of the legislature of 1895.

PARTY HISTORY FROM 1896 THROUGH 1898

The year 1896 was the year for a presidential election. The money question was the chief issue and the Democratic Party under the leadership of William Jennings Bryan came out strongly for the free-coinage of silver. The Republicans advocated sound money and came out under a gold standard, with William McKinley as their nominee. The Populist Party, since its entrance into politics, had stood firmly for free silver. It had always advocated plenty of money, with \$50 per capita as a basis. Thus in the national campaign of 1896 the Populists endorsed Bryan for President, but nominated Thomas E. Watson, a Populist, for Vice-President. It would have been natural, therefore, for the Populist Party in North Carolina to fuse with the Democratic Party. This course, in fact, was the first one attempted by the Populist leaders. On July 3, 1896, the Populist Executive Committee met in Raleigh. Its members were Marion Butler, W. A. Guthrie, A. S. Peace, W. H. Kitchin, and Congressman Harry Skinner.⁴⁰ This committee passed a resolution inviting the advocates of the free-coinage of silver who were then electing delegates to the National Silver Convention to confer with the People's Party at its state convention to be held in Raleigh, August 13.

The Democrats and Populists entered into negotiations for fusion between the two on August 11.⁴¹ Senator Butler, as chairman of the Populist State Executive Committee, submitted to the Democratic State Executive Committee a proposition for fusion between the two parties.⁴² It provided that the Democrats were to have six and the Populists five votes in the electoral college. As regards the state officers the Populists

⁴⁰ *Wilmington Morning Star*, July 4, 1896.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Aug. 12, 1896.

⁴² Cyrus Thompson's Speech, 1892, p. 2.

were to have the offices of Governor, Treasurer, and Superintendent of Public Instruction, and the Democrats were to have the offices of Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State, Auditor, Attorney-General, and United States Senator. If this division was not satisfactory to the Democrats, the proposition provided that they could take the offices of Governor, Attorney-General, and Superintendent of Public Instruction, while the Populists would take the offices of Lieutenant Governor, Treasurer, Secretary of State, Auditor, and United States Senator. In a division of Congressional districts, the Populists were to have the first, fourth, sixth, and seventh, while the Democrats were to have the second, fifth, eighth, and ninth, the third district being left open for a free fight. Each party was to nominate one Supreme Court Judge. As to county offices "the two executive committees were to use their good offices to secure a fair and honorable division of county and legislative candidates between the two parties in an equitable ratio similar to the above division of State and Congressional offices."^{42a} The proposition failed except in regard to the division of electoral votes. The Populists held the refusal of the Democrats to consent to fusion as an evidence of insincerity. They contended that, owing to the similarity of the platforms of the two parties, fusion by all means should have been accomplished. The Democrats claimed that the Populist demands were unreasonable; that by such a scheme as proposed the Democrats would have everything to lose and nothing to gain; that the aim of the Populist leaders, especially Marion Butler, was to make their demands so unreasonable that no other course was left to the Democrats except to refuse, and, thereupon, the Populists would have an excuse for denouncing them as insincere.

Prior to the meeting of the State Convention of the Populist Party, the Farmers' State Alliance met in Raleigh on August 11th and 12th. It elected as its President Dr. Cyrus Thompson, who in his speech denounced as a disgrace the lease of the North Carolina Railroad and denounced the Democrats in both state and nation. Marion Butler, in a short speech to the members, said in part: "I think we have met to prescribe the funeral of the party bug; we have liberated the people of

^{42a} Pamphlet issued by People's Party, State Central Committee, 1898, p. 9.

America and they are freer today than they have been in a quarter of a century."⁴³

The convention of the Populist Party was held in Raleigh on August 13.⁴⁴ The attendance was large, every county in the state being represented except Chowan. From the first there was a constant fight between Butler's faction against the middle-of-the-road men like Harry Skinner and S. Otho Wilson, who opposed a fusion with the Republicans. Skinner was made permanent chairman. In the nomination for the office of Governor the names of W. A. Guthrie and Cyrus Thompson were presented. Guthrie was selected. For Lieutenant Governor O. H. Dockery, the defeated candidate for the Republican nomination for Governor, was chosen. The middle-of-the-road Populists showed their great displeasure at Butler for trying to nominate Republicans on the Populist ticket, and a clash followed when he presented for nomination the name of Zebulon Vance Walser, a dyed-in-the-wool Republican, for Attorney-General. Not being able to settle their difficulties the two factions left it with the State Executive Committee to nominate one Associate Justice and the Attorney-General.⁴⁵ The remainder of the ticket nominated was as follows: For Secretary of State, Cyrus Thompson; for Treasurer, W. H. Worth; for Auditor, H. W. Ayer; for Superintendent of Public Instruction, C. H. Mebane. The final decision of the State Committee was the nomination of Walser for Attorney-General and W. A. Montgomery for Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. The platform⁴⁶ of the party as adopted supported the election laws and the laws restoring to the people the right of local self-government passed by the last Assembly. Concerning the currency issue the following pronouncement was made: "We favor the exercise of the State of North Carolina of the reserved constitutional power to make all gold and silver coins of the United States (including the trade dollar) legal tender for the payment of debts and that this right be enforced by the passage of appropriate legislation of the General Assembly." The passage of a law was favored to prohibit the giving or

⁴³ *Wilmington Morning Star*, Aug. 13, 1896.

⁴⁴ *Raleigh News and Observer*, Aug. 14, 1896.

⁴⁵ *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1896, p. 536.

⁴⁶ *Progressive Farmer*, Aug. 18, 1896.

taking of gold notes, bonds, and mortgages in this state and the making of all money demands payable in any kind of lawful money of the United States. A revision and improvement of the school law was also favored as well as the establishment of a reformatory for young criminals. The platform condemned the Democratic Party for its failure to execute the anti-trust laws of the state then on the statute books and favored the establishment of such low freight rates as would allow shippers in North Carolina to realize at least a fair remuneration after the cost of such shipments had been deducted. It recommended a constitutional prohibition of the purchase, lease, or rental of parallel or competing railroad lines in North Carolina and favored a law forbidding the giving of free passes to public officials. The lease of the North Carolina Railroad to the Southern Railroad for a term of 99 years was characterized not only as a bad business proposition, but as a fraudulent transaction.

On such a platform and in a state of fusion with the Democrats as to National Presidential electors and with the Republicans as to the state ticket, the Populist Party faced the people in the campaign of 1896. Also in most of the counties and congressional districts the Republicans and Populists fused. The result of the elections was as follows:⁴⁷ 174,488 as the highest vote for Democratic-Populist electors against 155,122 for the highest of the Republican electors; Russell, Republican candidate for Governor received a vote of 154,052; Watson, Democratic candidate for Governor, 145,416; and Guthrie, Populist candidate for Governor, 30,932. Four Populists were chosen to Congress. In the legislature there were in the Senate seventeen Republicans, nine Democrats, and twenty-four Populists; in the Lower House there were forty-nine Republicans, thirty-six Democrats, and thirty-four Populists. The Populist candidate for Governor probably secured a large part of the negro vote, due to the fact that Russell had spoken of all negroes as savages who "steal six days in the week and go to church on Sunday to play it off."⁴⁸ The whole fusion ticket was elected. In a majority of the counties of the state the Fusion ticket carried the election. The following gave the

⁴⁷ Annual Cyclopaedia, 1896, p. 537.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 536.

Fusion candidates a majority: Alamance, Anson, Ashe, Beaufort, Bertie, Bladen, Brunswick, Buncombe, Cabarrus, Camden, Caswell, Catawba, Chatham, Cherokee, Chowan, Columbus, Craven, Cumberland, Dare, Davidson, Davie, Duplin, Durham, Edgecombe, Forsyth, Franklin, Gates, Granville, Green, Guilford, Halifax, Harnett, Henderson, Hertford, Hyde, Jackson, Jones, Lenoir, Lincoln, Madison, Martin, Mitchell, Montgomery, Moore, Nash, New Hanover, Northampton, Orange, Pamlico, Pasquotank, Pender, Perquimans, Pitt, Polk, Randolph, Richmond, Robeson, Rockingham, Rutherford, Sampson, Stokes, Surry, Transylvania, Tyrrell, Union, Vance, Wake, Warren, Washington, Watauga, Wayne, Wilkes, Wilson, and Yadkin.⁴⁹ It must be understood that the above counties did not all give majorities for the fusion candidates for county offices. In fact in all the counties mentioned the Republicans and Populists did not fuse in regard to county offices. The above counties are those which gave the strictly fusion candidates for state offices a majority.

The Republicans and Populists, together, again had a majority in the legislature during the session of 1897. One of the first duties of the legislature was to elect a United States Senator to succeed J. C. Pritchard, whose term was about to expire. Since his election Senator Pritchard had won the opposition of the Populist Party. The cause of this opposition was that in 1895 he was elected as a free-silver man, but in the campaign of 1896 he had changed his views from the free coinage of silver in this country alone to international bi-metalism. The Republicans, however, together with nineteen Populists, who bolted their caucus, succeeded in re-electing Pritchard over the Populist candidate, Cyrus Thompson.

The local self-government law as passed in 1895 was changed by repealing the section which provided that two additional county commissioners, besides the three elected by the people, might be appointed by the judge of the district.⁵⁰

The election law of 1895 was also amended by this legislature. The amendment provided that a county board consisting of the clerk of the Superior Court, Register of Deeds, and

⁴⁹ Pub. Documents of N. C. 1897, Doc. 34.

⁵⁰ Pub. Laws of N. C. 1897, Chap. 368.

Chairman of the Board of County Commissioners should appoint the registrars of election, one citizen from each political party to be appointed.⁵¹ The conscientiousness of the farmer in law making appears in such laws as those prohibiting the sale of liquor near churches and preventing minors from entering barrooms, billiard rooms, and bowling alleys.⁵² The interest of the farmer was provided for in a small degree by a law making land grants valid, even when not registered, in newly created counties,⁵³ and by a law prohibiting the use of fillers in commercial fertilizers.⁵⁴

The Populists desiring to bring to the people better and higher education continued the legislation in regard to schools which they had begun in 1895. The school law of 1895 was revised and provision was made for the state examination of teachers by a State Board of Examiners consisting of three professional teachers appointed by the State Board of Education. Provision was also made requiring the county boards of education to divide the counties into as many school districts as townships in the counties, with as many school houses in the districts as were necessary. Each school was to have the same length of term—four months—this to be accomplished by uniting weak districts. The office of county examiner was abolished and the office of county supervisor was established. The duties of the supervisor were similar to those of our present day county superintendent. The election of the school committees was placed in the hands of the county boards of education, each school committee to be composed of five men, no more than three of whom could come from one political party.⁵⁵

A new revenue law was passed which made a failure to pay poll, property, privilege or license taxes a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine of not more than \$500, or by imprisonment for not more than six months. The law at first placed the total ad valorem tax at forty-six cents on the \$100 worth of property, and the poll tax at \$1.29, but the Constitution would not permit the state tax to exceed one-third the amount of the poll tax; therefore, the levy of 1895, which was forty-three cents,

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Chap. 185.

⁵² *Ibid.*, Chap. 287.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, Chap. 37.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Chap. 286.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Chap. 108.

was re-instated.⁵⁶ Here again we see the desire of the Populists to give to the people better education, but their attempt was handicapped again by the lack of a leader who had sufficient knowledge of the law to be able to frame a strictly legal bill, which would provide a sufficiently increased revenue for the improvement of the public educational system.

The subject of railroads was one of the most important handled by the legislature of 1897. Laws were passed in regard to these public carriers as follows: a law repealing the fellow-servant rule;⁵⁷ a law requiring railroad companies to redeem unused mileage;⁵⁸ a law amending the charter of the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad and subjecting it to state control;⁵⁹ a law increasing the power of the railroad commission provided for in 1891 by a Democratic legislature. Another matter which was considered by the legislature was the cause of an enormous amount of agitation and debate. In 1895 the North Carolina Railroad had been leased to the Southern Railroad Company for a term of 99 years. A quotation from Daniel L. Russell's inaugural address⁶⁰ will show the view taken by the Populists and many of the Republicans. Referring to the lease Governor Russell said: "It was made at a time when nobody expected it. It was made within a few months after the adjournment of our General Assembly. It was made without application to the legislature. It was made without due discussion or submission to the people of the state, all of whom were interested, because the railroad is their property. It was made six years before the existing lease expired. It was made substantially by one man, and that man was the Governor of the state. . . . It was made so far as the people know, or believe, without inviting competition among bidders." The interest of the state amounting to the sum of \$3,000,000 invested in good paying property was sacrificed, said the opponents of the lease. The Democrats defended the lease as a good business transaction, done with full authority. Governor Carr said in his message to the General Assembly in 1897: "I favored the lease of this property and it was done

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Chap. 168.

⁵⁷ Private Laws of N. C. 1897, p. 83.

⁵⁸ Public Laws, 1897, Chap. 418.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, Chap. 122.

⁶⁰ Pub. Docs. N. C. 1897, Doc. No. A. p. 7.

by the Board of Directors with my full concurrence and endorsed by the stockholders without a dissenting vote. I believe and still believe it is the best thing that could have been done by the state, and the future will determine the wisdom of the transaction. . . . I heartily join its opponents in inviting a full investigation of these and all other matters connected with our management of the interest of the state in this company, and I insist that such investigation be made by this legislature. . . . After a full, careful, and deliberate consideration of the terms and conditions of the lease, they (directors) acted as the trustees of the state's interests and with the same prudence, care, and judgment as they used in the management of their own affairs."⁶¹

A commission was appointed by the Legislature to investigate the charge of fraud in the lease. Ex-Governor Carr, President Hoffman of the Seaboard Air Line, and Vice-President Andrews of the Southern Railway, were summoned and examined. At one time the Senate voted 26 to 24 to reduce the term of the lease from 99 to 36 years; but the House failed to favor such action and the lease stood.

The *North Carolina Christian Advocate* said of the legislature of 1897: "Three distinct parties were represented. Two of these, the Republican and the Populist, were so divided that they really made four parties. The responsibility of the legislation just enacted must rest upon the Republican and Populist Parties. . . . It (the legislature) was a mixture of age and youth, ability and weakness, wisdom and foolishness, honor and dishonor. . . . Legislation, therefore, of a widely satisfactory nature could hardly be expected under the circumstances."

The year 1897 was not without party interest, though it was not a year for a political contest. The State Executive Committee of the People's Party issued an address in August, part of which ran as follows:⁶² "We have secured to the citizens the right to cast one vote at public elections and to have that vote counted as cast. We have taken the public schools out of the hands of partisan politicians and restored

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Doc. 1, p. 9.

⁶² *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1897, p. 572.

them to the people. We have given the right of local self-government to each county in the state. We have removed the judiciary of the state to a safe distance from the arena of partisan politics. For a more effective and equitable control and reduction of the encroachments of railroad corporations, we suggest that the railroad commissioners should be selected by a direct vote of the people."

The year 1898 was another election year and an eventful one. The People's Party State Convention met in Raleigh May 17, 1898. It adopted certain resolutions showing its willingness to coöperate with any political party believing in and advocating Populist principles, without asking such party to abandon its organization. The following resolutions were passed:⁶³ First, a resolution endorsing the opening address of the National Chairman of the People's Party urging "an honorable and harmonious coöperation of all who oppose the dominion of gold and monopoly, and who favor the overthrow of the National Bank and railroad influence in controlling legislation." Second, inviting the coöperation of any party favoring the above principle and willing to coöperate in securing the following results; viz.:

"1. To elect nine free silver and anti-monopoly Congressmen.

"2. To elect six judges of ability and high character and free from partisan bias.

"3. To elect twelve solicitors fearless and impartial."

4. To elect an anti-monopoly legislature, pledged to the following: A. A legislature that would enact laws stopping the giving and taking of gold notes and mortgages. B. A legislature which would pass sufficient laws to prevent the removal to Federal Courts of all cases which should be tried in the State Courts of North Carolina. C. A legislature opposed to the 99 year lease of the North Carolina Railroad, and which would use all lawful means to repeal it. D. A legislature which would prohibit the receiving of free passes as well as the giving of them. E. A legislature in favor of the free ballot and fair count and one which would enact laws insuring these.

⁶³ People's Party Pamphlet, 1898, p. 10.

F. A legislature in favor of local self-government and one that would enact laws guaranteeing to counties the right to elect local officers. G. A legislature in favor of a reduction of freight, passenger, and express rates and "that will endorse the action of Commissioner Pearson in taking a stand for such reduction and which will favor upholding the Railroad Commission Law, making the same effective according to all its intents and purposes and which will enact legislation providing for the election of the railroad commissioners by the people."

A conference committee was named by the Populist Convention to confer with any party which would advocate these resolutions. On May 26, one week after the Populist Convention met, the Democratic Convention met in Raleigh. On May 25 the People's Party State Central Committee sent a communication to the Chairman of the Democratic State Executive Committee proposing a fusion between the two parties, provided the Democratic Convention sanctioned the resolutions quoted above. The proposition, however, was immediately declined by the Democratic State Executive Committee. As a matter of fact, the Democrats seemed to perceive the gradual return to the party of its former members who had been Populists and saw no good to be derived by fusion with the party, they said, which had made negro rule possible. The Populists again denounced the Democrats as insincere, corrupt, and controlled still by "gold-bugs."

Thus turned down by the party with whom they logically would have fused, the Populist leaders fell back on their policy of 1894 and 1896. As will be remembered the Populist and Republican Parties had fused in those years and as a result had succeeded in electing a majority of their candidates. Both parties had reaped immediate benefits by the policy of fusion and in the year 1898 the Populists, fearing to face the campaign with a separate, independent ticket, as they had done in 1892, fused again with the Republicans.⁶⁴ A vigorous campaign was conducted by both sides. The Democrats invited the Populists back into their ranks and assured them that the party had been washed, purged, and made "white as snow." Moreover, the

⁶⁴ Cyrus Thompson's Speech, 1898, p. 23.

Democratic platform that year showed a striking similarity to the People's Party platform, and both parties included in their platforms planks favoring the following measures: Fair and just election laws; improvement of the public school system; a law preventing the receiving of free passes from the railroads; extension of the power of the railroad commission; income tax, and the free coinage of silver. What, argued the Democrats, was the use of remaining in the Populist Party when the time-honored Democratic Party advocated the same measures as the Populists? The Populist leaders sought to convince the voters of the state that the Democratic Party was not changed; that it was still controlled by "gold-bugs," such as "A. B. Andrews, vice-president of the Southern Railway, the manager of the politics of the Democratic Party in North Carolina . . . who voted for William McKinley to be President of these United States."⁶⁵ They pointed out that even though the Democratic platform contained much that was in the Populist platform, the Democratic leaders had taken care to be silent on four important issues, namely, local self-government, a law adopted by the Populists prohibiting the taking or giving of gold notes, bonds, and mortgages in this state, and making "all the money demands payable in any kind of lawful money of the United States," the six per cent interest law, and the lease of the North Carolina Railroad.⁶⁶

The result of the election was a great victory for the Democrats. Only seven Fusionists were returned to the Senate as compared to forty-three in the election of 1896, and only twenty-six Fusionists to the lower House of the legislature as compared with the ninety members in the legislature of 1897.⁶⁷ The Democratic majority was 19,000.

For such a great and sudden loss of power, some reasons must be given. It is almost impossible to state specific things as causes and show just how those things brought about the decline of the Populist Party. The growth of negro influence in the politics and government of North Carolina must be considered in connection with the party's loss of power. Just how much this matter affected the cause of the Populists in the

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁶⁶ People's Party Pamphlet, 1898, p. 17.

⁶⁷ Annual Cyclopaedia, 1898, pp. 511-512.

state would be difficult to say. The law which was passed in 1895 providing for local self-government gave the negro his chance to rise to power. He demanded his share of the offices, and the result was that many eastern North Carolina counties, where the negroes were in the majority, became "negroized."⁶⁸ In such counties as Bertie, Craven, Edgecombe, Halifax, New Hanover, and Warren the local governments were controlled almost entirely by negroes.⁶⁹ In five counties of the state there were 143 negro magistrates, and altogether in the state there were 300 black magistrates. Negroes held offices all the way from township constable to Representative in the Congress of the United States.⁷⁰ One thousand negroes held some sort of office in the counties and towns of Eastern North Carolina.⁷¹ The western counties were not affected to any considerable extent by the negro in politics. A quotation from the resolutions drawn up at a meeting in Goldsboro, October 28, 1898,⁷² will show the effect of negro domination on the white people: "That as a consequence of turning these offices over to the negroes, bad government has followed, homes have been invaded, and the sanctity of woman endangered. Business has been paralyzed and property rendered less valuable. The majesty of the law has been disregarded and lawlessness encouraged. In many localities men no longer rely upon the officers of the law, for they are known to be incompetent or corrupt." The seriousness of the situation was shown by the fact that the *Wilmington Messenger* boldly announced about the middle of October that the Democrats intended to overthrow negro rule, either by peaceable methods or by force if necessary. Both races were heavily armed and in several places riots ensued, resulting in the deaths of several white men and many negroes.⁷³

Undoubtedly the part played by the negro in the affairs of politics and government during the Republican and Populist administration has been over emphasized. Partisan papers in

⁶⁸ Appleton, 1898, pp. 510-511 (Taken from *St. Louis Globe-Dispatch*, Oct. 23, 1898).

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 1898, p. 511. (Taken from resolutions drawn up at a meeting in Goldsboro, Oct. 28, 1897.)

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 1898, p. 510.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 511.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *Ibid.*

order to prejudice the people against these two parties made the negro question really more deplorable than it was. In eastern North Carolina, however, the negroes really were occupying a large share of the offices, much larger than since the days of reconstruction; but the negro had been in politics to some extent ever since the Civil War, and the Populists cannot be blamed with wilfully and deliberately pushing the negro into politics. However, since the Populist movement came mainly from that section of the state in which negro rule was most powerful and since the Populists and Republicans were in control of the affairs of the state at that time and had passed the local self-government law which had made it easier for the negroes to get local offices, many members of the Populist Party turned to the Democrats in 1898 and the party thereafter possessed comparatively no power.

Another influence which probably had some effect on the loss of power by the Populists was fusion with the Republicans. However, there is great difficulty in determining the exact influence that such a policy had on the career of the party. Before the organization of the party was accomplished, L. L. Polk, the able and conscientious leader of the farmer, died and the party was deprived of the service of probably its biggest man. Colonel Polk had never conceived of such a policy as fusion with any party; he had thought only of a separate ticket; but later Marion Butler became the leader of the Populists and by shrewd and skillful manipulation brought about fusion with the Republicans. However, many people questioned whether Butler was looking after the interest of the party or his own future. In 1896 opposition to fusion with the Republicans had been very noticeable, especially in the Populist State Convention. Many men who had bolted the older parties in order to join the Populist Party saw no good in fusion. There were many who "cared more for reforms than for old party comforts,"⁷⁴ and any fusion with one of the old parties necessarily made them discontented. Men who had formerly been Democrats hated to be united with their life-long opponents, the Republicans. Therefore, throughout its career, the Populist Party

⁷⁴ Review of Reviews, Vol. XIV, p. 301.

was composed of two distinct factions—the middle-of-the-road faction and the faction that advocated fusion.

However, fusion with the Republicans brought also great advantages to the Populists. It gave them part control in the government of the state by means of which they were able to accomplish some of their long desired reforms. Acting as a separate party they certainly could never have gained control of the state government. In a speech during the campaign of 1898⁷⁵ Cyrus Thompson said in regard to fusion with the Republicans: "If we go in the middle of the road, which might be the best course for us to pursue if we could pursue it and live as an organization, the canvass will be made against our candidates by the Democratic Party that 'you have no chance for election. Our candidates will be elected or the Republicans will be. You are simply not in it'." Speaking of coöperation with the Republicans in the past, he said: "The coöperation has been mutually advantageous, and the advantage so far as numbers were concerned has been largely on our side." However, it is a fact that coöperation with the Republicans drove a certain element from the Populist Party back to the Democrats and therefore helped to weaken the party.

The real, fundamental cause for the loss of power by the Populists was something besides what has been mentioned in the preceding paragraphs. The third party's loss of power was the logical outcome of a party founded on temporary discontent. Besides, as the party practically disappeared in national politics after 1896, so it necessarily had to disappear in the politics of the state, for it is impossible for a party to thrive without a national organization. The Populist Party could not have been permanent because it sprang up on account of certain grievances, and a desire for certain immediate measures to dispel those grievances. It was founded on no special principle, as for instance, Prohibition or Socialism. Its formation was caused by an avoidance of live issues by the old parties. As this paper has attempted to show, the party got into power in North Carolina and either passed laws to accomplish the reforms that its members had desired or learned that some of the numerous governmental ills were not so easily healed. Of

⁷⁵ Cyrus Thompson's Speech, p. 22.

course some demands made by the Populists were not granted, as the free coinage of silver, but the increase in the output of gold remedied the evils of the monetary system and thus dispelled that cause for complaint. In its fight for reform the Populist Party succeeded in opening the eyes of the older parties, as shown by the similarity of their platforms to that of the Populist platform in 1896 and 1898. The Democratic Party, as a matter of fact, was regenerated by its defeat in 1894 and 1896, as a party usually is when defeated after having been for many years in control of the Government. New blood, so long needed, was brought into the leadership of the party thereafter.

The work of the Populist Party cannot be estimated by the number of laws placed by its members upon the statute books of North Carolina. The important and lasting laws passed by the Populists with the aid of the Republicans were few in number. The laws providing for a revision in the election laws, local self-government, and a better system of public schools are the best outward testimonies of their work. The really great work of the party, both in state and nation, was the turning of the attention of the two major parties to vital local problems. Measure after measure adopted by the Populists has been included in some way in the platforms or legislation of one or the other of the great political parties.

⁷⁰ Private Correspondence with Mr. Butler.

⁷¹ Private Correspondence with Dr. Thompson.

⁷² Haynes, *Third Parties*, Iowa, p. 375.

NEWS, LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS CONCERNING
NORTH CAROLINA AND THE FEDERAL
CONSTITUTION

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A. THE CONVENTION ELECTION RIOT AT KINSTON, 1788¹

NEWBERN, April 16

Agreeable to the resolve of the General Assembly, the freemen of the county of Dobbs met at the Court House in Kinston, on the last Friday and Saturday in March, in order to elect persons to represent them in Convention at Hillsborough, on the third Monday in July next; accordingly Richard Caswell, James Glasgow, John Herritage, Bryan Whitefield and Ben Sheppard Esqrs. were candidates supposed to be in favor of the Federal Constitution; Jacob Johnston, Morris Westbrook; Isaac Groom, Abraham Baker, and Absalom Price, were supposed to be the opposers of the Federal Constitution;—The whole number of voters were three hundred and seventy-two; at sunset on Saturday the Poll was closed and the sheriff proceeded to call out the tickets; two hundred and eighty two tickets were called out, the hindmost in number on the Poll of the Antifederalists had one hundred and fifty-five votes, the foremost in number of the Federalists had only one hundred and twenty one, and the tickets coming out fast in favor of the Antifederalists, the other party seemed fully convinced they should lose their election and appeared to be much exasperated at the same, especially Col. *B. Sheppard*, who with sundry others cast out many aspersions and very degrading and abusive language to the other candidates, which was not returned by any of the candidates, or any person on their part with so much as one provoking word. At length Col. A. Sheppard went upon the bench where the sheriffs, inspectors, and clerks

¹ The following account of the celebrated riot which occurred at Kinston over the election for delegates to the Hillsborough convention, called to consider the ratification of the Federal Constitution, is taken from the *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal* of April 30, 1788, a copy of which is in the Library of Congress. It is copied from the *North Carolina Gazette*, which at that time was published at New Bern. Wm. K. Boyd.

were attending their business, and swore he would beat one of the inspectors who had been peaceably and diligently attending to his business, and having a number of clubs ready prepared, the persons holding the candles were suddenly knocked or pulled down and all the candles in the Court House were instantly put out; many blows with clubs were heard to pass (but it being dark they did the most damage to the Federalists). The Antifederal candidates being unapprized of such a violent assault, and expecting better treatment, from men who would wish to wear the character of gentlemen, were in no posture of defense, and finding their lives in danger, thought it most advisable to retire privately in the dark, but one of them (to wit) Isaac Groom was overtaken in the street, by a party of their men consisting of twelve or fifteen—with clubs, who fell on him and much abused him, in so much that he was driven to the necessity of mounting his horse and riding for his life; the sheriff also related that in the time of the riot on the Court House he received a blow by a club and that the ticket box was violently taken away. [North-Carolina Gazette].

B. A PERSONAL ENCOUNTER IN DOBBS COUNTY²

Wilmington (N. C.)

Particulars of an unfortunate circumstance which happened in this State.

Colonel B. Shepherd, a man of considerable property and great influence in Dobbs County, a few days past, made a visit to one of his neighbors, with whom he had lived in the greatest friendship and harmony. Late in the evening the new proposed constitution became the subject of conversation. Col. Shepherd, a declared federalist, gave his opinion with freedom, and declared his wish to see it adopted. His neighbor, an antifederalist, opposed it with much warmth, but finding all his objections readily answered by the Colonel became very warm and abusive. After receiving several gross insults, Col. Shepherd with his hand open, touched him on the cheek, and expressed himself in the following words: "Your language is too abusive

² From the *State Gazette of South Carolina*, July 28, 1788.

to be submitted to. Nothing but your age now protects you from that punishment which you should receive." The anti-federalist immediately ran out of the house, attended by some of his followers, who armed themselves with axes. The Colonel not knowing their design left the house to return home; it being dark, they waylaid him, and with an axe gave him a stroke on the head, which, from its violence, threw him upon the ground—the blow was immediately repeated on his breast. One of his friends who was in the house, hearing his voice, ran out when he found Col. Shepherd on the ground, almost void of speech, and insensible, the blood running from his nose, mouth and ears in considerable quantities. The alarm was immediately given to Col. Shepherd's neighboring friends, who collected to resent his injury. The antifederal party hearing them approach the house concealed themselves till they had near reached the door, when one of them fired a rifle and wounded Captain Stephanus Shepherd dangerously in the arm. The federalists being more numerous overpowered the other party, and with the rifle that had been fired broke the arm of the antifederalist who fired it, and wounded him seriously, in several other places. The wounded remained in this situation for many hours. At length a Dr. Leigh arrived; and by his attention has restored him to perfect health after amputating Captain Shepherd's arm. No reconciliation has yet taken place between the parties.

C. LETTERS OF TIMOTHY BLOODWORTH AND THOMAS
PERSON TO JOHN LAMB³

Timothy Bloodworth to General John Lamb⁴

North Carolina, July 1st, 1788.

Sir

The importance of the subject on which you address us needs no apology but confers an obligation on those patrons of

³ The originals of these two letters are in the John Lamb manuscripts of the New York Historical Society and they are published with the consent of the Society. General Lamb was secretary of the Society of Federal Republicans organized at New York for the purpose of defeating ratification of the Federal Constitution and forcing a second constitutional convention. Correspondence was undertaken with anti-federalist leaders in the states and the letters here printed are in response to a general letter from General Lamb. See Leak, *Memoir of the Life and Times of General Lamb*, Ch. XXIII.

⁴ Timothy Bloodworth (1736-1814) seems to have been chairman of a Federal Republican Club in North Carolina. He was a prominent politician of the lower

liberty whose attention to the public welfare merits our most candid acknowledgments.

It affords us infinite satisfaction to discover your sentiments on the proposed system of Government, as they perfectly coincide with our ideas on that subject.

Although additional powers to the federated system, meet our fullest approbation, yet we cannot consent to the adoption of a Constitution, whose revenues lead to aristocratic tyranny, or monarchical despotism, and opens a door wide as fancy can paint, for the introduction of dissipation, bribery and corruption to the exclusion of public virtue, whose luxuriant growth is only discoverable in the fertile soil of Republicanism, the only Asylum for the Genius of Liberty, and where alone she can dwell in safety.

We perfectly agree with you in the Idea of local considerations, and cheerfully inlist in the cause of general liberty and republican principles, and leave the uncertain event to the all-wise Governor of the Universe with the flattering hope of equal success with those memorable patriots who affected the late Revolution in despite of the iron hand of power to the astonishment of all Europe.

We acknowledge the obligation to our Country, Posterity and the rights of Mankind and will join our feeble efforts to effect the ends you propose, but we are apprehensive that Virginia will accede to the measure: by a late report we hear that a majority of thirty are in favor of the adoption: should this be the case, it will probably have a prevailing influence on our State, a decided majority of which, have hitherto appeared averse to the proposed Constitution. We shall not withstanding pursue the attempt with pure melting ardor as far as the contracted period and opportunity will admit.

Permit us to observe that, we deem it expedient that the necessary amendments should originate with you. One ob-

Cape Fear region. He was one of the leaders of the revolutionary agitation in New Hanover County, a member of the legislature continuously from 1778 to 1785, from 1787 to 1789 and also in 1791, 1793, and 1801. He was a member of the Continental Congress in 1786 and of the Hillsborough Convention of 1788 and the Fayetteville Convention of 1789. He was a representative in the first Congress under the Constitution and a member of the United States Senate from 1795 to 1801. In politics he was a radical, being strongly opposed to any concessions to the loyalists, against the ratification of the Constitution, and anti-federalist or Republican after ratification was accomplished. By profession he was a blacksmith and tradition holds that he was also a preacher. This letter was written before the Hillsborough Convention of 1788 met.

vious reason (to mention no more) is presented in a cursory view, viz: it is impracticable to collect the sense of our members before they are convened, your state will be in session when this comes to hand and possibly the revision of the new system may have taken place.

We request you would forward the proposed amendments, and we presume the two States will not differ materially on this subject, being actuated by similar motives, the Love of Liberty and an attachment to Republican principles exclusive of sinister views.

In behalf of the Committee of Correspondence

I have the Honor to be Sir

Your most obedient Humble Servant

Timothy Bloodworth ch

John Lamb, chairman

of the Federal Republican Committee.

Thomas Person to General John Lamb⁵

Goshen 6th, August 1788.

Sir

Your favor of the 19th May last, was only Received the 23rd of July & then open, the third day after our Convention had assembled, whose conclusions on the extraordinary Change of Government proposed for our Acceptance I transmit to you with pleasure, firmly persuaded that our proceedings which were temperate and calm as well as the result of our Political Contest in the cause of Republican Liberty, will be highly pleasing to you & your friends in your state & thro the Union.

It is my decided opinion (& no man is better acquainted

⁵ Thomas Person (1733-1800) probably born in Virginia but a citizen of Granville County, North Carolina, was for over thirty years in public life. In 1756 he was a Justice of the Peace, in 1762 Sheriff, and from 1764 to 1785 almost continuously a member of the legislature from Granville. In 1787, 1788, 1790, 1793 and 1794 he was also a member of the legislature. He was a member of all the provincial congresses and of the Provincial Council in 1775. He was a member of the committee which recommended to the Halifax Convention separation from Great Britain and was also a member of the committee which framed the Bill of Rights of the state constitution of 1776. During the Revolution he was a Brigadier General of Militia. Always a democrat, he favored responsibility of the state government to the people and opposed ratification of the Federal Constitution. He was a member of both conventions which considered ratification and the legislature of 1788 elected him a delegate to a second federal convention in case it was called. He was one of the first benefactors of the University of North Carolina.

with the publick mind) that nine tenths of the people of this State are opposed to the adoption of the New System, without very considerable Amendments & I might without incurring any great hazard to err, assure you, that very Considerable numbers conceive an idea of a General Government on this extension impracticable & dangerous. But this is a subject on which I feel myself more disposed to concur with better Judges than to Dogmatically decide & only state it as a doctrine gaining ground in this part of the World.

Our Convention met at Hillsborough on the day appointed & on the 22nd resolved itself into a committee of the whole house & continued thro discussion from day to day (Sundays excepted) until the 1st Inst on which we called the decisive question when there appeared, for non-concurrence 184 & 83 for adopting—but recommending numbered amendments which were repugnant to their Eloquence & reasoning in debate; a circumstance something surprising; but proves nevertheless that even its advocates think the plan radically bad, by these exertions to render it virtually better.

However I can assure you if the total rejection had been proposed, even in terms of Reprobation, the motion would have succeeded, but we conceived it more decent & moderate to refer it in the mode you will see prefixed to our bill of Rights & Amendments, in confidence that the Union & Prosperity of America may yet be preserved by temperance & wisdom, in defiance of preceptation & some arts which I suspect tho I cannot enumerate or trace them. There is so little Security left now for obtaining Amendments, especially if your state is adoptive, that it may probably be wise in these states, or the minorities in them, to oppose all representation until Amendments are obtained or to send into the new Congress only such men of unequivocal characters as will oppose every operation of the system until it is rendered consistant with the preservation of our Liberties too precious to be sacrificed to authority name, ambition or design. Your proposition for opening a correspondence I embrace with great cheerfulness. It meets with my cordial approbation as well as my Friends. Urged only by motives for the prosperity of the Union and I have only to lament that such measures were not persued earlier, as

they would in my opinion have prevented or abated the mischief which the public cause has already received, I take the freedom to request, that you may forward the proceedings of your Convention & anything else you may think conducive to the public weal. Our Assembly will meet the 1st Monday in Nov next at Fayetteville when we would easily as well as cheerfully receive anything which you might think interesting to the good people of this State. I have the Honour to be with profound respect to you Sir & thro you to the Federal Republican Committee

Yr

.

Thomas Person

Col John Lamb

P S I forgot to advert to a letter read in our Convention (which in the first instance I approved) from Our Delegate Williamson, in which he aristocratically complains "that Congress is perpetually interrupted by a York Delegate (who he says was once a shoe maker) calling the yeas & nays, on which occasions he says he was obliged to retire, as representing a non adopting state:—Some of his constituents remark that delicacy should have suggested his voluntary recession; and more particularly as his nasal organs were so offended with the Society of a Mechanic. But some persons are said to have taken his case into consideration & have positively determined not to send him again, until the president of Congress shall send us satisfactory alterations that the Honble Congress of the States are composed altogether of the Well Born. F.P.

John Lamb Secy

B I wrote you a similar letter to this some time ago and in it I enclosed the proceedings referred to but least you should not get that I have sent this which is a duplicate of the former one, save only that I have not with me another copy of the Proceedings of the Convention. I expect you will receive this by my friend Doctor Mitchell and by him I shall safely receive any answer you may think proper to send.

Thomas Person.

D. A CITIZEN OF NORTH CAROLINA ON THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION⁶*Friends and Fellow-Citizens,*

The situation in which you are left by the proceedings of your late Convention, is such as requires your most serious attention. Perhaps at no period since your ancestors first settled in this country, has your condition been more awful and affecting. You are, for the first time, separated from your sister states, the early and late companions of all your difficulties and dangers; with whom you have hitherto, on all occasions, run the race of freedom and glory; with whom but very lately, you resolved to conquer or to die. Little was it to be apprehended, that in less than six years after the peace, a peace acquired by your and their joint efforts, and which, to the astonishment of all mankind, gave glory as well as security to the weaker party, those states who had been the willing and the generous sharers of a common danger, should have become separate! weakened the common cause, still in full force, though not in equal apparent danger subsisting! and thus afforded a triumph to our common enemies, who are watching, if not planning for our destruction! Heaven forbid that disunion should last long! Happy would it have been if it had not for a moment existed!

But regret, with whatever poignancy it may be felt, is now useless. The danger is incurred. Eleven other states have a common united government: We have no share in it. If we can derive pride from the consideration, our independence is increased. We are now not only independent of all other nations in the world, but entirely independent of the other states, except for our share of the debt hitherto incurred, which we are now utterly unable to pay. We may form alliances at our leisure with Great Britain, France, Spain, Turkey, the Dey of Algiers, or Rhode Island. We may make what acts of Assembly we please concerning war, peace, negotiations, commerce, or finance. While the eleven United States are fettered by the necessity of pursuing a common

⁶ This address is a defense of the Federal Constitution issued after the Hillsborough Convention and before the meeting of the Fayetteville Convention. It was published in the *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, issue of Sept. 17, 1788.

interest, there is no check upon our separate wisdom, or the free course of our own noble exertions.

There are some men possibly, inflated with ridiculous ideas of our own importance, to whom this prospect may be pleasing. There are many weak men, perhaps, who think danger never exists but when evils are actually and immediately felt. There may be a few (I trust in God they are a very few) to whom confusion and disorder may be the most acceptable objects. But among the great majority, including both parties, those who are averse to the new constitution, as well as those who are friends to it, I believe the idea of an entire disunion is reprobated with horror. I have had the pleasure to hear that was the case with by far the greatest part of the majority in our late convention, who unfortunately did not scruple to rush into a temporary one.

Taking it for granted, therefore, that all rational friends of their country consider a union with the other states as indispensable to their liberty and safety, I shall beg leave to make a few observations on the policy which has brought us into our present extraordinary situation. It is a situation so new, as well as important, that no pains necessary to its investigation, can be considered ill-bestowed. I shall hope, therefore, for the honor of your attention, while we examine it together.

The old articles of confederation were framed and executed in the very midst of the war. The necessity of a general opposition to the arbitrary designs of Great Britain had been felt by every generous mind from one end of the continent to the other. A common danger pointed out the propriety of common exertions; common exertions required common councils: The different states were therefore represented in Congress, who were entrusted with the common protection of the whole. The necessity of a general coöperation in measures of defense in which we are all interested, *in the midst of a danger which none could doubt*, occasioned a ready obedience to every recommendation made by that representative body, and their recommendations accordingly had all the force of laws. Warmed with such noble principles, in pursuit of one great object, when the same men framed the

articles of confederation, they relied perhaps too much on a continuation of the same ardor, and their system was formed on the basis of requisitions, which at that time had never been known to fail. Possibly they might have seen its defects, but provided those articles as the only ones likely to be adopted at that period, when some kind of confederation was absolutely indispensable. Whatever might be the cause of it, its defects have been long acknowledged by all enlightened minds, and felt by the most ignorant. None can doubt that a government must be radically defective which in a country full of resources, and affording the greatest commercial advantages, has not been able to pay the interest of a moderate debt incurred to preserve us from slavery, to keep alive even a passive commerce, disgraceful to a great degree, to preserve foreigners and citizens from the operation of fraudulent and dishonest laws, to compel the execution of a treaty of peace most honorable and advantageous to us, and humiliating to our enemies; nor consequently to obtain possession of our full share of the advantages of that treaty; perfidy on one part naturally affording an excuse for perfidy on the other. Our national honor, as well as our national safety, was wounded; and every friend of his country felt for the degraded reputation, as well as the diminished importance, of a people lately high in the estimation of all mankind.

In this situation, the universal voice of America almost called out for a remedy. After one or two ineffectual attempts at length twelve states met in convention. Among the members of that convention I need not particularly point out the illustrious ones entitled to the utmost confidence of the country. That country must be dead to every sensation of virtue, to every emotion of feasibility, to every impulse of gratitude, before that confidence can be withdrawn. The members of that convention added to their high character before, by the generous readiness with which all local objects were sacrificed to the general good. The sacrifice was noble, and does the highest honor to these states, whose members in the first instance, and who themselves in the latter, have thus added an immortal seal to their patriotism and wisdom.

Wisdom it undoubtedly was, but a wisdom to which narrow souls never reach, and which required a high sense of national honor, and an inflexible attachment to the true interests of the union at large, abstracted from immediate tempting advantages, to bring it forth.

Those respectable men that formed the late general convention (I shall call them so, notwithstanding the gross abuse so ungratefully and illiberally bestowed upon them) had not only local difficulties to struggle with, but the extreme difficulty itself of forming a wise system of government, combining a proper share of energy in the formation and administration of laws, with that degree of liberty which each state and individual ought inalienably to enjoy. To declaimers who have never thought or read on the subject, this may appear an easy task, but to sober, considerate men who are forming a constitution that ought not to be lightly changed, and which therefore ought to provide for every contingent case, as well such as are likely to happen seldom, as those which may frequently occur, it must always wear a very formidable appearance. This would be the case in forming a single government: In forming a confederate one, such as our situation required, the utmost attention, moderation, and forbearance were requisite.

And as the subject required to be viewed in all possible lights, the mutual aid of a number of sensible men was indispensably necessary, together with the utmost freedom of discussion. What must we therefore think of the modesty of any individual who shall rashly, perhaps without any thought at all, condemn a system grounded on such worthy motives, and produced by the joint effort of such wise and deliberate counsels. Yet how many instances are there of such individuals who condemn it with the most outrageous abuse!

I mean not in the course of this letter to enter into the particulars of a constitution, the merits of which have been so amply discussed. I shall only observe, that its leading principle is, that in all cases where the peace and interest of the Union at large are concerned, we should, as one

people united in a common object, be governed by common councils; and it provides for the execution of these in a regular and peaceable manner, by the instrumentality of courts of justice, not leaving us in the condition to which we were exposed under the old confederation, under which, though Congress had great nominal powers (very near equal to those proposed to be given to the new Congress, though the people were not directly represented in it) yet there was no method of enforcing their most material acts of authority but by force of arms, if they possessed this right of enforcing, which is questionable. If they did not, the confederation ridiculously gave an authority, without the means of carrying it into effect. If they did, then every act of disobedience, whether wilful, excusable, or unavoidable, might have drawn on a civil war, in which the innocent must have suffered with the guilty. In the one case, the confederation was an absurdity; in the other, the horror and injustice attending its execution, and the danger upon every such extremity, of the union being entirely destroyed, were unanswerable objections against it with every friend to the peace and prosperity of his country.

But whatever may be the defects of the new system, it certainly has one material advantage over the old. By the old confederation, no amendments could be made but by the consent of all the states. The necessity of an unanimous consent in any country is a never-failing source of weakness and usurpation. It has been found so a thousand times in the seven United Provinces in Europe, where an unanimous consent even of the towns, as well as the States-General, is necessary for certain objects. This has arisen from an extreme jealousy, and has at critical periods nearly caused their destruction, because some of the towns being very considerable, foreign powers have found it convenient and practicable to bribe them, to prevent their concurring in measures their common safety required. On such occasions the stronger party have found it necessary to overpower the weaker, and rather usurp an unconstitutional power, than suffer their country to be ruined. Rhode Island at length has reduced America to a similar situation. Her forbearing for years

to join in any federal measures, and by her example inducing other states to adopt a separate and selfish policy, reduced America to this alternative, either to suffer in form all the evils of a weak, impracticable government, unable to correct itself, or by one bold and manly effort, to strike into a new road of safety, which would not only answer our purpose for the present, but suit us to the end of our journey. The confederation could scarcely be said to submit but in form, as it had been violated in a hundred instances; or if it had not the *salus populi*, justly called the supreme law, required a new and nobler course. The Convention, therefore, did not require an unanimous consent, which was impracticable, but in a manly manner declared, nine states should govern themselves, if the other four did not choose to yield to so large a majority. On such great occasions none but narrow minds will adhere to form; this alternative, or absolute ruin to the whole, seemed the inevitable consequence. Which ought they to have preferred? Upon a similar principle, future amendments to this system may be made by three-fourths of the whole; and as this article is very important and generally much misrepresented, I will transcribe it at large, in order that it may be seen, that whether the Congress itself shall choose to propose amendments or not, yet if the legislatures of two-thirds of the states do, a Convention must be called for the purpose of consulting on the subject. The article is as follows, viz:

“The Congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three fourths thereof as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided, that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth

section of the first article; and that no state, without its consent, can be deprived of its equal suffrage in the senate."

The first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article (which are referred to in the above) are as follows, viz :

First. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

"Fourth. No capitation, or other direct tax, shall be laid, unless in proportion to the *census* or enumeration herein before directed to be taken."

This article as to amendments, places the subject on a footing altogether new, and is an honor to the constitution proposed which no other in the world can boast. In every other country, revolutions of government can only be expected to take place by means of a civil war. The glorious principle of a majority in a fair convention of the people, deciding peaceably for the whole, has not yet reached them. The extension of this principle, which formerly existed in the separate states, to the states in their united capacity, at the same time requiring more than a bare majority, to prevent hasty and partial alterations, in my opinion, is entitled to the highest praise. As mankind increases in knowledge, the contemptible vanity of self perfection gives way to the more enlightened and more just diffidence of any human capacity, however great. The foresight of the greatest minds is nothing, compared to the instructions of experience. Any system, therefore, that could now be formed, would possibly upon trial be found to want alterations; and if such alterations could not be made in a regular and orderly manner, it would be a just exception to any system whatever, let its merits otherwise be ever so great. Thank God no such exception lies to the system before us. It guards wisely against the two dangerous extremes of too much difficulty in obtaining amend-

ments. They certainly ought not to be made but when the necessity or utility is very apparent and when that is the case, it ought not to be in the power of one or two weak or wicked members in the union to defeat the real interest of the whole.

This article has justly been deemed so important that it has been the means in a most happy manner, of facilitating the adoption of the constitution in several of the states. The respectable states of Massachusetts-Bay, South Carolina, New Hampshire, Virginia, and New-York, though approving of the general principles of the constitution, had objections to particular parts of it, and therefore wished for amendments. But they were at the time sensible of the necessity of a more intimate union of the states; they dreaded above all things a separation of interests and pursuits; they deemed the present situation critical to a most alarming degree; and as no man could insure us against foreign hostility, or domestic dissensions, till all the different amendments were adjusted, they generously and discreetly said, "We will not break the union; we will unite with you for the present on the terms proposed, that we may have a national government in existence, and we refer to your equity and good sense afterwards in the constitutional mode the amendments we wish to have adopted." This was the language of patriotism, prudence, and affection, and none can doubt it will have its fullest effect, in respect to all those amendments which are really essential, and which relate as well to the security and prosperity of one state as to those of another. If there are any of a more local nature, and they should not prevail, we ought not to regret, that in this instance, as well as others, three-fourths of America will speak for the whole, since all the states individually cannot be expected in every instance to agree.

Would to God that a similar principle of conciliation had governed the decisions of our convention! Why should we not have followed such respectable examples? If Massachusetts, though I believe the fifth only that agreed, thought the condition of previous amendments dangerous or impracticable, surely our state, after the certain agreement of ten, and when it was evident the new government would be put in motion, had much reason for not insisting upon it at that

time. The subsequent examples of four other states (three of which were known to have decided when our Convention met) have added great weight to the propriety of the conduct of Massachusetts. Two examples of highly respectable individuals in two of those states deserve particular mention, as well in honor of those gentlemen, as to sanction the decisions of the majorities in their respective states. The one is Governor Randolph of Virginia. This gentleman, who has long been esteemed for his many virtues, as well as for his abilities, was one of the delegates from Virginia in the general Convention at Philadelphia. He had objections to the Constitution which made him forbear to sign it. So far as pride could be concerned, his wishes must have been opposed to the general adoption of the Constitution, without previous amendments; and it is believed, if a few only of the states had agreed, he would have persisted in this purpose. But when so many as eight states had agreed, and he saw the difficulty and danger of requiring so many states to tread back the ground they had passed, he nobly declared (I had not the pleasure to hear his words—I judge only of the substance from report) that it was now too late to require previous amendments; and that though he still thought amendments necessary, he would not endanger the union by insisting on them as a condition of adoption. He accordingly, with all the warmth of patriotic virtue, maintained the adoption of the Constitution, in the then situation of affairs as indispensibly necessary perhaps to the existence of the union, certainly to its peace and security; and to the exertion of his great abilities, it is not improbable Virginia may be in a great measure indebted for her present station in the union, and America at large for the subsequent adoption by New York, in consequence of her illustrious example. In that state, resides the other gentleman whose conduct I beg leave to state. Being at a greater distance, I can only speak of him generally as a distinguished character by name, and who had been remarkable for his opposition to the new Constitution. I mean Mr. Melancton Smith, who was a member of the late New-York Convention, and is said, in a debate on the subject of a conditional ratification, to have spoke

to the following effect: Having declared his determination to vote against a condition, he urged, "That, however it might be otherwise presumed, he was consistent in his principles and conduct. He was as thoroughly convinced then, as he ever had been, that the Constitution was radically defective; amendments to it had always been the object of his pursuit, and until Virginia came in, he had reason to believe they might have been obtained previous to the operation of the government. He was now satisfied they could not; and it was equally the dictate of reason and duty, to quit his first ground, and advance so far as that they might be received into the union. He would hereafter pursue his important and favorite object of amendments with equal zeal as before, but in a practicable way, which was only in the mode prescribed by the Constitution. On the first suggestion of the plan then under consideration, he thought it might have answered the purpose; but from the reasonings of gentlemen in opposition to it, and whose opinions alone would deservedly have vast weight in the national councils, as well as from the sentiments of persons abroad, he was now persuaded the proposition would not be received, however doubtful it might appear, considered merely as an abstract and speculative question. The thing must now be abandoned as fallacious, for if persisted in, it would certainly prove in the event, only a dreadful deception to those who were serious for joining the union." He then placed in a striking and affecting light, "the situation of that state, in case they should not be received by Congress, convulsions in the northern part, factions and discord in the rest. The strength of his own party, who were seriously anxious for amending the government, would be dissipated, their union lost, their object probably defeated; and they would, to use the simple figurative language of scripture, be dispersed like sheep on a mountain." He therefore concluded, "it was no more than a proper discharge of his public duty, as well as the most advisable way of obtaining the great end of his opposition, to vote against any proposition which would not be received as a ratification of the Constitution."

I cite with the greater pleasure these two remarkable in-

stances, not only as a striking proof of the justice of those sentiments which induced two such men to abandon a cause they were warmly attached to, but that in the midst of the party violence to which we have been unhappily witnesses, we may dwell a few moments with delight on the magnanimous virtue which produced such distinguished instances of candor.

If these considerations have no effect, but it is still asked, shall we consent to a system destructive to our liberties, without taking proper precautions to secure them? Let us calmly ask ourselves, Can we believe not only that the members of the General Convention at Philadelphia, but that eleven State Conventions meeting separately since, could either be so ignorant of the proper principles of liberty, or so indifferent about them, as to consent to any system by which it could be in reality endangered? Is the vital spark of freedom, which so lately set all America in a flame, existing nowhere but in the breasts of the majorities of North Carolina and Rhode Island, and of the minorities of other states? Surely it is much more probable, that those who have taken so much pains to inflame you, condescending to use very little reason with a great deal of passion, are mistaken in entertaining such high ideas of their own superior wisdom, than that North-Carolina and Rhode-Island are the only bulwarks of liberty. I trust in God the other states are not in so desperate a condition, and hope I shall not offend you in supposing, that with equal virtue the eleven United States are not inferior to the late majority of our Convention, in wisdom and discernment. The business of government is a very complicated thing. It requires other talents, besides good wishes, to undertake it with success. It requires far superior qualities to those of a mere slave of popularity, to frame a system calculated not merely to flatter the passions of the people it is intended for, but to fix it on a basis of justice which can conciliate the regard, the confidence, the respect of other nations, and give it a fame calculated for duration. Such a system, when framed, is to be tried by the test of reason, not passion. It is not to be rejected, because plausible objections can be made to it: Plausible

objections may be made to everything, and objections of any kind, before they prevail, ought to be found solid, and not plausible merely. Nothing would be more easy than to detect the sophistry with which many parts of this Constitution have been attacked. Nothing more easy than to show the improper distrust, and the groundless jealousy with which many well-meaning men apprehend that the moment this government is set in motion, the very men whom the people and the legislatures themselves have chosen, will conspire against their own liberty and that of their constituents. But as I before observed to you, I shall not in this letter enter into particulars, but refer you to numerous respectable publications calculated to quiet your fears on this subject. In my opinion, the coolest and most deliberate reason, as well as the most respectable authorities, is on the side of the Constitution; and I am persuaded it will be generally acknowledged, when the mist of passion which has blinded many able, as well as weak men, is taken off.

In our present situation what are we reduced to? Have we any national character? Is the state of North Carolina known to any nation in Europe. No? *The United States of America are known.* But alas! We are to be no longer one of them. We have no alliance with any power on earth. We have no right, if attacked, to call on the other states for assistance. Our own prowess and resources must defend us against all mankind, or we must sink in a conflict, unless assisted by the charity of others. Can we much longer bear so humiliating, so dangerous a condition? What must our feelings be, when we see the prosperity of the other states derived from the energy of their new government, while we are deriving additional weakness from the dissolution of the old, without partaking of any of the benefits of the new? Can we blame our sister states? Certainly no. A cruel necessity dictated a change. Certain ruin, or an alteration, became the unavoidable alternatives. We have had our option allowed us. We have unfortunately chosen for the present a path leading to misery and ruin, if we continue to pursue it. But God forbid that we should not instantly stop short, and do everything to recover the false step we have taken,

which our situation will admit of. Is there left us any method of relief?

Our situation is certainly bad, but perhaps not entirely desperate. The majority of the convention seem not to have considered what they did as a rejection. But it may undoubtedly be considered so by the other states. After not accepting when the opportunity was allowed us, we have no right to choose our own time at any period hereafter. All the states ought certainly to start upon equal terms. But it is to be hoped they would judge with liberality; and that if we early should agree by means of another convention, we might immediately be admitted on equal terms with the other states. We have reason to fear, however, that the earliest step of this kind that could be taken, might be too late for us to have a share in the first formation of laws. What an opportunity we have lost! Should North Carolina have no votes in the first Congress, the first system of laws, which will be the most important of any for many years, may be formed much more injuriously for the southern states than otherwise might have been the case, and the supporters of amendments may be deprived of powerful assistance. Whether or not we can possibly be early enough for this no man can say. But let us go into the union as soon as we can. One convention can repair the mischief of another. Let all therefore who think with me, promote, so far as his influence shall extend, the measure of petitioning the Assembly for a new Convention. Let the people on this occasion (it certainly is great enough for their exertion) speak their own sentiments. Let them say whether they wish for an immediate adoption, that we may be a member of the Union, or not. They have an opportunity of much reflection since the first libels were dispersed among them. I am much mistaken if their native good sense is not beginning to break through a cloud of prejudice. Let them call on all who attempt to dictate to them, for reason instead of abuse. Let them tell them plainly, calumny of the most respectable characters shall no longer impose either on their passions or their understanding; that they consider it not only grossly unjust in itself, but an attack on their integrity as well as on their

judgment, and that it is now too late to persuade them that the great majority of America is composed of men who want either virtue or understanding: That it is much more certain that we ought to be a united people, than that their objections to any union at all, are founded on any rational principles. This language I trust will be found congenial with the general sentiments of my countrymen. I have seen many symptoms of a change which give me the greatest hopes. I rely on that public virtue which has so often conspicuously shown itself in this state; on that good sense, which though for a time may be overborne, is sure in the end to rise superior to prejudice. God grant that this fatal disunion, fatal I should have termed it had I been sure it would exist but a day, may last a very short time longer! May we return and embrace with affection those sister states, with whom we have hitherto shared in adversity and prosperity, and with whom alone, whatever vain ideas we may form, we can enjoy security, freedom, and glory! And may those respectable states, with a moderation and forbearance which will do them honor, be willing to receive us with as much cordiality as if we had never strayed!

A Citizen of North Carolina

August 18, 1788.



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